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THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
L I F E and A C T I O N S
OF
ALEXANDER the Great.

FROM
The Time of his BIRTH, to that of his DEATH,
who afterwards was Embalmed.

Translated from the French of
Monsieur *DE VAUGELAS:*
Which WORK he was above THIRTY YEARS in perfecting.

To which is prefixed,
An Account of the Antient **EGYPTIANS**; the Grandeur of their
Publick Buildings; Obelisks, Pyramids, Lake of *Mæris*, the *Nile*, the famous
Canal between the *Red-Sea*, and the *Mediterranean*. Also the Manners, Customs,
Laws, Learning and Government of the **EGYPTIANS**.

LIKEWISE
Their Manner of treating dead Bodies; Method of Embalming; and particular
Way of trying and judging Persons after their Death. With seven large and curious
Cuts of **EGYPTIAN MUMMIES**, exactly drawn; with their Hieroglyphic Characters,
interpreted and explained.

L O N D O N:

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T H E
L I F E
O F
A L E X A N D E R, &c.

B O O K I. C H A P. I.

*Of his Extrætion; of the Presages before, and what happened at
his Birth.*



SEVERAL Greek Historians have wrote the Life and Actions of *Alexander*, who took the Empire from the *Persians*, and transplanted it to *Greece*. The greatest Part of them were Spectators of the great Things he performed, some of them were the Companions of his Victories and the Ministers of his Designs; and as he was himself covetous of Glory, and desirous that his Name should triumph after Death, he drew others to him, that might leave to succeeding Ages, the Pictures

of his Courage, and be the Remembrancers of his Actions. But notwithstanding these were great in themselves, yet the Love of Fable was so natural to the *Greeks*, that many among them gave them such an Air of Prodigy as held but little Resemblance with Truth. I have found none so worthy of Belief as *Aristobulus*, and *Ptolomy* who reigned after *Alexander*; for after the Death of this Prince there was no longer any Subject either of Fear or Flattery, which are commonly what corrupt the Truth of History; nor can it be supposed that *Ptolomy* should be willing to dishonor the
B Dignity

Dignity of the Royal Name by Fables and Falshoods. And as both these Authors were not only present, but had a Share in many of the Transactions of that Prince's Life, it is most probable that they should be able to write of them with more Certainty than others. Therefore whenever we find these agree with one another, we shall make no Difficulty of preferring them to all other Authors; and when they do not agree, we shall choose what is most probable from them and others, after having carefully compared them together. All the *Grecians*, after the Time of *Alexander*, who had any regard for Truth, have followed this Method. As to the *Romans* who apply'd themselves to History, they were contented with writing of the Affairs of their own Country, and despised all Foreign Nations, they indeed wanted not Matter, who wrote on the Actions of that great and victorious People; and they endeavour'd to do what should be most useful and advantageous to their own Citizens. As I look upon this Intention as laudable I cannot be blamed, for shewing to my Countrymen the Image of this Great King, who alone conquered more Land in the short Space of Time he lived, than any other Prince in the longest Reign.

From this History we shall find that the Affairs of the World are not conducted by Chance, but that Fortune is oftentimes guided by the Wit and Genius of Men, and that their Happiness is never of long Continuance if Virtue forsakes them. It will be found that *Alexander* had all the Advantages both of Genius and Fortune that could be desired by a Prince who expected to rise to so great a Degree of Power.

The Kings of *Macedon* believed themselves descended from *Hercules*, and *Olympias* the Mother of *Alexander* deduced her Pedigree from the House and Blood of the great *Achilles*. In his Infancy there wanted neither Allurements or Examples to incite him to Glory; nor Masters to instruct him in Virtue, nor great Exercises to give him Experience. *Philip*, his Father, had brought the *Macedonians* into Reputation,

by the continual Wars he maintained, which they had before despised, and made them formidable to the other People of *Greece*, whom he soon reduced to Obedience. In fine, he not only laid the Foundation of that Work which was accomplished after his Death, but as he had designed to carry the War into *Persia*, he had made great Levies, amassed vast sums of Money, and had a sufficient Number of Troops ready, with all sorts of Ammunition, and by the Means of *Parmenio* had already opened the Way into *Asia*.

Philip died at this Instant, as it were to leave his Son this Strength to prosecute the War, and reap the Glory of those Triumphs which he had proposed to himself: He died, it may be said, by an artful Turn of Fortune, who was desirous to yeild a perpetual Obedience to *Alexander* alone. The Admiration which all Men had of this Prince, not only after the mighty Things he performed, but even at his first Appearance in Affairs, made them doubt whether they ought not to attribute a Divine Birth to him, and suppose him the Son of *Jupiter* at once, rather than bring his Descent from that God, by the *Æacides* and *Hercules*. When he went himself into *Libya*, to visit the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, he would be called his Son, as we shall relate hereafter.

Many believed, that *Jupiter*, taking the Form of a Serpent, was seen to enter into the Chamber, and into the Bed of his Mother, and that he was at that Time begotten; that Holy Dreams and the Answers of the Oracles had given Credit to this Report of his Origine; and that when *Philip* sent to *Delphos* to consult the Gods, he was ordered by the Oracle to reverence *Ammon* above all other Gods. There are not Authors wanting on the other Side, who affirm, that this is all a Fable; but that it was not without Reason that the Mother of *Alexander* was spoke of as an Adulteress. That *Nectanebus*, King of *Egypt*, being driven from his Throne, went not, as was believed, into *Ethiopia*, but hoping to find Succours, particularly from *Philip*, against the Powers

Powers of *Persia*, he came into *Macedon*; that he deceived *Olympias* by the help of Inchantments, and defiled the Bed of his Host. That *Olympias* became afterwards suspected by *Philip*, and that this was the principal Cause of their Divorce. That the very Day in which *Philip* brought *Cleopatra* into his Palace, *Attalus*, Uncle to the Bride, had the Boldness to reproach *Alexander* with the Shame and Infamy of his Birth, and that the King himself had declared he was not born of him. Lastly, that the Scandal of the Adultery of *Olympias* was not only spread thro' *Greece*, but thro' all the Nations subdued by them. That the Serpent was drawn from old Fables to cover the Disgrace of that Princess. That the *Messenians* had formerly published the same thing of *Aristomenes*, and the *Sicyonians* of *Aristodemus*. The same Thing was related of *Scipio*, who ruined the first *Carthage*; and the Birth of *Augustus* was reported to be Miraculous and Divine.

There is no need to speak of what concerns *Romulus*, the Father and Founder of *Rome*, for no Nation is so base and contemptible as not to attribute its Origine and Birth to a God, or some one born of a God. For the rest, the Flight of *Nectanebus* does not agree with that Time; for when he was vanquished by *Ochus*, and driven from his Kingdom, *Alexander* was already six Years of Age: And what is said of *Jupiter* is not less false, or less ridiculous. It is also left in Writing, that *Olympias*, having lost all Fear after the Death of her Husband, made a Joke of her Son's Vanity, in desiring to be thought the Son of *Jupiter*, and wrote a Letter to him, to desire *he would not make a Difference between Juno and Her, and expose her to the Wrath of that Goddess, since she had really done Nothing to deserve her ill Will.* It was believed, nevertheless, that she herself gave the first Authority to that Fable, and took Notice to *Alexander* when he went into *Asia*, that he ought to remember his Origine, and to do nothing unworthy his Father.

All Authors agree, that between the Con-

ception and Birth of this Prince, an infinite Number of Prodigies and Presages gave occasion to believe, that a great Man would be born of the Princess. *Philip*, in a Dream, saw the Womb of *Olympias* closed with a Seal, on which was engraven the Form of a Lion. The Remembrance of this was preserved by the City of *Alexandria*, built in *Egypt*, which was for a long Time called *Leontopolis*. *Aristander* the most famous Southsayer of his Time, who afterwards accompanied *Alexander*, and was his High Priest and Sacrificator, said that this Dream foretold the Courage and Virtue of the Child that was to be born.

The same Night that *Olympias* was delivered, the famous Temple of *Diana* of *Ephesus*, the most superbe Building in all *Asia*, was burnt to Ashes, fire being set to it by the Fury of a Madman, (*Erostratus*) who when he was taken, and put to the Torture, confess'd that he committed this Villainy only to make himself talk'd of: But the *Magi* and *Diviners* looked upon this Conflagration as something more than the Loss of the Temple, and believed that it prognosticated a greater Ruin, and filled all the City with sorrowful Cries, *That a Flambeau was somewhere lighted, that would one Day put all the East in a Flame.* At the same Time that *Alexander* was born, *Philip* subdued *Potidea*, a Colony of the *Athenians*, and received the News of his being victorious in the *Olympick Games*, whither he had sent four Chariots; a Courier also arrived from *Parmenio*, whom he had sent into *Illyria*, that brought an Account of a more important Victory, *viz.* That the *Macedonians* had defeated the Barbarians in a great Battle. And, whilst he was rejoicing on Account of so much good Fortune and Success, he was informed that *Olympias* was delivered of a Son; upon which the Southsayers foretold, *That an Infant born among so many Triumphs, would be an invincible Prince.* Upon which it is said, that *Philip*, transported with all this Prosperity crowding on him at once, prayed to the Goddess *Nemesis* to be contented to punish with some moderate Calamity all these

these Submissions and Devoirs which Fortune seemed to pay him. It is likewise related, that two Eagles perched all the Day long on the Top of the House, where the Queen was delivered, which was an Omen that the two Empires of *Europe* and *Asia* would fall under his Command: Which was all easy to be interpreted after the Things happened. I find also in some Authors that the Earth trembled on the Day this Prince was born, and that there were much Thunder and Lightning. According to those who have wrote his History with most Accuracy, he was born in the Beginning of the 106th *Olympiad*, when *Elpines* was Prætor in *Athens*, on the sixth Day of *June*, which the *Macedonians* called *Lous*. At that Time the *Roman* People, for about four hundred Years, had exercised themselves in Wars with their Neighbours, and learnt to conquer the whole Earth by Victories that rendered them every Day more and more glorious.

Philip seeing he had a Son, of whom, by so many happy Presages, he conceived Hopes of great Advantages, had no Care, more at Heart than the proper Means of his Education, and to have him brought up as a King. For as he was wise, and loved his Country, he knew very well, that he had been doing Nothing in all his Enterprizes, if he left the *Macedonians* a slothful Prince to succeed him, who might neither know how to Reign or to Conquer; and that his own Fame would be of no long Continuance, if the Imbecility of his Successor should prevent his going on with the great Things he had began. Some of the Letters which he wrote to *Aristotle*, who was then with *Plato* at *Athens*, are still extant, full of great Civility and good Sense; and conceived almost in these Terms.

Philip to Aristotle greeting, I hereby let you know that I have a Son born to me, and I do not so much thank the Gods for having giving him to me, as for having given him to me in your Time. I hope that when you have instructed him, and taken the Care of his Education, he will come out of your School worthy both of you and me,

and capable to succeed to so great a Kingdom. For I esteem it better to have no Children, that such as should give Birth to the Dishonour of their Blood and Ancestors.

And without doubt *Philip* was not deceived: For *Alexander* profited so much under the Conduct of this great Man, that from his Instructions he received the best Helps to enable him to execute the great Things he afterwards undertook. But in his younger Years, he had for Governors and Masters *Leonidas*, a Relation of *Olympias*, and *Lyfimbachus* of *Acarnania*. A Physician of the same Country, named *Philip*, was placed near him, and a Nurse was chosen for him, who was both temperate and discreet, she was called *Hellanica*, and was the Daughter of *Dropis*, of one of the best Families in *Macedon*. This Care that was taken to bring him up, had so good Success, that when he was but a Child he already gave Promises of being that great King which he afterwards appeared. He was remarkable in his Infancy for an extraordinary Bodily Strength, and he early discovered an Heroick Genius, far beyond what could be reasonably expected at his Age. He was agreeable and handsome, but despised all Ornaments used to set off the Person, saying that the Care of such belonged only to Women, who could not gain Esteem by any greater Advantages, but that he should think himself handsome enough if he had Virtue. His Limbs were well proportioned, and his Joints well knit and strong, and as he was but of a middling Stature he was much more robust and strong than he appeared to be. His Skin was white, only his Cheeks and Breast were tinged with an agreeable red. He had Hair of a gold Colour and falling down in Ringlets; his Nose was aquiline, and his Eyes were of different Colours; for it is said that the left was blew and the right of a perfect black. There was in them a secret Virtue, which produced every where this Effect, that no one could behold him without Veneration and Fear. He was wonderfully Light of Foot, which he did not neglect

left in his Exercises, knowing it might be necessary to him on infinite Occasions; and he would often run for a Prize with the swiftest about him. He endured Labour with a Patience so extraordinary that was almost incredible; and oftentimes by this Virtue he preserved his Armies in Times of the greatest Extremity. By his frequent Exercises and the natural Warmth of his Constitution, he so purged off any bad Humours, which are commonly bred under the Skin, that not only his Breath, but his Body sent forth an agreeable Odour, that even perfumed his Cloaths: And it was from this Heat of his Blood that some think he was so much addicted to Wine and Choler. There are still Pictures and Statues of him to be seen of the most excellent Workmanship; for that his Person might not suffer under the Hands of ordinary Painters and Sculptors, he strictly forbid any to paint his Picture without his Order to do it, and threatened to punish every one that should undertake it. Notwithstanding there were many good Workmen at that Time, yet *Apelles* alone had his Consent, and painted his Picture to his Liking; *Pyrgoteles* graved him on precious Stones, and *Lysippus* and *Polyclethus* represented him on Medals. His Governor *Leonidas* it is said, was apt to walk too fast, which imperfection *Alexander* caught from him, and was never able to correct in himself afterwards. I am ready to confess, that very much is owing to Education, but I am rather inclined to impute this to the natural Temper of that Prince, than to the Example of another, for it is in some sort necessary that the Motions of the Body should follow the Ardour and Impetuosity of the Spirit; but his Successors were so far from reckoning this Hastiness among his Imperfections, that they endeavoured to imitate him in it, as they did in his wry Neck, his stedfast Look, and elevated Voice, not being able to imitate his Courage and Virtue. In reality there were many of them whose long Lives had nothing in them worthy to be compared to his Childhood. He never said or did a mean Thing, but all his Words and Actions

were equal to and even surpassed his Fortune: For how well so ever he loved Praise, yet he did not effect to draw it indifferently from every Thing, but would have it arise from Things that were most Praise worthy. He thought that Praise arising from mean Things was dishonourable and inglorious, and that the Victory, was so much the more noble by how much the more his Enemy was esteemed whom he vanquished. For this Reason, when some said to him, that being so excellent a Runner, he ought to enter himself among those who were to dispute the Prize at the *Olympick Games*, after the Example of a King of his Name, and that thereby he might gain the Esteem of all Greece; *I would do this*, answered he, *if I had Kings for Competitors.*

Every Time *Philip* his Father gained any signal Victory, or took any remarkable Place, among the publick Rejoicings, he could not forbear shewing his Grief, and he was one Day heard to say, to some Boys of his own Age, *That his Father would leave nothing for them to do when they were able to bear Arms.* Thus he apprehended, that whatever was added to the Power or Riches of the Empire was taken from his Glory, and he had a much stronger Passion for Fame than for Treasure. He naturally slept but little, and used Arts to make him sleep less. If any Thing of Consequence happened that required much Thought, he would put his Arm out of Bed and hinder himself from sleeping, by the Noise of a Silver Ball that he let fall into a Basin. He had always, from his Infancy, a religious Respect for the Gods; and one Day, as he was sacrificing, he threw into the Fire so great a Quantity of Incense, that *Leonidas* his Governor, a severe Man, who liked no Extravagance, and could not bear to see such Profusion, cry'd out to him, *You may burn Incense in this Manner when you have conquered the Countries it is brought from.* *Alexander* afterwards remembering these Words, when he settled the Affairs of *Arabia*, which produces Incense, sent *Leonidas* a vast Quantity of Perfume, with Orders

ders to tell him, *That he need not be so sparing for the future when he designed to do Honour to the Gods, since he now found by Experience, that they repaid with Interest the Offerings that were made them.*

He gave very early Marks of his great Courage, and his Enterprising Genius. *Artaxerxes*, surnamed *Ocbus*, was at that Time King of *Persia*; and *Artabazus* and *Memnon*, both Governors of Provinces, assisted by *Memnon* of *Rhodes*, a great and famous General, revolted from him, and made War upon him; but being vanquished by the King's Forces, they left *Asia*, and fled to *Philip*, *Alexander*, who was not then seven Years of Age, was wonderfully delighted with them, and often asked them Questions which had nothing either Childish, or mean in them, concerning the Affairs of *Persia*; such as, *How the Royal Dignity and Power were supported? What sort of Arms were used among the Persians, and whether they were valiant? Whether their Horses ran well? How many Days Journey Macedonia was distant from Susa? What kind of Life the King led, what were his Exercises and Diversions, and what was his Opinion concerning Virtue?* Afterwards, when at the Intreaty of *Mentor*, *Memnon's* Brother, whose Sister was married to *Artabazus*, *Ocbus* had pardon'd the Exiles, and demanded them of *Philip*, *Alexander*, so struck the Ambassadors of that King with Admiration of his extraordinary Genius, at so tender an Age, that one of them broke out into these Words: *This Boy is indeed a great King, but our's is a rich one.* But tho' he seemed to owe all this to the Bounty of Nature, yet he owed it no less to his Education. For his Father being apprized how much Advantage he himself had reaped in the Company of *Epaminondas*, and that he had done much greater Things by his Eloquence, than by his Power; was very careful that his Son, from his Infancy, should be well instructed in good Literature. Wherefore, by Princely Rewards, he obliged *Aristotle*, a Philosopher of great Reputation, to teach *Alexander* the first Ele-

ments of Letters; and that learned Man refused not the Task, knowing of how much Importance it was to a Prince, who was to wear a Crown, to be well instructed at first; and how foolish it was to despise little Things, without which there was no attaining to Greater.

He had afterwards several other Masters who all excelled in what they were to teach, and he not only cultivated his Mind, and stored it with noble Sciences; but also formed his Body, by all sorts of Exercises that might be useful in War, and accustom'd him in Time to support the greatest Fatigues. Nor was he then idle, when he seemed to be doing Nothing; for he did not so much relax his Mind by Tennis and Dancing, as prepare his Limbs for Exercises of more Importance.

After he was more advanced in Years, and his Mind became stronger and fitter for more serious Studies, *Aristotle* was sent for from *Mytelene*, and was always near him, till he succeeded to the Crown, upon the Death of his Father, and undertook an Expedition into *Asia*. During which Time he learn'd all that could be taught him by so great a Master, and so famous a Philosopher. He had so much the greater Desire to know Nature, as he was in Hopes of being, one Day, possessed of the Empire of the whole Earth: and he carry'd on and encouraged his Study with a Mind, and an Expence that were truly Royal. He gave Orders over all *Asia*, and *Greece*, that all those who got their Living by Hunting or Fishing, and all others who had any Knowledge in Things of that kind, should obey *Aristotle*, that so he might the better know, and treat with greater Certainty of the Nature of Animals. It is certain, that he allowed that Philosopher eight hundred Talents, in order to defray the Charges of that Undertaking, and so much was he delighted with that Study, that he laid out Money, and bestowed Pains upon it, of which he was never like to see the Effects. An hundred Years after his Death, Stags were taken with Collars of Gold about their Necks, which he had caused to be

be put on, that Posterity might judge what Credit was to be given to the Stories about the great Age of those Creatures.

He was likewise learned in the sublime Doctrines called *Acroamaticks*, which we find, by one of his Letters to *Aristotle*, wherein he complains, that he had profaned the high Mystery of those Things by making them publick; and *Aristotle's* Answer to him, is another Proof of it. He says in Justification of himself, that he has given them to the World in such a Manner, that it may be said they are not at all published, because No-body can understand them that has not before-hand been instructed in all that his Book contains. When *Alexander* demanded his Books of Rhetorick from him, he strictly forbid him to let them come into the Hands of any other; for he had not a stronger Desire to surpass others in Power and Grandeur than in Knowledge and Literature, and could not bear to have the meanest of Men share that Glory with him. Moreover it appears, by his Letters that he understood Physick, and had learnt it under *Aristotle* the Son of a Physician of the Race of *Æsculapius*. And he cultivated so well that Part of Philosophy which teaches a Man to command himself and others, that it is thought he compassed the Ruin of the *Persian* Empire rather by his Generosity, his Prudence, his Temperance and his Justice, than by his Arms and Riches. He made no scruple to say, *That he was as much indebted to Aristotle as to Philip; for that he owed his Life to one, and to the other, that it was a good Life.* Nevertheless it has been thought by some and not without Reason, that his Mind already fired with Ambition, was still more inflamed by the too great Value which *Aristotle* set upon Honour and Glory, which he placed among those Things that may be called Goods. So that *Alexander*, full of this Opinion, made War upon War to enlarge his Dominions, and was desirous that all the World should esteem him as a God. But to return, *Aristotle* not only received great Rewards and Honours during the Reign of *Alexander*,

but even in the Time of *Philip*, he had been recompenced for the Education of his Pupil, having obtained the Re-establishment of his Country, which had been before ruined. The *Olynthians* were declared Enemies of *Philip*, and as they were very near *Macedonia*, and not unequal to him in Power, they could not bear to see, under such a prudent and warlike Prince, the Growth of a Kingdom, which might sometime ruin its Neighbours, and bring them into Slavery: For this Reason the greater the Hatred was shewn in this War the more cruel was the Victory. *Philip*, having taken the City of *Olynthus*, caused it to be rased to the Ground, its Inhabitants to be sold, and exercised the same Severity towards all the Towns that depended upon it. *Stagira*, where *Aristotle* was born, suffered the same Misfortune, and was destroyed with the rest: But that Philosopher rebuilt it by the Permission, and at the Expence of *Philip*, and when it was reestablished, made those Laws which have been observed since. Thus the Genius of one Man restored that City, which the Efforts of so many great Warriours could not preserve while it was in a flourishing Condition.

It may be judged in what high Esteem *Aristotle* was with *Philip*, by his often advising his Son to apply himself carefully to the Study of Wisdom under so excellent a Master, lest he should hereafter be guilty of those Things, which would bring Shame and Repentance with them for their Punishment. *Alexander* had also at all Times a most particular Veneration for him, even among his most important Affairs. He frequently corresponded with him by Letters, and not only advised with him about the Secrets in the Sciences but concerning Good Manners and the Conduct of Life. Upon which *Aristotle* wrote to him, *That the best way, in his Opinion, to make both himself and his Subjects happy, was to remember, that so great a Power was not given him to injure Mankind, but to do them good: That he would do well to set Bounds to his Passion, which he was much inclined to; that he ought*
not

not to express too much Anger against his Inferiors, and that he had no Equals. But at length when Pride had got Possession of him, he began to disdain his Master; especially when he thought he was become his Enemy on Account of the Death of *Calisthenes*; and when he imagined that *Aristotle*, contrary to the Precepts of Wisdom, vexed him with Disputes, on Pretence of despising Grandeur and Ambition.

It is said, that a little before his Death, when *Cassander*, would have justify'd his Father against some Crimes he was charged with he cried out, that *he was come armed with the Inventions and Artifices of Aristotle to elude just Complaints by fallacious Arguments*, and then threatened to put them both to Death, if he found what had been told him true, and spoke this with so furious a Countenance, that a long Time after his Death, *Cassander* who had then the Government of Greece, seeing an Image of *Alexander* at *Delphos*, and remembering the Danger he had been in, could not help trembling with Dread and Horror. This gave Occasion to speak very disadvantageously of *Aristotle*; because it was the common Rumour, that it was by his Contrivance, that the Poison which was thought to be the Death of *Alexander*, was carried to *Babylon* in a Horse's Hoof.

This Prince was a great Lover of Musick, and apply'd himself to it with much Delight in his Youth, till his Father asked him one Day, in Derision, *If he was not ashamed to sing so well?* upon which he began to neglect it, as a Thing unbecoming his Royal Dignity. At this Time his Musick-Master desiring him to touch a particular String on his Instrument, *And what matters it*, says he, *if I touch this?* striking another. *It matters not*, answered the Master, *for one who is to be a King; but it concerns one who would play well, or be a Master of Musick*. From that Time he was never pleased with any Airs but what were manly and strong, and had an Aversion for those that were soft and effeminate, as fit only to corrupt the Manners and enervate the Mind. For this Reason

he had a particular Esteem for *Timotheus* who was famous for that Sort of Musick that raises the Spirits and animates the Courage. And this Man knew so well how to accommodate his Science to the Inclination and Temper of his Prince, that by some of those Airs, that were called *Phrygian*, he would ravish him often Times in such a Manner, that he seemed transported, as it were, by a Divine Inspiration, and immediately seized on his Arms, as if the Enemy was approaching.

He likewise studied Eloquence under *Anaximenes* of *Lampsacum*, which was the Cause of his preserving that City when he had resolved to demolish it, for having sided with the *Persians*; for seeing *Anaximenes* coming out of it, and guessing that he wanted to beg something in Favour of his Country, he swore by the *Grecian* Gods, *That he would not grant any Thing that he came to ask*. But *Anaximenes*, who had a great deal of Address, hearing these Words, begged that he would ruin and destroy *Lampsacum*, upon which *Alexander*, tied down by his Oath, or rather softened by this Turn of his Master, granted the People his Pardon. He despised *Comedians* as a Sort of People who were concerned in nothing agreeable to his Designs, and who were fit for nothing but to corrupt the Manners. Nor did he much value the Gladiators, or Prize-Fighters, altho' they were greatly esteemed throughout Greece; but he regarded them as idle Fellows, who preserved themselves rather for the publick Diversion of the People, than for the Service of their Country. He was a great Encourager of all other Arts, even of those which he had not at all apply'd himself to. Therefore all who were excellent in any Art, or had any particular Knowledge, came to him from all Parts of the World, and when they presented him with any of the Works of their Ingenuity, they received most munificent Gifts from this King, whose Liberality was equal to the Largeness of his Fortune. He also sent Presents to those who were at a Distance from him, and were deserving either by their great Skill or extraordinary

ordinary Virtue: And it is for this Reason, that we find so many more Learned Men and excellent Workmen at that Time than at any other: For it is certain that the Manners and Minds of Subjects are commonly formed by the Example of their Kings, almost all the Revolutions that have happened in any State have been the Glory or Dishonour of the reigning Princes.

C H A P. II.

Of Alexander's great Esteem for Homer. His Contempt of Pleasure. Of his Skill and Address in taming the Horse Bucephalus.

ALEXANDER esteemed the Works of *Homer* above all the Monuments of Antiquity, and believed that he was the only one who had perfectly described that political Wisdom by which Governments subsist; he had so great a Passion for him that he was called *Homer's Lover*. He carry'd his Works always about with him, even to Bed, and put them with his Sword under his Pillow, calling them his *Military Art, and the best Provision for the War*. He thought *Achilles* happy to have found so great a Man to celebrate his Virtues. When he ordered his People to take Care of a little Chest, of exquisite Workmanship, which he found among the Spoils of *Damascus*, and some of his Favourites asked him to what Use he would put it, he answered, I have dedicated it to *Homer*, that I may preserve, in a precious Case, the most precious Work of human Wit. From whence that correct Copy, which *Alexander* caused to be made of the Works of *Homer*, was called the *Edition of the Box*. One Day as a certain Messenger of good News, ran to him in great haste, with a Countenance full of Satisfaction and Joy, *What News can you bring me*, said he, *that is worth so much Joy, unless it be that Homer is risen from the Dead?* For he was now raised to so high a Degree of Happiness, that he thought he wanted nothing to complete his Glory, but one capa-

ble of celebrating it. By his frequent reading *Homer* he had almost got him all by rote, and no one could more readily quote him, or better judge of his Writings. But of all the Verses of that great Poet, there were none that he more approved of than those wherein *Agamemnon* is praised as a good General and a good Soldier. He viewed him there as an Example for his Virtue, and a Guide to his Manners.

Thus endowed with so many good Qualities and fine Accomplishments, he supported with Glory the Grandeur and Dignity of his Fortune, nor suffered himself to fall into that Pride and Licentiousness which attend most Princes, and which if I may be allowed the Expression, are commonly their Governors and Counsellors. By the Dress and Ornaments of his Body he appeared but as a private Person, being of Opinion that it better became a Prince to surpass his Subjects in Virtue, than only in the Pomp of Cloaths. He was chearful, humane, civil, and familiar, but not in such a Manner as to breed Contempt. He loved Wine, but not to Drunkenness; for when he had Leisure he chose to employ his Time at Table rather in ingenious Discourse than in Excess of Drinking. He despised Pleasure to that Degree that his Mother was afraid he would be incapable of begetting Children. Above all he held it as an inviolable Law not to defile the Bed of another. He followed, for a long Time, these noble Principles of Life and good Manners, and maintained the Reputation of a great and worthy Prince, till at length, he yielded to the Torrent of his Fortune, which by little and little bore down all his primitive Moderation.

He shewed his great Courage and Dexterity, to the Astonishment of his Father and every body else, in managing the Horse *Bucephalus*, which was called by that Name because he was marked with an Ox's Head. *Thessaly* was then in great Reputation for its Horses, but no one could compare with *Bucephalus* either in Strength or Beauty; therefore *Philonicus* of *Pharsalia*, thinking him fit for a great Prince, brought him to

Philip, and would have sold him for sixteen Talents; but when they came to try him in an open Field, there was not one among the King's Equerries, or any of his Train, that could manage him, he rose with such Fury against them, throwing every one who attempted to mount him, so that they began to despise him, as a Horse that was ungovernable and useless. Upon which *Alexander* fighting said, *What a fine Horse these People lose by their Ignorance and their Want of Courage!* after often repeating the same Thing, his Father chid him for finding fault with the best and most able Horsemen, and talking as if he thought himself better able to manage him than they; *Yes*, said he, *I will undertake to manage him, if you will give me Leave.* But answered *Philip*, *What will you forfeit if you cannot do what you pretend to?* *I will forfeit the Price of the Horse*, said he. At this every one smiled, and it was agreed, that if he won, his Father should pay for the Horse, if not, he should lay down the Money himself. Upon which *Alexander* laying hold of the Horse's Bridle turn'd him in such a Manner towards the Sun, that he could not see his Shadow, for he had observed that this frightened him, and made him more untractable; but finding him yet very furious he began to stroke him, and watching his Opportunity leap'd at once upon his Back, altho' he was still in his Fury. *Bucephalus* at this, not used to obey, began to fling his Heels and throw his Head about, and, refusing to be guided by the Bridle, endeavoured to get loose, and ran away full speed. He was then in a spacious Plain fit for riding in: Wherefore *Alexander* giving him the Rein, and setting his Spurs to his Sides, he ran with incredible Speed, and with all the Vigour and Fury imaginable. And when he was tired with running and willing to stop, he still spur'd him on till he was out of Breath, and having thus tamed him, he brought him back very gentle, and fit for Service. *Philip*, when *Alexander* dismounted, embraced him, and with Tears of Joy in his Eyes, cry'd out, *Macedonia will be too small an Empire for*

this great Spirit. *Bucephalus* afterwards maintained the same Fierceness towards all others, and would not submit but to *Alexander* alone. And after he had served him in obtaining many Victories, and helped him out of many Dangers, he was at last killed in a Battle against *Porus*. The greatest Artists thought this was a Subject worthy their best Skill and capable of raising their Names. There are two Statues of *Alexander* taming his Horse, which were Trials of Skill between *Praxiteles* and *Phidias*: And tho' some have doubted whether they are Statues of this Prince or not, yet there are good Authors who have affirmed them to be so.

C H A P. III.

The Government of Macedonia given to Alexander in the Absence of Philip his Father. What was done in that Time. The Wars of Philip. The Defeat of the Illyrians by Alexander. Philip is declared General of Greece. The Athenians alarmed at it. The Advice of Demosthenes.

ALL these fine Qualities and rare Endowments of *Alexander*, made his Father *Philip* conceive so high an Opinion of him, that when he was but Sixteen Years of Age, he thought him fit to be entrusted with the whole Power of *Macedonia*, while he went himself to lay Siege to the City of *Byzantium*. This gave Occasion to some of the *Medarori*, who were a People of *Thrace* subject to the *Macedonians*, to imagine that they had found a favourable Time, to put in execution the Design, they had for a long while meditated of revolting, and made no Secret of their Enterprize: But *Alexander*, who was transported with Joy, at having this Opportunity of shewing his Courage, immediately marched against them with the Generals his Father had left him, and after having vanquished these Rebels, and drove them out of their City, he gave it to be inhabited by all sorts of Strangers, who called it *Alexandropolis* after his Name. Altho' *Philip* was greatly

greatly rejoiced at this Success, yet fearing that if the young Prince was left entirely to himself, his great Courage might make him undertake something beyond his Power, he sent for him to be near him, that, under his Direction, he might learn to temper his Heat with Prudence, and employed him in subduing the Cities of the *Chersonesus*. But seeing that the Siege of *Byzantium* drew into Length, not only because the City was strong in itself, and the Inhabitants fought bravely in Defence of their Liberty; but because the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, who were jealous of his Grandeur, sent Assistance to it from all Parts; he despair'd of Victory, and considered only how he might withdraw, with the least Loss of his People and his Reputation.

Atheas was, at that Time, King of the *Getae*, a People of *Scythia*, and being pressed by the *Istrians*, who were at War with him, he demanded Succours of *Philip*, and promised to make him his Heir, if he would bring a Remedy to his desperate Affairs. But when the Chief of his Enemies was dead, and he saw himself delivered from the Apprehension of the War, he sent the *Macedonians* back without keeping his Word, and telling them besides, *That he neither wanted their Assistance, nor to adopt Philip; since he had Forces enough to defend himself against all his Enemies, and had a Son that was very capable to succeed him.* *Philip*, resolving to revenge the Injurious Treatment of this *Barbarian*, withdrew from before *Byzantium*, and carried his Troops into *Scythia*, when he gave Battle to the *Scythians*, whom, by his Skill, he overcame, notwithstanding they were far superior in Numbers. All the Booty of this Victory consisted of Cattle, Horses, and a great Number of Women and Children, there was no other Plunder, for the *Getae* took no Care to amass Riches, they contented themselves with having wherewithal to support them from Day to Day, and accounted Poverty among the Conveniences of Life. When *Philip* returned from *Scythia*, and marched

thro' the Country of the *Triballi* with a vast Equipage and much Baggage; that People taking Possession of all the Roads, denied him Passage, unless he would give them a Share of his Booty. He had also, in his Army, some hired *Greek* Soldiers, who were much offended at not having a Share in the Fruits of this Victory, as they had had a Share in the Danger; which soon caused them to Mutiny, and brought them to Blows. The Battle was sharp and bloody, and many lay dead on both Sides; the King himself was wounded in the Thigh, and the Arrow that did it, was sent with so much Force, that his Horse was killed under him at the same Stroke. *Alexander* was the first that ran to the Assistance of his Father, who lay extended on the Ground, and, covering him with his Shield, he killed or put to Flight all those that came to fall upon him. Thus was the Father saved by the Piety of the Son, while those who were just ready to dispatch him ran away, as believing he was already dead; so that he seemed to owe his Life to the desperate Condition of his Wound, and escaped Death, by the Supposition of his being dead already. In the mean time all the Booty was lost in the Confusion they were in. The wound which *Philip* had received made him lame, and as he sometimes complained of it, *Alexander* made use of this Saying to him, the Memory of which ought to be preserved to all Ages. *viz. That he ought not to complain of a Wound which made his Courage and his Virtue remembered at every Step he took.* And certainly *Philip* had acquired Fame and Power enough; he had received abundance of Wounds and gone thro' Dangers enough, if his Mind that was blinded with Ambition could have suffered him to live in quiet. He made the *Macedonians*, who had been formerly Tributaries to the *Illyrians*, Masters not only of their Neighbours, but of many distant Nations. He had subdued the *Triballi*, reduced *Thrace* under his Obedience, commanded many of the *Greek* States and brought over others either by Fear or large Bribes. *Daochus*,

Cineas, Thracideus, Eudicus, and Scino, had conquered the *Thessalians* for him; *Cercidas, Hroneimius, and Eucalpidao*, the *Arcadians*; *Myrtis, Telecamus, and Mna-seas*, the *Argives*; *Euxitheus, Cleotimus, and Aristechmus*, the *Eleans*; *Neon* and *Thrasylachus* had brought over to him the *Messenians*; *Aristratus* and *Damarallus*, the *Syconians*; *Preodorus, Helixus* and *Perilaus*, the *Megarensians*; and *Hipparchus, Clitarchus, and Soistratus*, the *Euboeans*, *Euthyocrates* and *Lasthenes* delivered up *Olynthus* to him: And these Captains were all of them the greatest and most considerable Men in the Cities they belonged to.

In short *Sparta* was the only Common-Wealth that nobly preserved her antient Liberty, and was exempt from Treachery. But as *Philip* aimed at the Conquest of all *Greece*, he easily perceived that the Power of the *Athenians* would be the greatest Check to his Designs, and altho' there were some in that State who favour'd them, yet as the People had all the Power, they opposed the increasing Grandeur of the *Macedonians*, by the Persuasion of *Demosthenes*, having learnt by a great Number of Contentions, (as it often happens among powerful Neighbours) how daring and cunning *Philip* was; and that, when Dominion was in dispute, he had no Regard either to his Faith or his Reputation. The King was particularly incensed against them, because they had given such Assistance to *Byzantium* as occasioned his losing that City; for he not only sent a Fleet against him of an hundred and Twenty Ships, but persuaded the People of *Cbio* and *Rhodes* to do the same. Wherefore while the Wound was curing, that he received in the Country of the *Triballis*, he secretly provided all Things that were necessary, in order to surprize the *Athenians*; and still kept up his Army, upon Pretence that the *Illyrians*, who were naturally of savage Dispositions, and could not bring themselves to endure Servitude, had already formed Designs of shaking off his Yoke.

In the mean Time, *Alexander* was sent against those Barbarians, and having defeated

and put them to flight, he gave the World so great Hopes of his Fortune and Virtues, and conceived so high an Opinion of himself, that he thought he was equal to his Father, and able to undertake any great Design without him. What have been mentioned were the Actions of two Years only. *Philip* having now all things ready for his Enterprize, and thinking the Time was come to put it in Execution, led his Army into *Greece* a little before the Spring, on an Occasion the most favourable that could have offered; and there he demanded all the Troops of his Allies in the *Peloponnesus*. He had been created General of the *Greeks* by a Decree of the *Amphyctiones*, to suppress the Insolence of the *Locrians*, who inhabited the City of *Amphyssa*. For, in Opposition to the Authority of the *Amphyctiones*, they would dwell in the Lands of *Cyrrba*, which were dedicated to *Apollo*, and had wounded the General they had sent against them, and cut to Pieces several of their Men.

Philip was at that time in Alliance with the *Athenians*, nevertheless they thought they could not much depend upon him, if he could promise himself any Reward for his Perjury or violating his Faith. Wherefore they sent Ambassadors to him, to desire him to observe the Treaty, or at least to commit no Hostilities till the Spring was over. And assured him, that the People of Athens, should consider in the mean time how they might accommodate the Differences that were between them. They sent likewise to *Thebes*, to animate the *Thebans* against the common Enemy, and to exhort them to concur with them in the Defence of all *Greece*. But *Philip* maintained Friendship between the *Thebans* and *Macedonians*, by the Means of his Partizans and Friends, among whom *Tiniolaus, Theogito, and Anetas* had great Power over their Countrymen. In short, persuading himself, that when he had vanquished the *Locrians* and their Allies, he should easily gain his Point with the *Athenians*, having none else to deal with, he marched his Army with all speed into the *Phocides*, made himself

himself Master of *Elatea*, which equally commanded the Frontiers of the *Thebans* and *Athenians*, put a good Garrison into it, and fortified it, as if he designed to make it the Seat of the War. The News of this, which came in the Night, filled the whole City with such a Consternation, that early the next Morning, when the People were assembled, no one rose to answer the publick Crier, who, according to Custom, let them know that if any one had any thing to offer for the safety of their Country, they must propose it on the Spot. At last *Demosthenes*, after having discoursed of such Things as were suitable to the Occasion, persuaded the People that they ought without Delay, to draw out their Army, and their Fleet, and send Ambassadors to all the States of *Greece*, especially to the *Thebans*.

This Advice was approved, and accordingly the Command of the Army was given to *Chares* and *Lysicles*; and *Demosthenes* was sent Ambassador to the *Thebans*. *Philip* made no doubt but that they would proceed in this Manner, and knew very well also, that he should have a great War upon his Hands, if these two People could unite. For the *Athenians* were at that Time both rich and powerful; nor was either the Power or the Reputation of the *Thebans* to be despised. Nor was the famous Battle of *Leuctra* yet forgot, by which they had wrested the Dominion of *Greece* out of the Hands of the *Lacedemonians*. Wherefore that he might confirm his Confederates, and break the Designs of the opposite Factions, he sent two *Macedonians*, *Aminthas* and *Clearchus*, and with them one *Pithio* a *Byzantine*, in whose Eloquence he had much Confidence. This *Byzantine* is said to have spoke in these Terms to the Assembly of the *Bæotians*.

“ If you had no Alliance with *Philip*,
“ and the Army of the *Athenians* were in
“ Possession of *Elatea*, while he lay idle
“ in *Macedonia*, yet I have no room to
“ doubt but you would even then be desir-
“ ous of his Friendship and Alliance. And
“ indeed who would not prefer so power-

“ ful a King, who has done such great
“ Things, to a haughty Republick which
“ at present subsists rather by its Name
“ than its Strength. But now, since that
“ Prince who possesses, as it were, the
“ very Gates of your City, with his
“ victorious Army, is your Friend and
“ Ally, and since the *Athenians* are never
“ weary of doing you Injuries, it would
“ be to offer a fresh one to you, to endeavour
“ to persuade you to Alliance with them,
“ and to contemn the Friendship of so great
“ a King. These People the proudest upon
“ Earth, fancy that they alone are wise
“ and prudent, and that all the rest of Man-
“ kind, especially the *Bæotians* (for it is
“ chiefly you that they insult) are foolish
“ and unpolished, and incapable of discern-
“ ing what is useful and commendable.
“ For this Reason they imagine, by an ex-
“ treme Folly, that they shall be able to
“ persuade you to choose your Friends and
“ Enemies rather according to their Fancy
“ than your own Interest, confiding in a
“ flourishing Pomp of Words in which
“ alone their Strength consists. But there
“ is no Man of good Sense but prefers Ac-
“ tions to Words, and especially in War,
“ where something is to be done with the
“ Hands, but where the Volubility of the
“ Tongue is of no Use. Let them think
“ themselves ever so strong and powerful,
“ thus armed with their Eloquence, yet the
“ Fortune and Virtues of *Philip*, supported
“ by his own Forces and those of his Allies,
“ will always be too many for them. After
“ all, I cannot readily say, whether the De-
“ mands of the *Athenians* have more of
“ Impudence or Folly in them. *Thebans*,
“ say they, *expose yourselves to the Thun-*
“ *der that hovers over Athens, make War*
“ *upon a King who is your Friend and*
“ *Ally, at the Hazard of your own Ruin,*
“ *that we may continue in Safety. Stake*
“ *down your Lives before him, to prevent*
“ *Philip from reneging the Injuries of the*
“ *Athenians.* Are these the Demands of
“ Men in their Senses, or who think that
“ others have any Understanding? They
“ who have let slip no Opportunity to op-
“ press

" preſs or ruin you ; they who have per-
 " ſecuted you with Injuries, Outrages, and
 " Arms, as far as they were able ; they
 " who have eſteemed your Miſfortunes their
 " own Happineſs, have now the Assurance
 " to deſire that you ſhould chuſe rather to
 " periſh with them, than be victorious with
 " *Philip* : But this Prince, who was once
 " your Gueſt and Pupil, having been brought
 " up with *Epaminondas*, that famous Ge-
 " neral, that truly great and illuſtrious
 " Man, has, with your Manners, imbibed
 " a Love and Affection for your Country.
 " He revenged the Injuries done to you,
 " and *Apollo*, in the *Phocian War*, when,
 " out of Hatred to you, the *Athenians*
 " ſent Succours to the ſacrilegious Invaders
 " of your Country. Afterwards, being ap-
 " pointed by a Decree of the *Amphyſtiones*,
 " he revenged on the *Locrians*, the Injuries
 " offered by them to the ſame Deity. He is
 " now come to ſupport your Interests ; nor
 " will he depart till he has taken away from
 " you all Fear of thoſe proud People, al-
 " ways jealous of your Glory, and always
 " your Enemies. If you are willing to
 " aſſiſt him in the Execution of this Deſign
 " by your Councils and your Arms, he is
 " ready to allow you a certain Part in the
 " Booty, rather than bring upon you the
 " Hazard and Dangers of a War : But, if
 " you are more inclined to be neuter, only
 " grant him a Paſſage, he is able alone
 " gloriously to revenge all your common In-
 " juries ; and you ſhall ſtill partake of the
 " Fruits of Victory. The Flocks, Herds,
 " and Slaves will for the moſt Part be yours,
 " as you are the neareſt Neighbours, and
 " theſe Spoils will be ſufficient to make up
 " your Loſs in the *Phocian War*. Conſider
 " with yourſelves which will be moſt for
 " your Intereſt, to receive theſe Advantages
 " or to ſee your Houſes burnt, your Towns
 " taken by Force, and all your Goods ſeiz'd
 " on, as wiſhed for by the *Athenians*. In
 " Truth, Sincerity ſuſpected without Rea-
 " ſon very eaſily changes to Anger ; and
 " proffered Kindneſſes, when ſlighted, are
 " ſoon turned to Revenge. I do not ſay
 " this to reproach you with Ingratitude, for

" that I have no Apprehenſion of, nor to
 " ſtrike Terror into you, which I believe
 " there will be no Occaſion for ; but that
 " the Remembrance of the good Offices
 " *Philip* has done for you and you for
 " him, may put you in Mind that thoſe Alli-
 " ances are the ſtrongeſt and moſt laſting,
 " which are for the Intereſt of both Parties
 " to maintain. If he has done more for
 " you than you have done for him, you
 " ought in ſome Sort to endeavour to an-
 " ſwer his Kindneſs with equal Affection.
 " He thinks it the greateſt Reward for all
 " his Labours that he has ſuccoured *Greece*,
 " and made conſtant War with Barbarians
 " for the Honour and Safety of *Greece*.
 " Would to God the Madneſs of the *Athe-
 " nians* had allowed him to follow what his
 " own Genius and Courage prompted him
 " to : You would then, by this Time, have
 " heard, that his Armies, now marching in
 " *Greece*, to ſuppreſs the Faſtions of ſedi-
 " tious and wicked Men, were triumphing
 " in *Aſia*.

" He might, without Doubt, have gained
 " the Friendſhip of the *Athenians*, if he
 " had not thought it beneath him, and that
 " it would have been an ill Example, to
 " become tributary, and, as it were, the
 " Slave of *Demosthenes*, and ſome others,
 " who move the ſenſeleſs Multitude, ac-
 " cording to their own Fancies, as the
 " Waves of the Sea are moved by the
 " Wind. Doubtleſs, if they would have
 " contented themſelves with Honour and
 " Glory for their Rewards, they would
 " have done their Duty without a Gratuity :
 " But they who are accuſtomed to ſell their
 " Honour, make no Diſtinction between
 " Things that are uſeful, and Things that
 " are dangerous, between Juſtice and Injuſ-
 " tice, they ſuffer themſelves to be govern'd
 " by their Intereſt, without Regard to Vir-
 " tue or their Country, to Gods or Men.
 " From ſuch mean Spirits you are to expect
 " nothing that is honeſt or honourable.
 " They will think but little of your Inte-
 " reſts, who have ſo little Concern for their
 " own Country : They will bring thoſe Ca-
 " lamities upon you, from which the Cou-
 " rage

" rage and Protection of the *Macedonians*
 " have so lately preserved you. Nay, much
 " greater, so much the greater, by how
 " much *Philip* must be a more formidable
 " Enemy than *Philomelus* or *Onomarchus*.
 " Besides, when the Command of an Army
 " is but for a Time, and that, as it may be
 " said, only borrowed, the Enterprizes of a
 " General, be he ever so able a Man, will
 " be as much thrawted by the Envy of his
 " own Countrymen, as by the strongest Ef-
 " forts of the Enemy: But none oppose the
 " Commands of a King, his Will alone is
 " to direct all Things, and every one knows
 " of what Importance this is in the Affairs
 " of War: Nor is this Strength of the
 " *Macedonians* confined to one Man:
 " We shall see *Philip* rise again in *Alex-*
 " *ander*, who has already given such glori-
 " ous Proofs of his Courage and Genius,
 " that we may be assured he will one Day
 " equal the most famous Generals. On the
 " contrary, as the Power of making War or
 " Peace is lodged with all the People of
 " *Athens*, any one according to his own
 " Boldness, endeavours to claim it to him-
 " self, as a Right to which there is no
 " Owner, and all Things are guided rather,
 " by a blind Passion, than by Prudence and
 " good Counsel. The Wicked persuade,
 " and the Ignorant Decree. War is under-
 " taken with more Heat than it is carry'd
 " on: And Treaties are broke with the same
 " Ease that they were made. They have at
 " this Time an Alliance with *Philip*, and
 " their Actions shew with how much Faith
 " they observe it. But they do not think
 " they have done enough to violate their
 " own Faith unless they spread the Conta-
 " gion wider. As to you, brave *Thebans*!
 " that noble Constancy that makes you no
 " less famous than the great Exploits you
 " have performed, easily persuades me, that
 " you will prefer the Friendship of a King,
 " whose Kindness you have experienced, to
 " a City that has been always your Enemy
 " and envious of your Glory. In short,
 " the Great *Hercules*, the Extipator of
 " Evils and Crimes, he whom you adore
 " so religiously as a God born in your City,

" he will not endure to see you make such
 " an impious and unjust War, with his own
 " Blood. As to his other Allies, you may
 " learn from themselves, if they have any
 " Reason to repent of the Alliance of to
 " great a Prince.

In this Manner spoke *Pitbo*, and after him
 the Deputies of the Allies were heard, who
 bestowed great Praises on the King, and en-
 deavoured to shew, *that it was better to fol-*
low him, who was the Protector, than the
Athenians, who were the Disturbers of
Greece.

But when *Demosthenes* had Liberty to
 speak, " I was not ignorant, said he, that
 " those Mercenaries of *Philip* would stick
 " at Nothing that could be said in his Praise,
 " or to charge us with Injuries. For they
 " who have divested themselves of all
 " Shame, seldom regard what they say or
 " do, provided they can accomplish their
 " Ends: But, noble *Thebans*, if I know
 " you right, they will be very much de-
 " ceived in their Hopes, and carry back an
 " Answer to their King, that is worthy of
 " your Virtue, and of the Discipline of
 " the *Greeks*. As the Interest of your
 " Country has this Day called you together,
 " I hope you will cautiously deliberate what
 " is to be done: That your whole Fortune
 " depends upon your present Resolution, I
 " hope to make appear by powerful Rea-
 " sons, and not by the mere Charm of
 " Words, to which they fear you should
 " give up your Understanding: But they
 " may dismiss that Fear, for we shall do
 " nothing here to appear more eloquent
 " than themselves. A bad Cause may some-
 " times receive great help from the Force of
 " Eloquence, but when it is the Interest
 " of the Person who speaks, to shew only
 " the naked Truth, he can be no wise Man
 " who should waste much Time in making
 " a vain Parade with a Flourish of Words.
 " As to *Philip's* Person and Qualifications;
 " we shall not give ourselves much Trouble
 " about them, let him; with all our Hearts,
 " resemble the Picture that has been made
 " of him; let him have a good Mein, and
 " know how to be pleasant and agreeable
 " at

" at Feasts, for there are some have praised
 " him for these poor Advantages, whereby
 " they have acknowledged how greatly he
 " is wanting in solid Glory. But I cannot
 " but wonder, that his Deputies should re-
 " proach us in your Presence, with those
 " Things, which, if they are Crimes, do,
 " certainly affect the *Thebans* as much as
 " the *Athenians*. They speak of the Evils
 " and Disorders that attend a Popular Go-
 " vernment, which tho' we acknowledge,
 " and find oftentimes the Inconvenience of,
 " yet we would prefer it to that of a mo-
 " narchical Tyranny. They have talked in
 " such a Manner, as if they were in some
 " Circle, or at some Feast, courting the
 " Favour of their own *Macedonians*, and
 " seem to forget that they are sent to a free
 " State in Quality of Ambassadors. We
 " very well know the fixt Hatred that Kings
 " and their Slaves have always had to Na-
 " tions that have desired to be free, and
 " those who have now discovered this, have
 " shewn more Imprudence than Judgment.
 " We are therefore, most noble *Thebans*,
 " to take the greatest Care to defend our Laws
 " and our Privileges. It were to be wished,
 " above all Things, that those who are cal-
 " led to the Administration of publick Af-
 " fairs, should never have any other than
 " that glorious Contention among them, of
 " who shall best serve the Common Wealth,
 " and best execute its wholesome Laws.
 " At least, that no one should prefer his
 " own private Interest to that of the Pub-
 " lick; that no one should receive Bribes,
 " and no one according to the Example of
 " these Deputies, should deliver up their
 " Country to *Philip*. But there was never
 " yet any one Nation, or any one Man,
 " that was perfectly happy, that is to be
 " looked on as the happiest which has
 " fewest Faults. We are not ignorant that
 " we have had very bad and very pernici-
 " ous Citizens, nor can you deny, *Thebans*,
 " that you have had, and still have the like.
 " And certainly if this were not so, *Philip*
 " would not threaten our Liberty this Day
 " from *Elatea*, but would be forced to con-
 " tend with us for the Kingdom of *Mace-*

" donia. We have, however, good and
 " virtuous Citizens too, and these more
 " numerous than the others, the Pest of the
 " Republick. Would you have a Proof of
 " this: We are free. We are not the Slaves
 " of *Philip*, as you, *Pitho*, would have had
 " your *Byzantines*. As to you, *Daochus* and
 " you, *Thrasideus*, you have sold your *Thes-*
 " *salians* to the King, and no one makes a
 " Doubt of it. You know, *Thebans* full
 " well how *Thessaly* languishes at this Day,
 " under the Servitude of *Philip*, and, if I
 " mistake not, deplore their Misfortunes as
 " much as we. *Byzantium* would have un-
 " dergone the same Fate with *Olynthus*, if
 " *Pitho* cou'd have accomplish'd his De-
 " signs; but we have deliver'd it from the
 " ruin with which it was threaten'd, for
 " this holy and venerable Protector of
 " *Greece*, had resolved to oppress that *Greek*
 " City, which was in our Alliance parti-
 " cularly, and under no Apprehensions of
 " being attack'd. Behold in what the Wis-
 " dom of so great a Prince consists, Fraud
 " and Artifice are by him look'd upon as
 " Marks of Genius; he believes Perjury to
 " to be a Science, and makes use of Perfidy
 " as an Heroick Virtue. Let him say by
 " what other Means he has acquir'd so great
 " and formidable a Power, than by sur-
 " prising the *Greeks* by Stratagem and
 " Treachery. If he has not overcome the
 " *Barbarians* rather by Gold than by the
 " Sword; and if, in short, he has not
 " made more difficulty of keeping, than
 " breaking, his Faith, where ever it was
 " pledg'd. And yet all these Deputies give
 " him the glorious Title of the Protector
 " of *Greece* and call us the Disturbers of
 " it; but what will not base Minds, void
 " of all Shame, undertake, who wou'd ra-
 " rather impute their wicked Actions to us,
 " than discover the Crimes they are so vi-
 " sible guilty of themselves. If any one
 " of you, the Partisans of *Philip*, shou'd
 " be accus'd of Bribery or Treason,
 " you wou'd make it your Business to pro-
 " test and defend him, and prevent his be-
 " ing brought to Punishment: But in ac-
 " cusing others to Day you condemn your-
 " selves:

“ selves: If you did this without any Aim
 “ or Design then I wish you had us'd more
 “ Wisdom and Prudence: But if what you
 “ have done, was concerted, and you knew
 “ what you were about, I wish you had had
 “ more Modesty. It is easy for me to justify
 “ my own Innocence, and that of those con-
 “ cern'd with me, since you yourselves have
 “ own'd that we have receiv'd nothing from
 “ *Philip*. For if we had asked any thing
 “ of him; is it possible so liberal a King,
 “ as you would have us think yours, would
 “ have let us come away empty handed.
 “ Would not he, who thought it worth
 “ while to corrupt you, have also given us
 “ Bribes, if we had asked them? But you
 “ yourselves have advised the *Thebans* not
 “ to follow the Counsel of them, who
 “ have not the Interest of the Country at
 “ Heart.

“ I would henceforth, brave *Thebans*,
 “ cease to have any Aversion to them
 “ if they had the Sentiments they
 “ pretend to. I would be on their Side,
 “ and would conjure you, for your own
 “ Welfare, and that of all *Greece*, to em-
 “ brace the Offers they make you. If you
 “ follow this Advice, you will no longer
 “ bear to be sold like Cattle; you will not
 “ suffer your Heritages to be turned into
 “ your Prisons; you will not then be forced
 “ to obey the *Pæonians* and *Triballi* among
 “ the rest of *Philip's* Slaves; but these they
 “ would have esteem'd as the Recompences
 “ of your Servitude, and make no Account
 “ of your Wives, your Children, your Fa-
 “ thers, your Liberty, your Reputation, or
 “ your Faith, or in short of any Thing
 “ which the *Greeks* regard as sacred or ve-
 “ nerable. You have certainly, *Thebans*,
 “ lost all these if you do not join with us,
 “ that we may altogether resist the Fraud
 “ and Violence of *Philip*: But if you
 “ should imagine yourselves safe enough in
 “ the Care and Endeavours of others, I am
 “ afraid you will find yourselves mistaken;
 “ for who can suppose that the *Thebans*, or
 “ indeed any People of *Greece*, shall pre-
 “ serve their Liberty, if *Philip* is victorious;
 “ they are sure to perish who trust to the

“ Faith and Honour of that Prince: But
 “ on the contrary, if Fortune favours us,
 “ and we obtain the Victory, consider, I
 “ pray, what you ought to expect from
 “ Men whom you deserted and abandoned,
 “ when both their Safety and the Glory
 “ were at Stake; for whatever Side you
 “ take, the *Athenians* are resolv'd to expose
 “ themselves to any Danger rather than lose
 “ their Liberty which they will not part
 “ with, but with their Lives. Altho' we
 “ have no Distrust of our Strength, yet if
 “ you will join yours to it, we shall have
 “ the Glory together, of vanquishing an
 “ Enemy, which perhaps either of us could
 “ do seperately. The *Athenians* are not ig-
 “ norant of his Power, which they foresaw
 “ while it was in its Infancy and Growth,
 “ and if all *Greece* had been animated with
 “ the same Spirit, we had then given a
 “ Check to it; and prevented the Mischief
 “ spreading any further. We were a long
 “ Time at War for him, not with *Amphipo-*
 “ *lis* or *Halonefus*, as many believed, but
 “ for the Safety and Liberty of *Greece*;
 “ 'till being abandoned by all, and attacked
 “ by some, we were oblig'd to make a ne-
 “ cessary, rather than an honourable Peace:
 “ But now, as I believe, *Minerva* the Pro-
 “ tectress of our City, and *Pythian Apollo*,
 “ who is a God of our own Country, and
 “ all the other Gods of *Greece*, have at last
 “ opened their Eyes, and rais'd the Courage
 “ of all their Worshippers, in Defence of
 “ our antient Liberty, as deliver'd down
 “ to us by our Fathers, at least I persuade
 “ myself that *Hercules* could not hear the
 “ Discourse of the Ambassadors without
 “ Indignation, who would make *Philip* de-
 “ scended from his Blood. It is impossible
 “ that that God can own an impious and
 “ sacrilegious Prince for one of his De-
 “ scendants? Being a *Greek*, will he own a
 “ *Macedonian*? And being an Enemy and
 “ Extirpator of Tyranny, will he suffer it
 “ to be thought that a Tyrant has had his
 “ Origine from him? For it was principally
 “ in this that the Actions of *Hercules* were
 “ illustrious and memorable: But on the
 “ contrary *Philip* holds *Greece* in an unjust
 “ Domination;

" Domination, and has established particu-
 " lar Tyrants in many of its Cities; as *Phi-*
 " *listides* over *Orcum*, *Hipparchus* over
 " *Eretria*, and *Taurosthenes* over *Chal-*
 " *cides*: For which Reason the *Eubeans*,
 " *Achaïans*, *Corinthians*, *Megarensians*,
 " *Leucadians* and *Corcyreans* have declared
 " for us, and favour our Designs; others
 " wait the Event, which has hitherto been
 " the only Support of the Power of *Mace-*
 " *donia*, and which will fall of itself when-
 " ever it begins the least to decline: As
 " for the *Thessalians*, from whom *Philip*
 " has at present the best Part of his Ca-
 " valry, they never followed any Party very
 " long. The *Illyrians* and other Barbarians
 " who are in the Neighbourhood of *Mace-*
 " *donia*, these People, being proud and ir-
 " ritated at their new Slavery, will soon
 " join us, if the Beginning of the War
 " be not favourable to *Philip*. Pursue then
 " with us this glorious Undertaking, and
 " lay aside for a while those Quarrels which
 " oftentimes arise from very slight Occa-
 " sions between neighbouring States. The
 " publick Joy produced by our good Success
 " will very readily turn our particular En-
 " mity into good Will and Friendship. Or
 " when you shall have Time to give Way
 " to your Passions you may resume them to
 " the Disgrace and Damage perhaps of us
 " both, but without destroying us entirely.
 " If you would not be hurt by the Ar-
 " tifices of *Philip*, shut your Ears to his
 " Promises and your Hands to his Bribes.
 " If you value Liberty and esteem it above
 " all Things, Deceit and Bribes will have
 " no Effect upon you: And as the Dissen-
 " tions among the *Greeks* have exalted his
 " Power, their Union will overturn it. On
 " the other Hand, as he is daring and rash
 " he may be easily taken, and if that
 " happens there is nothing to be fear'd from
 " the rest. For his ambitious Spirit seeks
 " Glory and Empire, those who are at pre-
 " sent under him, wish for nothing more
 " than Repose; but you, perhaps, dread
 " *Alexander*, because his Partizans despise
 " you to that Degree, that they think you
 " mean enough to be frighted at the Name
 " of a Boy.

*The Thebans declare against Philip, and
 join with the Athenians. He subdues all
 Greece, and shows Favour to the Atheni-
 ans. He takes the City of Thebes; and
 treats the People with great Rigour. His
 Design of carrying the War into Persia.*

YOU would have thought that the *The-*
bans, who so lately heard the Amba-
 sadors of *Philip* with so much Ardour and
 Affection, had all on a sudden been changed
 into other Men; in short there was so
 great an Alteration in them, that they de-
 clared *Philip* their Enemy, if he did not
 immediately quit their Frontiers, and those
 of their Allies: That they would drive out
 of their City all those who favour'd his
 Party and would admit the Troops of the
Athenians, at the same Time, into it. But
Philip more enraged than frightened at be-
 ing thus unexpectedly abandon'd by the
Thebans, continued to carry on his Design.
 After two slight Engagements, which made
 not the *Athenians* repent of the Side they
 had taken, both Armies encamped with all
 their Forces, near *Cheronea* a City of *Boetia*.
 The *Greeks* were animated by the Glory of
 their Ancestors, and their Love of Liberty;
 and *Philip* trusted in the Troops that had al-
 ready gained so many Victories. He had
 likewise a great deal of Strength in himself,
 since he excelled in the Art of War, and
 many of the most famous *Greek* Generals
 were now dead. *Theagenes*, who had not
 much Experience in War, and who was not
 Proof against Gold, commanded at that
 Time in *Thebes*, and *Philip* infinitely sur-
 passed all the *Athenian* Generals in Experi-
 ence and Courage. Nevertheless the united
 Forces of two such powerful People, which
 he saw turned against him, and whose In-
 clinations and Authority were followed by
 the *Corinthians* and others, made him fear-
 ful of giving them Battle, by which he
 might lose all his Glory and good Fortune
 in one Day. The *Thebans* were not averse
 to Propositions of Peace; but the Ardour
 of the *Athenians* carry'd it so far, as to make
 them

them consent to hazard all the Hopes and Power of *Greece* in one Battle. On the other Side, *Alexander*, whose Courage was not to be moderated, conjured his Father not to lose so fair an Occasion of augmenting his Glory; and having obtained Leave to venture a Battle, he was the first that began the Attack upon the Enemy. The Fight was hot for a long Time, and Victory in doubt; till at last the young Prince to whom his Father had given the Command of one of the Wings of the select Troops, having with great Vigour and Resolution attacked the sacred Cohort of the *Thebans*, which consisted of their best Troops, obliged them to give Ground, and so opened a Way to Victory. On the other Side, the *Athenians*, weakened by the Heat, and by their Wounds, and dispirited at the Defeat of their Allies, could no longer sustain the Efforts of the *Macedonians*. Besides *Philip*, ashamed to think that he should do less than his Son, threw himself with such Fury upon them, that they were not able to resist him. Thus one Battle decided the Fate of all *Greece*, with respect to its Liberty. Above a thousand *Athenians* were killed, and two thousand taken Prisoners; and several of the Allies died in the Battle, or were forced to surrender themselves to the Power of the Conqueror.

Alexander was afterwards sent to *Athens*, to let the *Athenians* know, that *Philip* not only gave them Peace, but promised them his Favour, that he would let them have the Prisoners he had taken, without any Ransom; and would not hinder them from burying their Dead; for as he was then thinking of his Expedition into *Persia*, he endeavoured to preserve the Fidelity and Affection of the *Greeks*, by his Clemency and Moderation. Nevertheless he took from the *Athenians* the Dominion of the Seas and the Islands. He dealt more severely with the *Thebans*, since their Revolt had brought his Affairs to the last Extremity, and because he thought that after the Services he had done them, they ought not to have abandoned him, to take Part with the *Athenians*. Therefore when their City was given up to him

he put a Garrison of *Macedonians* into it, and having put to Death those whom he hated or suspected, and banished others, he conferred the Magistracy on those of his own Faction, whom he recalled from Exile. He kept all the other People, who had taken up Arms against him, in Awe, by the Report and Grandeur of this Victory; holding some in Obedience by Force, and others by Alliances disadvantageous to them, so that in all *Greece* none were exempt from his Sovereign Power, except the *Lacedemonians* and the *Acadians*.

At length he held at *Corinth* an Assembly of all *Greece*, and told them, That he intended to carry the War into *Persia*, and meet the Barbarians, whose Pride had already laid a Scheme for universal Empire, that they must resolve to be Slaves for ever, or in Time oppose their Power. For the Case was not, whether the *Greeks* would have War or Peace; but, whether they had rather carry the War into the Enemy's Country, or receive it in their own. That they ought not only to revenge former Injuries, but also remove the present Shame, by delivering the *Greek Cities*, situated in *Asia*, from the *Persian Slavery*. That this might be easily done, if all were at Peace in *Greece*, and they might, without Danger at home, employ all their Forces in the War abroad; that the publick Tranquility would be established by employing at a Distance, those who usually create Disturbances in Times of Idleness and Repose; that they ought therefore to resolve on what General they would bestow the Command of their Army, and what Number of Forces they would employ.

The greatest Part knew what was proper for the Common-Wealth, but they knew withal, that it would be to little purpose to endeavour to obtain that Liberty by Words, which they had lost by their Arms. They therefore immediately named *Philip*, with Acclamations of Joy, and with one Voice, General of all *Greece*, to march into *Asia*, and deliver the whole World from the Slavery of *Persia*. The People, at the same Time, were numbered, and their Goods and

Estates registered, that it might be known how much Money or Corn each particular Person could furnish the Soldiers with. I find they promised *Philip*, two hundred thousand Foot, and fifteen thousand Horse for this Expedition, without the *Macedonians* or the *Barbarians* that were subject to them being comprised in the Number.

CHAP. V.

Of the Disorders in the House of Philip. He would have kill'd Alexander, who is obliged to retire with his Mother Olympias. The Murder of Philip, of which Alexander and Olympias are suspected. The Cruelties of Olympias.

BUT as there is no Felicity in the World without a Mixture of ill Fortune, the Prosperity abroad was very much troubled by Domestick Disorders. *Olympias*, as we have already said, drew upon her every Day the Aversion of her Husband, by her insupportable Pride, and her haughty Temper. Some say this was the cause of their Divorce, but I find he had married *Cleopatra* before he had repudiated *Olympias*; and indeed it is not reasonable to suppose, that *Alexander* would have assisted at the Nuptials of his Step-Mother, which was so dishonourable to his own Mother whom he greatly loved, and whose Disgrace reflected on himself; for it is said, *Philip* put her away for Incontinency. However it is certain that he was at these Nuptials, and that, after a Quarrel which arose at the Feast, he carry'd his Mother away. For *Attalus* the Bride's Uncle, being elevated with Wine, and not able to conceal his Hopes, told the *Macedonians*, that they ought to pray to the Gods to give *Philip* a lawful Successor by his new Wife. *Alexander*, who was naturally cholerick, being provoked at this Affront, reply'd, *What then, dost thou believe me to be a Bastard, thou Villain?* And at the same Time flung the Cup he had in his Hand at the Head of *Attalus*, who likewise threw another at

him. This was the Occasion of a great Tumult, for *Philip*, who was at another Table, being enraged that the Joy of the Day should be interrupted, ran at his Son, with his Sword in his Hand, and would certainly have killed him, if the Lameness he had from a Wound formerly received, the Wine he had now drank, and the Rage he was in, had not caused him to fall, and so given his Friends, who were much surprized at so sudden an Accident, Time to interpose, and carry *Alexander* out of the Sight of his Father.

It was no easy Matter to persuade *Alexander* not to commit any Violence. He thought he had been injured many Ways; and tho' they put him in Mind of the Names of Father and King, and mentioned to him the Law of Nature, yet he could not help saying to the *Macedonians*, making a Jest of *Philip*, That, *they were like to have a special Guide into Asia, who could not go from one Table to another without falling.* Afterwards being in Fear for his Mother and himself, he went to the King of *Illyrium*, and left his Mother at *Epirus*, where the Brother of that Princess reigned. Being both returned into *Macedonia* by the Mediatorship of *Damarrathus* the *Corinthian*, *Olympias*, whose Spirit was not to be tamed, could not forbear soliciting her Son, ambitious enough of himself, to make himself what Friends he could by Money and a courteous Behaviour, and to strengthen himself against the Rage of his Father, by an Alliance with the most Powerful. *Philip* himself, indeed, had advised him to gain the Favours and Affections of the People by his Affability, but did not approve of his attempting it by Bribes: Nay, he reprov'd him in a Letter, *For daring to hope for the Affection of those whom he should corrupt by Bribery; and said, he was mistaken, if he thought it was becoming a King, for it was fitter for Slaves and mean Spirits.*

But as he had often boasted himself, that he found nothing inaccessible to Gold, and that he had as often made Use of it, as of Arms: It was thought that he did not give this Advice to *Alexander* so much with an Intention

Intention to instruct him in what was just and proper, as out of an Apprehension that the young Prince would make Use of his own Artifices against him. He also reprimanded him for courting the Daughter of *Pexodorus*, who was designed by her Father for *Aridaus*, telling him, *That it was degenerating from his Blood, and declaring himself unworthy of his Fortune, to seek a Carian for his Father-in Law, who was a Barbarian, and the Subject of a barbarous King.*

Notwithstanding *Philip* himself had never slighted any Condition to confirm his Power, but had made no Scruple of marrying *Illyrian* and *Getic* Women, the most unpollished of all the *Barbarians*, tho' he had at the same Time many Children by other Wives and Concubines: And as *Alexander* could not behold so many Brothers, but with Uneasiness, his Father said to him, in an agreeable Manner, *That since he was likely to have so many Competitors for the Empire, he ought to take Care to surpass them in Courage and Virtue, that he might seem to owe the Crown more to his own Merit than to his Birth or his Father;* but as the same Subject gave Birth to frequent Disputes, and as Friendship once broken, is seldom to be closely united again, they came at length to Extremities, which was chiefly owing to the Passion of *Olympias*, whose violent Spirit was pushed on to Revenge by the Pride and Obstinacy of her Sex. She had already endeavoured to excite her Brother *Alexander* to declare War against *Philip*, but this artful Prince, who was afraid of being constrained to take up Arms, at so inconvenient a Time, altho' he was much more powerful, made a new Alliance with the King of *Epirus*, by giving him *Gleopatra*, the Sister of *Alexander*, in Marriage. All the neighbouring Princes and the Ambassadors of the *Greek* States assembled to celebrate these grand Nuptials at *OEGæ*, for *Philip* had appointed this City as if he prognosticated what should happen there, this being afterwards the Burying-Place of the Kings of *Macedonia*.

It is said also, that when he consulted the *Delphic* Oracle, concerning the *Persian* War, his Answer was, *That he was near his End*, this being somewhat doubtful and ambiguous, as most of the Oracles were, he interpreted it to his own Advantage and the Destruction of the *Barbarians*. There were many Presages fore-running the Death of *Philip*, but no Body regarding them, till the Event made them taken Notice of. There was in the King's Guards a Person, named *Pausanias*, whom he had raised to the Post he was in, to make him some sort of Amends for an injurious Affront offered him by *Attalus*, who seeing him drunk at a Feast, had shamefully exposed him to all the Guests. When *Pausanias* applied to the King for Revenge, he conferred this Charge upon him, and thought the Honour of it would have contented him; for *Philip* was so far from resolving to punish a General whose Skill and Courage he had experienced in War, and with whom he had lately made so near an Alliance, that he gave him the Command of Part of his Forces, and sent him with *Parmenio* and *Amyntas* into *Asia*, to serve in the Expedition against *Persia*. Nevertheless he desired *Pausanias* to give up his Resentments to the Necessities of the State, and endeavoured to sooth him by soft Words and an Increase of his Pay; but the young Man, who had more Regard to the Affront he had received, than the Favours with which they would have stifled it, transferred all his Hatred from the Author of it to the Person of him who was so negligent in revenging it.

It was at first only suspected, but not without Grounds, that he had communicated his Design to the Enemies of *Attalus*, and those who were not well with *Philip*; but no one made any doubt of it when it was known, that *Olympias* had placed a Crown of Gold on the Head of the Parricide, as he hung on a Gibbet. Several other Things were done, that shewed plainly the Contrivance of the Villany, and for what Cause it was perpetrated. It was scarce Break of Day when the Multitude crouded to the Theatre to behold the publick Shews, which, it was said, were

were to surpass in Magnificence all Things of that Sort that had ever been exhibited before.

Among other Pieces of Extravagance; in which Princes who are not content with the Grandeur of their Fortune, are used to throw away their Wealth, were the Statues of twelve Gods so exquisitely wrought, that the Art of the Workmen seemed to vie with the Excellency of the Materials: And to these was added a Thirteenth, representing *Philip*, which was no way inferior to the rest. But this Contempt which he thus expressed for his Mortal Condition was very shortly chastised; and this Prince, so proud of the Favours which the Gods had bestowed upon him, was by his Death prevented from enjoying those Honours he would have usurped upon them.

Pausanias having spied him, when he came into the Theatre alone, for he had caused all those who attended him to go in first, and ordered his Guards to stay behind, affecting to seem to have the Hearts of his People so much, that he wanted no other Guard, he struck him dead upon the Spot, with one Blow of his Dagger, which went quite thro' his Heart. Such was the End of the greatest King of his Time. He had made *Macedon*, from a poor and despicable Kingdom, both wealthy and powerful. He had subdued all the *Barbarians* about him, reduced all *Greece* to his Obedience, and made the Empire of *Persia* tremble. The *Greek* Auxiliaries were gathering together, he had already sent his Generals into *Asia*; but was assassinated at the Instant that he was going upon his great Designs, and to reap the victorious Fruits of his Courage. Thus we see how the noblest Views may be blasted, and how Fortune continually sports with the Hopes of the greatest Men. As soon as *Olympias* heard of the King's Death, she forced *Cleopatra*, the Niece of *Attalus*, to strangle herself; as a few Days before she had caused the Child she had by *Philip* to be burnt alive. Not contented with this, she exercised her Fury on all the Relations and Friends of that Princess, and carried her Revenge as far as it was

possible for the Rage of a Woman to exert itself.

CHAP. VI.

Troubles and Mutinies on the Advancement of Alexander to the Throne. His Courage and Resolution. He barangues the People, and punishes the Accomplices in his Father's Death.

ALLEXANDER, in whose Absence his Mother had acted these Cruelties, appeared in good Time, like a favourable Planet to disperse the Storm. The *Greeks*, whom *Philip* had subdued, began already to conceive some Hopes of their Liberty; the *Barbarians* were already troublesome in the Neighbourhood, and even Affairs in *Macedonia* itself were in some Disorder. *Attalus*, who commanded a considerable Army, had gained the Affection of the Soldiers, and was supported by an Alliance with some of the First People in *Macedon*, besides all which, the Sister of *Philotas*, was promised to him in Marriage: And the Injuries which he had received from *Alexander* and *Olympias*, were such as he could not be supposed to forget, and was therefore no Person to be confided in. *Amyntas*, on another hand, the Son of *Perdiccas*, *Philip's* Brother, and whom *Philip* had chosen for his Son-in-law, giving him *Cyna* in Marriage, aspired to the Succession of his Father's Kingdom, by the Murder of *Alexander*. The greatest Part of the People hated the Cruelty of *Olympias*, and others, who loved Novelty, were inclined some to one Party and some to another, as they were engaged by their Affection or their Interest. And some said the Crown ought to be restored to *Alexander the Son of Cero-pus*, since *Amyntas* had first, and *Philip* afterwards usurped it, by Force and Treachery from the Lawful Heir.

The Army likewise, being composed of different Nations, they differed in their Inclinations according to the Courage and Hopes of their Leaders. The sudden Death of *Philip* had not given *Alexander* Time to

to prepare against these unexpected Motions, and tho' he was much esteemed for his generous Disposition, he was despised on Account of his Youth. They had no Notion that a young Prince of Twenty would venture to take up the Burthen of so great an Empire, or if he did, how he would be able to support it. Besides the Nerve that moves all Things, Money, was wanting; and as the *Persians* had it in abundance, they sent all over *Greece* to gain the People by so powerful a Charm, and to complete these Ills, the Pirates of *Tuscany* robbed and plundered the Maritime Places of *Macedonia*.

Alexander having called his Friends together to consult with them upon the present State of Affairs, some were of Opinion, *That without thinking any more of Greece, he ought to endeavour by gentle Usage to keep the Barbarians to their Duty, for the intestine Troubles being once composed, he might the more easily settle those at a Distance.* But his Courage was too great to listen to Counsels in which there appeared so much Prudence, and took them for the Effects of Cowardice. He said *he should be despised as long as he lived, if he suffer'd himse'f to be so at the Beginning of his Reign; that it was at his first setting out that he was to make the Impression on Mens Minds, which would always continue. That the Death of his Father was less unexpected by the Rebels than by himself, and that as they were yet in confusion, and knew not what to resolve on, it would be easy to get the better of them. That the Sloth and Delay of the Macedonians would animate the Authors and Chiefs of the Rebellion, and that those who were wavering at present would join with them. That they must now trust all to Fortune, and that at this Time Expedition was more necessary than Force. That if he did not shew his Resolution and Courage to each Party while they were separate, what Success could he hope for when they should be united, and all fall upon him at once?* He afterwards harangued the People to the same Purpose, and added; *That he would act in such Sort that*

both the Citizens and his Enemies should soon acknowledge, that by his Father's Death, only the Person and Name of the King were changed, but that his Prudence and Courage still remained. That as some People had taken the Opportunity of this publick Misfortune, to create Disturbances, he would take care to see them very speedily punished, if the Macedonians would but lend him the same supplies of Bravery and Arms, with which they had for so great a Length of Years, assisted his Father, so greatly to their own Glory, and with such constant Fruits of Victory. That according to the Proofs they gave him of their Affection and Willingness to serve him in what he required, he would exempt them from all Duties but that of War.

Fortune favoured the Resolution of the King, and as he undertook every thing with the same Vigour and Spirit with which he had spoke, he met with all the Success he could desire. He prevented the Designs of *Amyntas* having discovered the Intrigues he had laid, and overcome *Attalus* by the Help of *Hecateus* and *Parmenio*. Of all who were reported to have had any Share in the Death of *Philip*, he only pardoned *Alexander Lyncestes*, because he waited on him at his first coming to the Throne, and was the first who had saluted him by the Name of King; but all the rest were put to Death. He was of Opinion that in this he was serving himself, and that he secured his Throne and his Life by the Severity he shewed in revenging his Father, and that by the same Means he should stifle the scandalous Report that went abroad of his being an Accomplice in his Assassination. The frequent Quarrels and Dissensions between *Philip* and *Alexander* had given Birth to this Suspicion, and it was said, that when *Pausanias* told him to how little purpose he had made his Complaints, he encouraged him to his wicked Attempt, by repeating a Verse in a Tragedy, where *Medea* threatens at once her Rival, and *Jason* himself, and those who had given her in Marriage to *Jason*, and that she would involve them all in the same Ruin. However, he

he endeavoured to throw the Guilt of this Crime on the *Persians*, in an Answer to a Letter of *Darius's*, wherein he reproaches them with having hired with their Gold Villains to Murder his Father. And the better to efface all Suspicion of so foul a Deed, he had formed a Design a little before his Death, to have erected a most magnificent Temple in Honour of *Philip*, but his Successors paid no regard to that nor many other Resolutions that they found among his Memorials.

C H A P. VII.

Alexander enters Thessaly, and reduces it to his Obedience. He is created General of the Greeks, of whom he calls an Assembly at Corinth. He visits Diogenes the Philosopher. His Expedition into Thrace, and the Presages of his Grandeur.

ALLEXANDER being of Opinion, that to execute the Designs he had formed in his Mind, it would be of great Importance to him to preserve the Sovereignty of *Greece*, which his Father had acquired, he marched his Army with speed into *Thessaly*, and got there at a Time when no one expected him. Some of the *Thessalians* having raised their Spirits, upon the Death of *Philip*, possessed themselves of the Streights of *Tempe*, and blocked up the Way that leads from thence to *Macedonia*; for these Countries are separated from each other by the famous Mountains of *Olympus* and *Ossa*. The River *Peneus* runs thro' the Plains at the Feet of them, which makes this Region so beautiful and agreeable, that it is honoured with publick Sacrifices. Altho' the Stream runs with great Noise, thro' delightful Groves of Trees on each Side, yet the Harmony of the Birds that never forsake them, almost prevent the Waters from being heard. There is in this Place a narrow Pass, that is near five Miles in length, hardly broad enough for one Horse loaded to go through, so that ten armed Men might easily defend it against any Numbers whatsoever. But *Alexander*

making his Way thro' Rocks, that were thought the most inaccessible, cut winding Stairs down the Sides of Mount *Ossa*, and by that Way entered into *Thessaly*. He terrify'd the People in such Manner by his Appearance and the Expedition he had made, that no body opposed him, but gave him at the same Time both the Sovereignty and the same Revenue that was enjoyed by *Philip*: But he exempted from all Duties the City of *Pthia*, as being the Birth-Place of *Achilles* from whom he thought himself descended, and said he would make Choice of that Hero for his Guide and Companion in the Expedition he was going to make against the *Persians*.

From *Thessaly* he went to *Thermopylae*, where was held the publick Assembly of all *Greece*, called the *Pylæum*; and where, after he was declared General of the *Greeks* in the Room of his Father, by the Decree of the *Amphictyones*, he confirmed to the *Ambraciots* the Liberty which they had recovered a few Days before, by driving out the *Macedonian* Garrison, and assured them that he should have restored it to them of his own Accord if they had not prevented him. From thence he marched with his Army to *Thebes*, and having overcome the Pride and [Obstinacy] of the *Boeotians* and *Athenians*, who particularly opposed his Designs, he ordered all the *Greek* Deputies to meet at *Corinth*, where the Decree of the *Amphictyones* being confirmed by common Consent, he was acknowledged General of all *Greece*, in the Room of *Philip*, and had Troops allotted him for the *Persian* War. *Diogenes*, the *Cynick* Philosopher, who had chosen a voluntary Poverty, and preferred Quiet and Freedom of Thought to all Manner of Riches, lived at that Time in the *Craneum*, which is the Suburb of *Corinth*, and where there was a Grove of *Cypress*. *Alexander*, having the Curiosity to see that Philosopher, went to the Place where he found him walking, and permitting him to ask for whatever he had a Mind to, with an Assurance that he would grant it to him, He desired the King to stand a little on one Side, that he might not keep the Sun from him

him. Alexander pleased at this unexpected Answer, could not but admire the Philosopher, whom he had it not in his Power to oblige, in that Height of his Fortune, and said, *If he were not Alexander he would choose to be Diogenes.* This Prince's greatness of Soul, which made him behold, as from an Eminence, most of those Things which captivate Mankind, and make them run, as it were, to their own Destruction, had not however so much undeceived him, but that, blinded with Ambition and a Desire to reign, he could not see how much more advantageous it was to want nothing, than to have what was superfluous.

From *Peloponnesus* he went to *Delphas* to consult *Apollo* on the Event of the War he had undertaken: But the Priestess saying it was not allowed to consult the God for some Days, he went himself to find her out, and drew her by Force to the Temple; as they were on the Way, seeing the Custom of the Country was overcome by the Obstinacy of the King, she cry'd out, *You are invincible, my Son; Alexander* hereupon, stopp'd and said, *He would accept that Presage, and receive no other Answer.* After having diligently dispatch'd all these Things, he return'd to his Kingdom, and apply'd himself with Assiduity to punish those who had done any Thing in Contempt of the *Macedonian* State. Having got all Things ready, he left *Amphipolis*, in the Beginning of the Spring, and marched against the free People of *Thrace*, and after ten Days, arrived at *Hemus*. The *Thracians* in great Numbers had seized on the Summit of the Mountain to prevent *Alexander's* Passage, and had placed their Chariots and Carriages round their Camp in the Form of an Intrenchment and a Rampart, to push them upon the Enemy, if he came to attack them. *Alexander* seeing into the Cunning and Artifice of the *Barbarians*, gave Orders to his Soldiers, that upon the advancing of the Chariots, they should open to the Right and Left, and so let them pass thro'; or if they were surprized, that they should throw themselves down on the Ground, covering themselves with their Bucklers set one

against another in Form of a *Tortoise*. Thus the Stratagem of the Enemy became ineffectual, for a great Part of the Chariots passed thro' the Lanes that were made for them, and those that went over the Soldiers lying on the Ground, did them no Manner of hurt by their Weight, because they were carryed with great Imperuosity and did nothing but bound on the Bucklers, so that this Storm went off in bare Menaces.

The *Macedonians*, delivered from this Terror, marched against the *Barbarians* with Acclamations of Joy: The Archers advancing from the Right Wing, charged the most forward with their Arrows, and as soon as the Soldiers of *Alexander* could fight with firm Footing, the Victory was no longer in Doubt over a People naked, as it may be said, or very slightly armed: But what had ruined the *Barbarians* in the Battle was very serviceable to them in their Flight, for not being loaded with Arms, they easily made their Escape in a Country they were acquainted with. About fifteen hundred of them were killed, the rest got off: A great Multitude of Women and Children were taken, and a large Booty considering the Country. Thus the Passage being open over Mount *Hemus*, *Alexander* penetrated into the very Bosom of *Thrace*. There is in this Country a Wood consecrated to *Bacchus*, which the People always held in great Veneration. As *Alexander* was sacrificing here after the Manner of the *Barbarians*, and poured Wine on the Altar, there arose such a Flame as not only spread over the Roof of the Temple, but seem'd to reach the very Heavens; which was taken for a Presage that this Prince's Glory should have no other Bounds but those of the Universe.

Another Prodigy there is said to have happened immediately after which confirmed the first. In the Country of the *Odrysæ*, who were a People of *Thrace* there is a Mountain called *Libethrus*, and a City of the same Name which is known and celebrated for the Birth of *Orpheus*. The King was informed, by those who pretended to be Eye-Witnesses of what had passed, that

that the Statue of this Hero, made of Cypress Wood and highly venerated by all the City, had sweated in a most plentiful Manner.

All People being solicitous to know the Event of this Prodigy, *Aristander* the South-sayer, removed their Fears by assuring them, that it concerned the King, and that it foretold that the Poets, the Sons of the Muses, should hereafter sweat with the Toil of representing his many glorious Actions.

When *Alexander* went down into the Country of the *Triballi*, a brave and warlike People that inhabit the Country beyond Mount *Hemus*, *Syrmus* their King, knowing before of the *Macedonian* Expedition, had fled to *Peuce*, an Island of the *Istria*, where, by the Help of that River, he defended himself, and all those whose Sex and Age rendered them incapable of bearing Arms. *Alexander* having but few Ships, and the Bank of the River being high and steep, and fortify'd by its Rocks, it was no difficult Matter for the Enemy, who was strong, to defend the Entrance of it. The *Macedonians* were therefore forced to retire without doing any thing, and content themselves with the Victory they had obtained some Days before: For, in their Way thither, they had attacked another Army of the *Triballi*, and had cut to pieces near three thousand Men, with hardly the Loss of fifty of their own.

C H A P. VIII.

Alexander's Journey into the Country of the Getae. He receives Ambassadors from the Germans; avoids making War with them. The Princes of Illyria rise against him. He is in much Danger, and delivers himself by a Stratagem.

AFTER having in vain attacked King *Syrmus*, *Alexander* turned his Arms towards the *Getae*, who had drawn up four thousand Horse and ten thousand Foot, in order of Battle, on the other Side the River. He undertook this more out of an Inclination to acquire Fame, than for the real

Service of the War, that it might be said he had crossed the largest River in *Europe*, while the Passage was disputed by the most courageous People of any Nation upon Earth.

He therefore put on board the Vessels he had, all the Cavalry they could contain, and transported Part of his Infantry over in little Boats, of which he had a great Number, the rest went over on Skins, contrived for that Purpose. The *Macedonians* having crossed over in the Night, and the Corn, which was high on the Banks of the River, having prevented their being seen, the *Getae* were so terrified at their sudden and unexpected Attack, that they hardly stood the first Charge of their Cavalry; but *Nicanor* was no sooner come up with the *Phalanx* or *Macedonian* Foot, than they, with the greatest Precipitancy and Confusion, took to Flight, and made towards the Town, about four Miles Distance from the River: And, upon *Alexander's* following them, they carried off their Wives and Children, and whatever they could load their Horses with, and abandoned the rest to the Victor.

The King committed the Care of the Booty to *Meleager* and *Philip*, and having demolished the City, he consecrated Altars to *Jupiter* and *Hercules*, and even to the *Ister*, and then returned with his Army, having obtained this Victory without Bloodshed.

After which, Ambassadors came to him from the neighbouring People, and from *K. Syrmus*, with Presents of all such Things were in most Esteem among them. The *Germans* likewise that inhabit all that Tract of Land, that lies between the Head of the *Ister* and the *Adriatick* Gulph, sent their Ambassadors to him; for the *Ister* has its Spring in *Germany*, and is called the *Danube* by the People of the Country. *Alexander* admiring the surprising Strength of their Bodies, asked them, *What of all Things they most dreaded?* Thinking that, as they perhaps were very apprehensive of his Power, he should draw a Confession of their Fear from them: But they told him, *That they feared Nothing, unless the Sky should fall upon*

upon them ; but that, at the same Time, they had a great Regard to the Friendship of worthy Men. Surprized at this Answer, which he did not expect, he remained some Time silent, and afterwards said the Germans were a proud People, and that he had made an Alliance with them, because they desired it. He gave Peace to *Syrmus* and other People, and thinking he had gained Honour enough by that Expedition, he gave all his Thoughts to the *Persian War*, from which he hoped to receive greater Advantages with less Hazard and Difficulty. His Uncle *Alexander* gave a Hint of this, when he grew weary of the *Italian War*, for complaining of the Inequality that there was between his Fortune and his Nephew's, he said for his Part he had found Men to combat within ITALY, but that the King of MACEDON had fought only with Women.

Alexander took along with him the Princes of *Thrace*, and all those who, by their Credit and Courage, were capable of making any Disturbances in the Country, under Pretence of doing them Honour by making them his Companions in the Expedition to *Persia*, and by that Means taking away the Chiefs of the Factions, they could undertake nothing for want of their Leaders.

As he was returning to *Macedonia* by the *Agriana* and *Peonians*, he received News of the Commotions in *Illyrium*, *Cardylis*, who, from a Collier, was become the King of many People in this Country, grew a troublesome Neighbour to *Macedonia* till he was overcome by *Philip* in Battle, and, having renewed the War, lost all his Forces, and was reduced to the Obedience of the Victor. This *Cardylis*, who had lived to the Age of fourscore and ten, being now dead, his Son, named *Clitus*, thinking that the Time was come when he might recover his Liberty, whilst *Alexander* was employed in a War beyond the *Ister* with such powerful Nations, obliged his People to take up Arms, and made an Alliance with those People of *Illyrium* called *Taulantii*: The *Autariata* were like-

wise to fall upon the *Macedonians* in the March ; but *Langarus*, King of the *Agrianians*, who was in Friendship with *Alexander*, desired that it might be left to him to quiet this People, promising that he would find such Employment for them that they should no longer think of disturbing the *Macedonians*, but how to defend themselves. The King commending the Affection of this young Prince, sent him back again with Presents, and promised him his Sister *Cyna* in Marriage, whom his Father had by an *Illyrian* Woman, and whom he had married to *Amynas*. The *Agrianian* kept his Word with *Alexander*, and performed what he had promised ; but fell sick at the same Time and lived not to enjoy the Reward of his faithful Services. The *Autariata* being thus reduced to Obedience again, without the Trouble of a Battle, *Alexander* went to *Pelium*, a Town of *Dessaretia*, upon the River *Eordaicum*. The Enemy made some shew of giving him Battle, and came rushing with Fury out of their Fortresses ; but retired before the Fight could begin, altho' they were already possessed of the most advantageous Posts, in the Woods and narrow Ways. In this Place the *Macedonians* beheld a horrible Spectacle, Three Boys, Three Girls and Three black Rams, whose Bodies and Blood lay mingled together in Confusion. The Barbarians having, out of a strange kind of Superstition, made this bloody Sacrifice to the Gods, to inspire their People with Courage in the Battle ; but the Deity to revenge their Crime, gave them Cowardice only instead of that Virtue they hoped for.

The King having drove them back into their own Town, resolved to block them up, by raising a Wall about it ; but the next Day *Glaucias* arriving with a great Body of the *Taulantii*, he lost all Hopes of taking the Town, and was obliged to think how he might make a safe Retreat. In the mean Time *Philotas* being sent out to Forage with the Cattle of the Camp, under a Convoy of Horse, *Alexander* was informed his Men were in Danger, for *Glaucias* had possessed himself of all the Hills and Emi-

nencies round the Plain, and was watching on all Sides for an Opportunity to take some Advantage. *Alexander* therefore, leaving his Army in the Camp, to prevent any Sallies from the Town, marched expeditiously with the rest of his Troops to their Assistance, and having terrified the *Illyrians*, brought his Men out of Danger. However his March was like to be attended by many Dangers and Difficulties, for on one hand the River, and on the other, the steep and craggy Hills, so straitened the Way, that in several Places four Men armed could hardly March a Breast; and *Clitus* and *Glaucias* had posted on the Tops of the Hills, several Companies of Archers and Slingers, and a considerable Detachment of heavy arm'd Soldiers. *Alexander* who had ordered two hundred Horsemen before each Point of his *Phalanx*, commanded them to hold up their Spears, and immediately after to present them towards the Enemy, as if they were going to attack them, and then to turn sometimes to the Right and sometimes to the Left. Whilst this Feint kept the Enemy in Suspence, he divided his *Phalanx*, that had advanced hastily, and then uniting it again in one Body, he drew it up in the Form of a Wedge, and fell furiously on the *Illyrian* Forces on the Left Hand, who being amazed at the Readiness and Address of the *Macedonians*, abandoned the Mountains they were possessed of, and fled towards the Town. There remained a few on the Summit of the Mountain, whom *Alexander* driving away, he took the Place of the *Agrianian* Archers, that he might the better assist the Passage of the *Phalanx*, which he had ordered to cross the River. The Enemy observing this, marched with their Army towards the Mountains, that when those who were compleatly armed had got over the River, they might attack the Rear, where the King was in Person: But, he, without being disordered at their Approach, maintained himself with great Bravery against their utmost Efforts, and the *Phalanx* at the same time sending forth a great Cry, as if they intended to repass

the River, to succour their Prince, it struck a very great Terror into the Enemy. The King, foreseeing what would happen, had ordered those who first crossed the River, to draw up in order of Battle as soon as they should get on the other Side, and to extend their Left, which was nearest the River and the Enemy, as far as possible, that they might seem to be more in Number than they really were. From hence the *Taulantii*, thinking the whole Army was going to fall upon them, retired a little; *Alexander*, taking this Opportunity, marched with all speed to the River which he crossed with his first Body, but the Enemy following close at the Heels of the last, he drove them back by the Help of some Machines which he had got fitted up on the other Side the River, that were so contrived as to throw Stones to a great Distance, while they who were already in the River ply'd them with their Arrows from the midst of the Water. *Alexander*, three Days after, was informed, that the Enemy imagining he was fled thro' Fear, and looking upon themselves to be out of all Danger, straggled up and down without Order, having neither Breast-Work nor Trench before their Camp, nor so much as Guards or Centinels. Therefore taking with him the Archers and *Agrianians*, and that Body of Troops that was commanded by *Perdiccas* and *Canos*, he crossed the River in the Night, and marched towards the Enemy with the utmost Diligence, after given Orders for the rest of his Army to follow him: But without waiting till they came up, he sent the light-armed Men before him, and going himself with the other, he immediately fell upon the Enemy, disarmed and asleep. He made great Slaughter among them, taking several Prisoners, and putting the rest to Flight, he pursued them as far as the Mountains of the *Taulantii*. *Clitus* first took refuge in the City of *Pelium*, but afterwards, either distrusting the Strength of the Place, or the Courage of his Men, he set Fire to it, and went as an Exile into the Country of the *Taulantii*.

C H A P. IX.

The Greeks revolt on a Report of Alexander's Death. The Practices of Demosthenes against him. The taking and Destruction of the City of Thebes.

IN the mean Time, a Rumour that was spread through Greece of Alexander's Death, and that he had been defeated in the Country of the *Triballi*, revived the Courage and Hopes of the Enemies of *Macedonia*; and, indeed, it may be accounted none of the least Misfortunes in humane Affairs, that Men are so apt to believe what they desire, on the smallest Appearance, with as much Confidence as if an obstinate Opinion, how contrary soever to Reason, was enough to change Falshood into Truth. There was one affirmed that he saw the King die; and, that the Truth of what he said might be the less doubted, he shewed the Wounds which he himself had received in the Battle. This Report, which was received with Pleasure, in *Thebes*, and was devulged with the same, gave Rise to the greatest Misfortunes of that City, for some of those whom *Philip* had banished, encouraged by this News, and choosing *Phenix* and *Prothytes* for their Leaders, assassinated the *Macedonian* Captains, who commanded in *Cadmea*, the Citadel of that City, as they were walking out of it, without Suspicion of any Treachery. The Citizens, moreover, running in Crouds, under the specious Pretence of setting their Country at Liberty, besieged the Garrison, surrounding it with a Rampart and double Fossé, that neither Provisions nor Succours could be sent to it. They afterwards sent Ambassadors to the *Greek* Cities to beseech them not to abandon a People who were using their utmost Efforts to recover that Liberty which had been so unworthily ravished from them.

Demosthenes, also, out of an old Grudge he had to the *Macedonians*, persuaded the People of *Athens* to send Assistance to *Thebes*; but nothing however was done, because they were terrified by the sudden Return of *Alexander*, and thought it adviseable

to wait till they saw to which Side Fortune inclined. Nevertheless, *Demosthenes* did not fail, on his own Part, to succour the *Thebans*, and sent them, at his own Expence, a large Quantity of Arms, which those who had been stripped of their Estates by *Philip* made Use of against the Garrison of the Citadel of *Cadmea*.

On the other Hand, a considerable Body of *Peloponesians* were assembled at the *Isthmus*, and also *Antipater*, to whom *Alexander* had left the Government of *Macedonia* in his Absence, had sent to desire they would not join against the common Resolution of all Greece, with those who made Profession of being Enemies to *Alexander*; they, nevertheless, did not refuse to receive Ambassadors from the *Thebans*. The greatest Part of the Soldiers were touched with Pity; but *Astylus*, their Leader, who was an *Arcadian* by Birth, spun out the Time in Delays, not on Account of any Difficulties in the Enterprize, but by his Avarice alone, which made him hope to gain more Money from the *Thebans*, who were hardly pressed, and stood in Need of his Assistance. He demanded ten Talents, but the *Thebans* not being able to furnish him with so much, those of the *Macedonian* Party letting him have the Sum he required, it prevented his undertaking any Thing. Thus had the *Thebans* hoped in vain for a Succour from the *Arcadians*. However *Demosthenes* with a Sum of Money hindered some other Troops of *Peloponesus* from taking up Arms against the *Thebans*; for he is said to have received three hundred Talents from the *Persians*, to perplex as much as possible, the new Designs of *Alexander*.

This Prince being at length informed of all these Things, marched his Army with all possible Expedition along the Banks of the *Eordaeum* and *Elymiotis*, and by the Rocks of *Stymphæa* and *Pargæa*, and seven Days after he set out from *Pelium* he arrived at *Pella* in *Thessaly*. From thence, in six Days, he came into *Beotia*, and immediately went to *Onchestus*, about six Miles from *Thebes*. In the mean Time the *Thebans*, who knew nothing of all this, gave Orders about

about their Affairs with more Courage than Prudence. They could hardly imagine that the *Macedonians* were yet at *Pyles*, and were so far from giving Credit to the King's being come in Person, that they affirmed it was another *Alexander*, the Son of *Aropus*, who had got the Command of the Army. The King encamped near the Temple of *Jelous*, before the Gate *Pratida*, and was resolved to give them Time to repent: But they, instead of suing to him for Favour, made a Sally, and fell upon the Out-Guards of the *Macedonians*, killing some, and driving the rest from their Posts, and were just got to the Camp, when they were repulsed by the light-armed Men, which the King sent against them. The next Day *Alexander*, resolving to succour his Men who were shut up in the Citadel, advanced with his Army to the Gates that lead towards *Attica*, and yet waited to see if the *Thebans* would alter their Resolution, giving them to understand that they might hope for Favour, if they would ask it, and repent of their Error. Those who were inclined to Peace had no Power in the City, but were over-ruled by the Interest of the Exiles, and of those who recalled them: For their being no Hopes of Safety for them if the *Macedonians* should become Masters of *Thebes*, they chose rather to be buried under the Ruins of their Country than to purchase its Preservation at the Expence of their own Lives. They had indeed drawn to their Side some of the great Men of *Boetia*; but with how little Wisdom and Discretion they acted will appear, in that, when *Alexander* demanded that the Authors of the Rebellion should, for an Attonement of the Crime of the whole City, only deliver up to him the Heads of two of the Citizens, they had the Boldness to demand also of *Alexander*, that he should deliver to them *Philotas* and *Antipater*, his two greatest Favourites: And published, at the same Time, That all those who were willing to defend the Liberty of Greece with the great King, [meaning the King of *Persia*] and the *Thebans*, against the Tyrant, should find an Asylum at *Thebes*.

Nevertheless they were not yet attacked by Order of *Alexander*; but as *Ptolomy* says (for there are others give a different Account) of *Perdiccas*, who defended that part of the Camp, which faced the Intrenchments which the Enemy had thrown up to surround the Citadel, and who fell upon them without waiting for the Signal, and came to a close Engagement with them. *Amintas*, who was near him, by his Example, undertook the same Thing, that he had done, with the Troops under his Command. *Alexander*, at the same Time, observing what passed, and apprehending the ill Success of his Men, caused the main Body of his Army to march up, and having commanded the light armed Troops to succour their Companions, he remained with the rest of his Forces before the Trenches. The Battle was fierce and obstinate, and *Perdiccas* was wounded as he was endeavouring to mount the inward Rampart, so that he was obliged to be carried off from the Place of Action, where there fell a great Number of *Grecian* Archers, with *Eurybotas* their Captain: This made the *Thebans* press close upon the *Macedonians*, who being disinayed began to fly towards *Alexander*. But when the King saw the Enemy coming upon him in some Disorder, he drew up his *Phalanx* in Battalia, and attacking them, he put them to Flight in such Confusion, that they did not even think of shutting the Gates by which they entered the City; and those who were in the Citadel made a Sally at the same time into the Street that were under them. Thus the noblest City of all *Greece* was taken the same Day it was besieged, and all sorts of Cruelty was exercised on this Occasion, Men and Women were promiscuously Slaughtered, nor did they spare even the Children. This Inhumanity was an Effect of the Hatred of the *Phoceans*, and *Plataeans*, the *Orchomeni* and the *Thebians*, to whom the Neighbourhood and Power of *Thebes* had formerly been very prejudicial; for the *Macedonians* themselves never went beyond the Bounds that were prescribed by the Right of War. At length when they caused the Slaughter to cease, having killed
above

above six thousand, the rest were taken Prisoners, of whom thirty-six thousand free Persons were sold. *Clitarchus* has left it in Writing that the whole Booty amounted to four hundred and forty Talents: Others say that this Money was raised only by the Sale of the Captives. *Alexander* reckoned the hundred Talents which the *Thebians* owed the *Thebans* as paid. There were but a very small Number, and those were such as were known to have advised against the War, that were preserved from Captivity, as also the Priests and those who had shewn any Friendship for the King or his Father, *Philip*: But of all the rest there was only *Timoclea* who had her Liberty, and acquired at the same time that Fame which still remains as a Recompence for her Virtue.

There was among the *Thracians* in *Alexander's* Army, a Captain of Horse who had violated the Chastity of this Woman, and then demanded of her, in a threatening Manner, where she had hid her Treasure. The Lady more afflicted for the Loss of her Honour than concerned for her Riches, turned the Avarice of the Barbarian into an Opportunity of Revenge; and pointing to a Well, pretended she had secured her Jewels and other Things of value in that. When the Ravisher came thither and was casting a greedy Eye into it after the fancy'd Treasure, she pushed him into it, and when he was struggling to get out again, threw so many Stones upon him that she killed him. The Men belonging to the Deceased immediately seized *Timoclea*, and brought her before *Alexander*, that she might be punished for killing their Captain. The King having asked who she was, and what she was brought before him for? She, with an undaunted Countenance, reply'd, *That she was the Sister of Theagnis who commanded the Thebans, and lost his Life for the Liberty of Greece. I have done myself Justice by killing the Ravisher of my Honour. If you intend to put me to Death as a Satisfaction for what I have done, know, that to a virtuous Woman, there is nothing so despicable as Life, after her Chastity has been violated; let me then perish as soon as*

you please, I shall still die late enough, since I am so unhappy as to have outlived my Reputation and my Country. When *Alexander* had heard her he declared the Ravisher was justly punished; and said that he neither approved nor allowed of Rapes to be committed on Gentlewomen, and those who were free-born. Having highly commended her Virtue and Resolution, he gave her her Liberty, and on her Account gave Leave to all her Relations to go to what Place they pleased. He likewise shewed Favour to all the Descendents of *Pindar*, out of regard to that Poet, who had Praised his Ancestor *Alexander* in his Verses, and would not suffer his House to be burnt: For he had not only Virtue himself, but respected the Memory of Great Men, and did honour to their Posterity for their Sakes. Thus when he had overcome *Darius*, he sent Part of the Booty to the *Crotoniates*, because in the War with *Xerxes*, when all the rest of the *Greek* Colonies despaired of *Greece*, they had sent one Galley to *Salamis*, under the Command of *Phayllus*. He likewise did Honour and made Presents to the People of *Platea*, because their Ancestors had given some of their Land to the *Greeks* who had fought against *Mardonius*.

CHAP. X.

Prefages of the Ruin of Thebes. Alexander gives Peace to the Athenians that he may pursue the War in Persia.

THERE were many Prefages which foretold this Desolation of the *Thebans*. Three Months before *Alexander* arrived there, a black Cobweb was seen in the Temple of *Ceres*, called *Thestmosphoros*, which had appeared all white at the Time that the Battle of *Leuctra* had raised the City of *Thebes* to its highest Pitch of Glory. Moreover, about the Time that the *Macedonians* arrived, the Statues in the Great Hall of the City were seen to sweat, and horrible Cries were heard from the Lake near *Onchestus*; the Fountain of *Dirce* also sent forth Blood instead of Water. All these Prodigious

digies together were enough to have terrify'd this obstinate People, if their Pride and Presumption had not predestinated them to their Ruin. In short the *Thebans* trusting to the Reputation and Glory of their Ancestors, whose Discipline and Manners they neglected, and promising themselves the same Success without the same Virtues, were what hastened the Destruction of their Country, for they were indiscreet enough, with little more than ten thousand Men to oppose an Army of thirty thousand Foot and three thousand Horse, all veteran Troops, and used to Conquest.

Alexander having made himself Master of *Thebes*, asked the Advice of the Allies in Assembly, what he should do with that City. There were among them *Phocians*, and a great Number of *Boeotians* whose ancient Discords with the *Thebans*, were never concluded but much to their Disadvantage and Loss. These could not think themselves sufficiently revenged or their Safety provided for as long as *Thebes* subsisted: Wherefore they prevailed that the Walls and Edifices should be demolished, and the Territories belonging to it divided among the Conquerors, according to the King's Pleasure. Thus one Day took from the very Middle of *Greece* this noble City, that could boast of not only having produced Great Men, but even Gods, after it had for almost eight hundred Years, from the Oracle of the Crows, been inhabited by the same People. For the *Boeotians* having been formerly driven out of their Country by the *Thracians* and *Pelagians*, they were told by the Oracle, *That after four Ages, they should recover their paternal Habitations, but in the mean time they must settle themselves where they should find white Crows*. Being therefore come to *Arne*, a Town in *Thessaly*, and seeing some Crows that the Children had whiten with Plaister, they settled there.

As to the City, it was rased to the Ground by the Sound of the Flute, as *Lysander* had rased *Athens* sixty Years before. Nevertheless *Alexander* commanded that the Temples and all the sacred Places should be

spared, and took particular Care that no Damage should be done to them thro' Negligence or Avarice. This he did not only as he had naturally a great Veneration for the Gods, but being touched by the sad Example that had been made of some Soldiers, who attempting to pillage the Temple of the *Cabiri*, that stood before the Town, were consumed by a sudden Storm of Thunder and Lightning. None of the Statues were touched, that were set up in the Publick Places, to the Gods or illustrious Men: And it is recorded, that in the Consternation and Fright that the People were in, upon the taking and plundering the City, some had hid their Gold in the Folds and Plaits of the Garments of those Statues, and found it safe twenty Years after, when *Cassander*, the Son of *Antipater*, rebuilt *Thebes*, which he did not so much out of Compassion to the Exiles, as Reproach to *Alexander*, whom he always hated; but tho' he restored the Walls of the City, yet could he not restore its ancient Manners and Prosperity. It never more could recover its primitive Conditions, but being attended with many different Misfortunes, it has with Difficulty preserved to our Day the Appearance of a middling City. It is said that *Alexander* repented his having ruined it, thinking that in the Destruction of *Thebes*, he had put out one of the Eyes of *Greece*; at least he attributed the Murder of *Clitus*, and the Obstinacy of the *Macedonians*, who so basely refused to go any farther into the *Indies*, to the Wrath of *Bacchus*, who was willing to punish him for destroying his City. Nay, some did not scruple to say, that his Death, which was owing to an Excess of Wine, was also inflicted on him as a Punishment by that God.

Having compleated all these Things, he sent to the *Athenians* to deliver up to him those Orators, who were continually stirring them up against the *Macedonians*; and to let them know, that if they were unwilling to part with them, they must expect the same Reward of their Contumacy, as they had seen the *Thebans* receive. *Phocion*, whose

whose Life and Integrity made him much respected by the People, represented to them, upon this Occasion, *that it would not be adviseable to irritate a young victorious Prince*, and therefore exhorted those whom the Danger particularly threatened, *to give up their Lives for the Good of their Country, by a noble Imitation of the Daughters of LEUS and ILYACINTHUS.* Demosthenes, who was required above all the rest, rose up, and said, *That the Athenians would deceive themselves, if they imagined, that by the Surrender of a few, they should procure Safety; that the Macedonians cunningly demanded those in particular whose Courage and Probity were odious to them, and contrary to their Designs; and that having once removed the Patrons and Protectors of the Publick Liberty, they would soon fall upon the defenceless and destitute City, as Wolves do on the Flocks of Sheep that have no longer any Dogs to guard them.*

Demosthenes had done many Things which made him very justly believe that he was to expect but little Favour from the *Macedonians*. After the Murder of *Philip*, he persuaded the People to build a Chapel in Honour of *Pausanias*, and that Thanks should be returned to the Gods, and other Acts performed which were only Customary at the Times of publick Rejoicings. He sometimes called *Alexander the Child*, and sometimes *Margites*, which meant a Prince without Conduct or Judgment. And as the *Persians* had corrupted him with their Gold, he had been both the Flambeau and the Trumpet in all the Wars that the *Greeks* had undertaken against *Alexander* and *Philip* before him. He had openly solicited *Attalus*, who was one of the greatest Enemies of *Alexander*, to declare War against him, and had promised him the Alliance and Assistance of the *Athenians*. Moreover the City of *Athens* itself had not a little offended, they had thrown down the Statues of *Philip*, and converted the Materials to the basest Uses; and the blind and wavering People, who think but little of future Consequences, had committed all the Indignities they were capable of, at the Persuasion of a few seditious Per-

sons. But of all that the *Athenians* had done, thro' Pride and Contempt, there was nothing touched *Alexander* so much as the great Kindness and Concern that they had shewn to the *Thebans*, whom, contrary to his express Commands, they had not only received, when they fled from their ruined Country; but, out of the great Regard they had to their Misfortunes, had deferr'd the solemn Feasts that were every Year celebrated in Honour of *Bacchus* to another Time. Nevertheless as the strong Inclination he had to the *Persian* War took up all his Thoughts, he chose rather to pardon the Affronts he had received from the *Greeks*, than to take Vengeance on them; for which Reason when *Demades*, who had been much in favour with *Philip*, came to present him with the Submission and humble Requests of the City, he granted Leave to the *Athenians* to keep *Demosthenes*, *Lycurgus*, and others whom he had before required, provided they would banish *Charidemus*. Whereupon he went over to the *Persians*, and was for a long time very serviceable to them; but was put to Death at last, by the Command of *Darius*, for taking too much Liberty with his Tongue. There were also other *Athenians* of no small Account, who left the City out of hatred to the King, and who, retiring to the Enemy, became very troublesome to the *Macedonians*.

After all these Successes, there was no Power in *Greece* who dared rely upon its own Strength, seeing what had befall the *Thebans*, whose heavy-arm'd Soldiers had been formerly in great Reputation; or who dared trust to the Fortifications of their City, when they placed before their Eyes the taking of *Leucadia*; for he had reduced the *Leucadians* by Famine, who valued themselves upon the Situation of their City, and the Quantity of Provisions they laid up to hold out a long Siege; but as he had made himself Master of the Places round about, he suffered the Inhabitants to retire into *Leucadia*, by which Means the Multitude of People increasing every Day, they soon found their Provisions consumed.

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At this Time the *Peloponnesians* sent Ambassadors to *Alexander*, to congratulate him, upon the Victories he had gained over the *Barbarians*, and on his having chastised the Insolence and Rashness of the *Greeks*. The *Arcadians* also, who had been in Motion, and preparing to assist the *Thebans*, sent to assure him, that they had condemned to Death, those who had put them upon that extravagant Undertaking. The *Eleans* represented to him, that they had recalled those whom they had banished merely because they understood they were esteemed by *Alexander*: And the *OEtolians* excused themselves, that in so general a Disorder as *Greece* had been in, they had not been entirely exempted from some ill Practices. The *Megarians* made the King and those about him laugh, by a new Kind of Honour they did him, telling him, that in Return for the Kindness he had shewn them, and in Consideration of the great Services he had done them, they had made him Free of their City, by an Ordinance of the People;

but as soon as he understood that they had never conferred this Honour on any but *Hercules*, he received it with Joy. To all others he answered, *That he had nothing more at Heart than the Quiet and Safety of Greece; and if they made no Disturbance for the Time to come, he would pardon all that was passed.* But as he particularly distrusted the *Spartans*, he restored the Sons of *Philius* to *Messene*, from whence they had been driven; he gave also to *Charon* the Government of *Pelene*, a Town belonging to the *Achaians*, and put his own Creatures into *Sicyon* and other Towns of *Peloponnesus*, to observe narrowly the Designs and Motions of the *Lacedemonians*. He employed but a few Months in executing so many great Designs; and in that small Time put an End to a great and formidable War, with less Trouble than some would have taken to prepare for it. He confessed that this Victory was owing wholly to his Expedition; for being asked by one how he conquered *Greece*, *By delaying Nothing*, said he, *till To-morrow.*

The End of the First B O O K.

B O O K II.

C H A P. I.

A Discourse on the State of Persia, till the Time of Alexander. The Persians despise him at first; but soon grow afraid of him. He prepares for the War. The Wonders of Mount Ida. Several Exploits of Alexander.

DARIUS was King of *Persia* at that Time, and had been raised to the Throne, a little before the Death of *Philip*, by the Contrivance of an Eunuch,

named *Bagoas*. This *Bagoas*, upon the Death of *Ochus*, and all the rest of the Royal Blood, finding he could not preserve the Power of *Persia*, and keep the Crown for himself, was resolved to make the Person who had it indebted to him for it, and, by so important a Service thought he should always have the Favour and Credit of the Prince on the Throne. At the same Time People did not think *Darius* unworthy of this Lot, who had some Alliance with the Royal Family: For *Ostanes*, the Uncle of *Ochus*, was the Father of *Arsanes*, and Grand-

Grandfather of *Codomantus*, which was the Name of *Darius* while he was a private Man. But after he had ascended the Throne of *Cyrus*, he laid aside his first Name, according to the Custom of the *Persians*, and took that of *Darius*. He was moreover a very brave Man, and had acquired a great Reputation for his Courage and his Virtue, having overcome in single Combat, one of the most valiant of the Enemy, who came to challenge any one of the adverse Party when *Ochus* made War with the *Cadusians*. He was the tenth King from *Cyrus* the Founder of the Empire; for *Ochus* succeeded *Artaxerxes* his Father, who had succeeded *Darius*, to whom *Artaxerxes* the Son of *Xerxes* left the Kingdom. *Xerxes* succeeded his Father *Darius*, who was the Son of *Hystaspes*, and who, after the Family of *Cyrus* was extinct in the Person of *Cambyfes*, wrested the Sceptre from the *Magi*, in a famous Conspiracy with seven great *Persian* Nobles. The *Persian* Empire continued glorious and flourishing under the Reign of these Kings for almost two hundred and thirty Years, while the People were Strangers to Luxury and Pleasure, and while they fought for Liberty, Glory and Power. But when they had gained the Recompence of their Virtue, they began to despise Virtue itself; and supported themselves more by the Reputation of the Power derived from their Ancestors than by their own Merit. They placed all their Hopes in the Abundance of their Wealth, with which indeed they fought as successfully against the *Greeks* as with their Arms.

But when the *Persians* found they could advance but slowly, with their Gold and Silver, against the Power of *Alexander*, and that they had no foreign Aid to trust to, but were to march themselves against so redoubted a Hero, necessity forced them to exert themselves; but they were so much sunk in Softness and Effemacy that they could not stand the first Shock of their adverse Fortune. *For Poverty sharpens the Invention and Courage, but Slothfulness and Cowardice are commonly the Effects of Riches and Plenty.* When the *Persians* first

heard of the Death of *Philip* whose Successes and Preparations had affrighted them, they lost all sort of Fear, and despised the Name and Youth of *Alexander*, thinking perhaps that he would believe himself happy enough if he might be allowed to walk unmolested within the Walls of *Pella*: But when they had heard the Fame of his Wars and his Victories, they began to dread this young Prince, as much as they had despised him before, and made all sorts of Preparations, with the utmost Care and Diligence, as for a long and desperate War. And having found by Experience, in their former Wars, that the *Asiatick* Troops were not a Match for the *Europeans*, they sent proper Persons into *Greece*, to hire into their Service fifty thousand Men in the full Vigour of Youth, and gave the Command of them to *Memnon* the *Rhodian*, whose Courage and Fidelity the *Persians* had sufficiently proved on many Occasions. He had Orders to seize on *Cyzicum*, marching therefore with great speed, he crossed that Part of *Phrygia* which joins to the *Trojan* Territories, and arrived at Mount *Ida*, the Name of which shews the Nature of its Situation, for the Antients called all those Places *Idas* that were shaded with Trees. This Mountain is higher than any of the rest that look towards the *Hellepont*: And in it is a Cave made venerable by Fable, for it was there, it is said, that *Paris*, who was brought up on this Mountain, after having been exposed by the Command of his Father, viewed the Beauties of the three Goddesses and passed his Judgment upon them. This Mountain is also said to have been the Country of the *Corybantes* or *Idean Dactyles*, who by the Instruction of *Cybele*, first invented the Use of Iron, and brought that ambiguous Metal into the World; for it is hard to say whether Iron is more useful in the Works of Labour and Necessity, or more hurtful when made the Instrument of Wrath and Fury. There is another thing reported of Mount *Ida*, which is worthy Admiration, and that is, that when the Winds at the Rise of the *Dog-Star*, ruffle and disturb the lower Parts, the

the Air on the Top of the Mountain is calm and serene. As also that while there is yet a great Part of the Night remaining the Sun is there to be seen, not in the Figure of a Globe or Round, but extended in a large Breadth, and embracing both Sides of the Mountain, as it were, with Distinct Bodies of Fire, till by Degrees it unites again, and becomes one; and that at the Approach of the Light, it does not take up a greater Space than that of an Acre of Ground; and contracting itself a little after into its usual Compass, it performs its appointed Course. For my Part, I am of Opinion, that this false Miracle appears to our Eyes, when the imperfect Image of the rising Sun spreads itself through the Air that is condensed by the nocturnal Cold, and no way shaken or divided by the Wind, till the Sun thawing and dispatching it by Degrees, gives the Eye a free Passage to the Orb of this Planet: For then the Air is pure and clear, and the Rays of the Sun are easily transmitted thro' it; whereas when it is condensed, it obstructs and stops them, and as if they fell upon a Looking-Glass, it disperses them with an Encrease of Splendor and Brightness.

The Territory of *Cyzicum* extends itself from the Foot of Mount *Ida* to the *Propontis*. The Town is built in the Midst of an Island of a moderate Compass, and is joined to the Continent by two Bridges. But *Alexander* undertook this Work some time after, and was on the Sea, while *Memnon* was travelling thither, who inconsiderately attacking *Cyzicum*, was courageously repulsed by the Inhabitants, so that finding himself not able to take it, he pillaged the Land about it, and carry'd off a large Booty. The *Macedonian* Generals, on the other Side, were not idle all this Time. *Parmenio* took the Town of *Grynium* in *Aolia*, and made Slaves of the Inhabitants: Afterwards, crossing the River *Caius*, he besieged *Pitane*, a rich City, and very commodious in having two Ports, whereby they might receive Troops from *Europe*; but upon the Arrival of *Memnon* he was forced to raise the Siege. *Calas*, who made War

against the People of *Troy*, with a small Number of *Macedonians*, and hired Strangers, gave Battle to the *Persians*, but seeing he was not a Match for the Multitude of the Enemy, he retired into *Rhetium*.

C H A P. II.

Alexander shews the Necessity of the War with Persia.

ALEXANDER being returned into *Macedonia*, after having given Orders for the Affairs of *Greece*, held a Council with his most intimate Friends, to consider what was the best to be done, and the best to be avoided, in the Beginning of a War of so great Importance. *Antipater* and *Parmenio*, who were the chief among them, both for their Age and Authority, remonstrated to him that he ought not to expose in his own Person the Safety of the whole Empire to the Uncertainty of Fortune; that he ought to stay till he had Children; and that when he had provided for the Peace and Security of the State, it would be time enough to think of enlarging it.

There was indeed no one left, of the Blood of *Philip*, who was worthy of the Crown, *Olympias* having destroyed all the Children of *Cleopatra*, and it was thought *Arideus* would dishonour the Throne, on Account of the Disorder of his own Mind, and the Infamy of his Mother. But the King, who could not bear Idleness, and thought of nothing but War, and the Glory to be acquired by Victory, told his Friends in Council, That as Men of Probity and Lovers of their Country, it was reasonable for them to be concerned at whatever affected it; that indeed what he was going to undertake would be attended with Difficulties, and that if it should be rashly set about, and the Success should likewise condemn it, no sort of future Repentance could repair the Error they should at present commit: They ought therefore before they set sail to deliberate carefully whether it was best to embark, or to remain still in Port, for when they had delivered

delivered themselves up to the Winds and the Waves, their Course would depend upon their Caprice and Inconstancy. Therefore, continued he, I do not take it ill that you should differ with me in Opinion, on the contrary I commend your Sincerity, and desire you will shew the same Integrity with regard to those Matters which may hereafter be offered to your Consideration. Those who would deserve the Name of the King's Friends, by the Advice they give, will not propose to themselves so much to gain his Favour and Affection, as to promote his Glory and his Interest. Whosoever advises another to act in a Manner different from what he would himself upon the like Occasion, does not inform but deceive the Person who consults him. Now, for my own Opinion, I am satisfied, that nothing can be more hurtful to my Design than Sloth and Dilatoryness. After having subdued all the Barbarians that were round Macedonia; after having quieted all the Commotions of the Greeks; shall we suffer a brave and victorious Army to be lost in Ease and Idleness, or shall we lead it into the wealthy Provinces of Asia, which they have taken Possession of already in hope; desiring the Spoils of the Persians, as a Reward of those Labours they have gone through in their long Service under my Father, and for these three Years past under my own? Darius is but newly come to the Crown, and his putting Bagoas to Death, by whose Means he obtained it, has made his People suspect him both of Cruelty and Ingratitude, and those are two Crimes which will slacken their Obedience to him, and render him hateful to the better Part of his Subjects. Shall we wait supinely till Darius has confirmed his Power and Authority at home, and till, having settled the Affairs of his own Kingdom, he brings the War upon Macedonia? Diligence and Expedition have many Rewards, which will fall to the Enemy, if we lie still and do nothing.

The first Impressions that are made on the Mind in Affairs of this sort are of great Importance, and give a great Advantage over the Enemy; Men never get the Reputa-

tion of Strength and Courage by temporizing and those who declare War are always more esteemed than those who are constrained to receive it. With how much hazard to my Reputation should I deserve the Hopes of those, who, in my Youth, have thought me worthy of an Honour, which my Father did not obtain but a very small Time before his Death, and after giving the greatest Proofs of his Courage and his Virtues? The Assembly of GREECE did not give us the Sovereign Command, to live idly in MACEDON, minding nothing but our Pleasures, without the least Concern for former Injuries, and those that have of late been offered to the GRECIAN Name: But that we should revenge and punish those Injuries, which the Extravagance of their Pride has induced them to offer with such Arrogance, and Contempt. What shall I say of those Greek Nations, that being scattered up and down Asia, are oppressed and languish under the insupportable Tyranny of the Barbarians? I shall not repeat to you with what Prayers and strong Arguments Delius, the Ephesian, pleaded their Cause, since it is very well remembered by you. This is certain, that as soon as they behold our Ensigns, they will join us, and courageously run all Hazards to assist their Protectors, against their inhuman Masters. But why, forgetting our own Courage, and the Meanness of our Enemy, should I mention these Succours against an effeminate People, whom it would be more a Disgrace than Glory to conquer, if we were to be long about it? In the Times of our Fathers, a small Body of Lacedæmonians having marched into Asia, were in vain opposed by a great Army of the Enemy, who suffered Phrygia, Lydia, and Paphlagonia to be put to Fire and Sword, and every time they made any Resistance, were constantly cut to Pieces, even tiring their Enemies with their Slaughter; till Agiselaus being called away with the Troops under his Command, on the Account of some Commotions in Greece, gave them Time to take Breath, and recover from the Fright they were put in. A few Years before, about ten thousand Grecians, without Pro-

visions

vistons and without Leaders, opened themselves a Passage with their Swords quite thro' Persia, altho' pursued at the same Time by the King's whole Army, with which he had lately disputed the Crown with his Brother Cyrus, and conquered him; and yet whenever they came to an Engagement, this victorious Army was always beaten by the Greeks, and put to Flight. We then, whom all Greece obeys, subdued by so many Victories; We, who have overcome in Battle the most renowned Armies of the Greeks, or had them among our own Troops, shall we fear Asia, which has been so shamefully beaten by a small Number of those whom we have always vanquished?

By these Arguments, and others he added, he persuaded all whom he consulted to come over to his Opinion; and even *Parmenio*, who had stickled the most to have the War delayed, was now for having it entered upon with all Speed, and even made pressing Speeches to *Alexander* on that Account. Therefore as nothing was now thought of but this Expedition, solemn Sacrifices were offered to *Jupiter the Olympian*, at *Dium* a Town in *Macedon*. This Sacrifice was originally instituted by *Archelaus*, who reigned after *Perdiccas*, the Son of *Alexander*. He had moreover Stage-Plays for nine Days together in Honour of the Nine Muses. After which he gave a splendid Entertainment in a magnificent Tent, where was a Table of a hundred Covers, to which he sat down himself with his Friends, his Generals, and Deputies of the Greek Cities. He likewise order'd Part of the Victims, and other Things to be distributed thro' all the Army, that this Day designed for publick Rejoicing, should be spent in Feasting, Recreations, and happy Omens of the War he was going to undertake.

CHAP. III.

Alexander goes with his Army into Persia. Leaves Antipater Governor of Macedonia. Gives away all his Wealth and leaves himself only Hope. He arrives in twenty Days on the Banks of the Hellespont.

A Description of the Country and its Neighbourhood.

IN the Beginning of the Spring *Alexander* having got his Troops together from all Sides, went into *Asia* with an Army more formidable for its Courage than its Numbers. *Parmenio* led thirty thousand Foot, of which there were thirteen thousand *Macedonians*, five thousand hired Strangers, and the rest were sent by the Allies. The *Illyrians*, the *Thracians* and the *Triballi* followed these Troops to the Number of five Thousand, besides which were a thousand *Agrianian* Archers. *Philotas* brought up the *Macedonian* Cavalry consisting of eighteen hundred Horse; *Calas* brought as many from *Thessaly*; all the rest of *Greece* sent not above six hundred Horse, the Command of which *Alexander* gave to *Erigyus*. *Cassander* led the Way with about nine hundred *Thracians* and *Paeonians*. *Alexander* made no Difficulty of opposing this Army to an infinite Number of *Barbarians*, without having taken with him Provisions for more than thirty Days; for he trusted in the Bravery of his Men, who being grown old in a Series of Victories, were by their Courage and the skilful Use of their Arms, an over-match for any sort of Enemy in what Numbers soever they presented themselves to them. But he had ordered *Antipater*, to whom he left the Government of *Macedonia*, with twelve thousand Foot and five thousand Horse, to make Levies always in *Europe* to renew his Troops, and to be always in readiness to repair any Losses he might have in his Army either by Battle or Sicknes. The only Thing that he reserved to himself, when he was giving all to his Friends, was *Hope*, for before he embarked, he distributed among his People all that he could part with, without injuring the State and Glory of the Empire. Nevertheless *Perdiccas* would not receive the Present that *Alexander* offered him, asking what he intended to keep for himself, *Hope*, answered the King. That, reply'd *Perdiccas*, we shall all have a Share in, as we fight under your Banners. There were some few who

who imitated him, the rest accepted his Gifts. When it was demanded of *Alexander*, where his *Treasures* were? He answered, *my Treasures are in the Hands of my Friends*. And indeed as he threw himself upon Fortune, he seemed to have bestowed his Riches very well, for he was sure of greater if he was victorious, and could not fail of losing what he had if he was conquered. In the mean Time the generous Largesses that he had made to his People, increased their Courage, made them more ready to obey, and gave them a stronger Inclination to aggrandize his Fortune. As for the present Necessities they did not suffer much by the Grants he had made of his Lands, Manors and Revenues, whose Time of Payment was still remote; the Money alone he set apart for the Use of the War, and as it was not much, great Care was taken in the Management of it. For after the Death of *Philip*, there were not found above sixty Talents of coined Money, and a few Vessels of Gold and Silver, and his Debts amounted to near five hundred Talents. And notwithstanding he had very much augmented the *Macedonian* Empire in Greatness and Power, and so much improved the Golden Mines near *Crenides* (which he called *Philippus* after his own Name) that he drew from thence a Revenue of a thousand Talents yearly; yet he had drained his Exchequer by his Liberalities and continual Wars. He had moreover expended very large Sums in adorning and repairing *Macedonia*, which he found, at the Beginning of his Reign, in a very poor and low Condition. It is left on Record that he had so little Wealth at his coming to the Crown, that when he went to sleep he had a Gold Cup, weighing about fifty Drachms, put under his Bolster for Safety; and yet the Son of this Prince ventured to attack the King of *Persia*, who had five thousand Talents of Gold for his Pillow, and three thousand Talents of Silver for his Foot-Stool, deposited under the Head and Feet of his Bed while he slept; altho' he had added to the Debts of his Father, eight hundred Talents, taken up upon Loan, of which there was hardly a tenth Part remaining.

Alexander is said to have set out on his Expedition, to the Musick of *Timotheus's* Flute, and with the Rejoicings of the whole Army, who already promised themselves all the Riches of the *Barbarians*, they were going to fight against, as an assured Booty. In this Manner he was carried to the *Strymon*, thro' a Lake called *Circinites*, (from a neighbouring Mountain) where he had a Fleet. He came first to *Amphipolis*, from whence he proceeded to the Mouth of the *Strymon*; which having passed, he marched by the Side of the Mountain *Pangæus*, and struck into the Way that leads to *Abdera* and *Maronea*; for he was resolved to march by the Shore, that he might be ready to succour his Vessels, brought from Land to Land, lest the *Persians* who were Masters of the Sea, should come to attack them. *Alexander* had but few Ships, and, on the contrary, the Enemy had a great Number, with Mariners from *Cyprus* and *Phenicia*, very skilful in all Maritime Affairs. The *Macedonians*, who had but lately attempted the Sovereignty of the Sea, were furnished by their Allies with Ships, but sparingly, and with no great Good-will. Even when they were demanded of the *Athenians*, they sent but Twenty, because their Orators had remonstrated to them, *That it was to be feared, that if they sent many, Alexander might use them against those that lent them to him.*

From hence he marched to the Banks of the River *Hebrus*, which having passed without much Difficulty, he came to *Petice*, a Country of *Thrace*; from whence, having passed another River called *Melas*, he arrived, in twenty Days after his first setting out from *Macedon*, at *Sestus*, a Town situated at the Extremity of the Continent, and looking into the *Hellepont*, where the Sea contracting itself into several Windings, divides *Asia* from *Europe*; for *Macedon* is joined to *Thrace*, which extending itself to the Eastward in two Points, would reach *Asia* if it was not separated from it by the Sea. The *Hellepont* hinders it on the Right, and farther the *Bosphorus* of *Thrace* separates *Byzantium* from *Calcedon*. The *Propontis*

Propontis that is contracted between these Straights enlarges its Channel near the Countries of *Bitbynia* and *Pontus*. Below *Bitbynia* lies *Myfa*, and then *Pbrygia* and *Lydia*, which join, are farther from the Sea. And going forward there are large Regions of most wonderful Fertility, inhabited by People immensely rich. The Coasts that look toward *Thrace* and *Greece* are peopled by the *Hellepontians*, and farther on by the *Trojans*, famous for their Misfortunes. Below these *Aeolis* and *Ionia* extend themselves along the Frontiers of *Lydia*. In the next Place *Caria*, that joins to the Country of *Doris*, and of which the greatest Part is encompassed by the Sea, is not less spacious within. There are many famous Islands not far from these Lands. *Lesbos*, *Chio*, *Samos*, *Rhodes*, and several others celebrated by the Monuments of the *Grecians*: For formerly the *Greeks* had Colonies, which they had sent to these Places, and which were then in Being; but when they became subject to the Kings of *Perfia* and their Governors, they lost their antient Liberty and became Slaves. When *Alexander* was arrived at *Sestus*, he sent the greatest Part of his Troops to *Abydus* on the opposite Coast, under the Command of *Permenio*, and gave him besides one hundred and sixty Gallies, with several Ships of Burthen; while he with the rest went to *Eleunte*, which is consecrated to *Protesilaus*, whose Tomb is there, on a little Hill encompassed with Elms of a wonderful Nature, for the Leaves that put forth in the Morning, on the Branches of that Side turned toward *Troy*, fall immediately, while the other retain a lasting Verdure. It is thought that they thereby express the untimely Fate of the Hero, who being in the Flower of his Age, when he accompanied the *Greeks* to *Asia*, was the first Victim in the *Trojan War*. *Alexander* having made to him the Mortuary Sacrifices, pray'd to him, *That he would permit him to enter the Country of an Enemy under happier Auspices than he went himself*.

From hence he went with sixty Vessels to *Sigeum*, and saw that Port which was be-

come famous, by having received the *Grecian Fleet* at the Time of the *Trojan War*. When he had got into the Middle of the *Hellepont*, for he was the Pilot of his own Ship, he sacrificed a Bull to *Neptune* and the *Nereids*; and as an offering to the Marine Gods, he threw into the Sea the Golden Vessel, with which he had made the Libations. When he was arrived in Port, he threw a Dart on Shore, and was the first that leaped out of the Ship, taking the Gods to Witness, *That he proposed by a lawful War to make himself Master of Asia*. He afterwards erected Altars to *Jupiter*, *Minerva* and *Hercules*. in the same Place where he made his Descent, and ordered others to be raised where he set out from *Europe*.

CHAP. IV.

Alexander does Honour to the Tomb of Achilles. His March into Asia. Takes several Town. The Counsel of the Satrapes. The Pride of Darius.

ALEXANDER took his Way thro' that Country, where yet remained many Marks of the antient City of *Troy*; here, while he was examining into the Monuments of so many heroick Exploits, one of the Inhabitants offered him the Lyre of *Paris*: To whom he answered, *That he did not set any Value on that Instrument of mean and effeminate Pleasures, but that he should be delighted with the Lyre of Achilles, on which he used to celebrate the Praises of Heroes with the same Hand with which he surpassed their Atchievements*. For he was a great Admirer of *Achilles*, and valued himself for being descended from him; he therefore ran, with his Favourites, stark naked about his Tomb, anointed it with Oil, and put a Crown upon it. *Hephestion* also put a Crown on the Tomb of *Patroclus*, by which he would have it understood, that he had the same Share in the Friendship of *Alexander*, that *Patroclus* had in that of *Achilles*.

Among

Among the Discourses they had of *Achilles*, *Alexander* said, *He esteemed him doubly happy, in having a true and faithful Friend while he was living, and an excellent Poet to celebrate his Praises after he was dead.* He sacrificed likewise to all the other Heroes whose Tombs were in that Country; and even to *Priam*, on the Altar of *Hercius*, either to appease his Manes, because he was killed by *Pyrrhus*, the Son of *Achilles*, or on Account of the Alliance he imagined he had with the *Trojans*, as *Neoptolemus* had marry'd *Andromache*, *Hector's* Widow. Lastly, He prepared a grand Sacrifice to *Minerva*, for whom he always had a particular Veneration; and hanging up his Arms in the Temple of that Goddess, he took down others which were said to have been there ever since the *Trojan War*. These he caused to be carry'd before him by his Equerries, as if they had been lent him by the Favour of that Deity to conquer *Asia*; and it is said, he had them on when he fought with the *Persians* near the *Granicus*. Otherwise, he took much Pleasure in having shining Armour, and it was in this that he was particularly nice. I find that he made Use of a little Buckler very bright, and that he had great Plumes of white Feathers hanging on each Side his Helmet. It is true, his Head Piece, which was the Work of *Theophilus*, was but of Iron, but then it was so finely polished that it might be taken for Silver. His Gorget was also of Iron, but finely adorned, with precious Stones. His Sword was of a Temper not to be match'd, and what enhanced the Value of it was, that it was light and easily wielded. He sometimes put over this Armour a Sort of Military Habit, called, in those Days, the *Sicilian Coat*. Some of this Armour he had not till afterwards, for Instance, the Breast Plate was found among the Spoils of *Darius* after the Battle near the City of *Iffus*. The King of the *Citicians* presented him with his excellent Sword, and the *Rhodians* with his Coat Armour, which *Helicon*, famous and celebrated among the antient Workmen, had wrought with incomparable Skill.

I have not disdained to mention these Things here, which the antient Historians thought not unworthy a Place in their Writings, since the lightest Words and Actions of Princes may be of some Use, and give some sort of Satisfaction. It is certain that succeeding Ages had for a long Time a very great Veneration for the Arms of *Alexander*, and even Time itself had shew'd such a Regard for them, that a *Roman General*, after his Conquest of the Kingdom and Regions of *Pontus*, wore his Coat Armour as an Ornament in his Triumph, and another who had built a Bridge over the Sea, in Imitation of *Darius* and *Xerxes*, prided himself in going over it cloathed in the Brigandine of *Alexander*.

From the Temple of *Minerva*, *Alexander* went to *Arisbe*, where the *Macedonians* under the Command of *Parmenio* were encamped. The next Day, having passed by the Towns of *Percote* and *Lampsacus*, he arrived on the Banks of the River *Practius*, which rising out of the *Idean Mountains*, runs through the Territories of *Lampsacus* and *Obydus*, and then winding a little towards the North, empties itself into the *Propontick*. From thence passing by *Hermotus*, he marched to *Colone*, a Town situated in the Middle of the *Lampsacanian* Territories. Having taken all these into his Protection, upon their Submission to him (for he had pardon'd the *Lampsaceni*) he sent *Penegeus* to take Possession of the Town of the *Priapeni*, which the Inhabitants surrender'd to him. In the mean time *Amyntas*, the Son of *Arrabeus*, was order'd to go and reconnoitre the Enemy with four Troops, one of which consisted of *Apolloniates* and was commanded by *Socrates*, for the Enemy was not far off, and prepared for the War with all Diligence. *Memnon*, who was the best General, and the most knowing among them in Military Affairs, would have persuaded them to retire, after they had destroyed every Thing about them that might be useful to the Enemy, to cause the Cavalry to trample down and waste all the Grass; to burn all the Villages and Towns; leaving nothing behind them, on all Sides, but

but the naked Land. That the Macedonians had not above a Month's Provisions, and when those were gone must be forced to live on Ration and Plunder; therefore if they took from them the Means of pillaging, they must retire in a short Time, and thus, with a very small Loss they should be able to save all Asia. This Remedy, it is true, was very severe, but on all Occasions, where Dangers are threatened, wise Men will suffer the less Evil to avoid a greater: Thus Physicians for the safety of the whole Body will lop off one of its Members, especially when from the Part infected, the Disorder is like to spread to the Parts that are sound. That the Persians would not do this without an Example: For Darius had formerly destroyed all those Countries, lest the Scythians in their Passage through them, should find Accommodation. If they came to a Battle, all would be at Stake, and if the Persians were beat, all that Country would fall into Alexander's Hands; whereas, if they got the better, they would still be but where they were, that there was no small Danger from the Macedonian Phalanx, that the Persian Foot, tho' much more numerous, would not be able to resist it: That the Presence of their King would greatly contribute to their Victory, for Soldiers fighting in the Sight of their General, are animated all at once by Hope, Shame and Glory: All which Advantages the Macedonians had, while Darius was absent from them. Besides, no Body doubted but that it was much better to make War in a foreign Country than in one's own; that they would be sure of that Advantage if they followed his Advice and invaded Macedon. This Discourse was not at all agreeable to the other Generals, who said, That this Resolution might seem good to Memnon the Rhodian, who would find a Benefit by protracting the War, since he would thereby enjoy his Honours and Salaries so much the longer; but it would be a foul Disgrace to the Persians, to betray the People that were committed to their Trust and Care, and that they could not answer it to the King, whose Instructions to them laid down a very different

Scheme for the Prosecution of the War: For Darius, being inform'd of Alexander's Motion, had sent Letters to his Governors and Lieutenants, commanding them, first to put that rash Youth of Philip's in mind of his Tears and Condition; by whipping him, and then to send him to him cloath'd in Purple and bound; to sink his Ships with their Crew, and carry all his Soldiers to the remotest Parts of the Red-Sea. So much was he blinded by his Pride, that he thought himself sure of all future Events, forgetting his own Condition, and the Weakness of human Nature. He said that Jupiter was his Relation, rather because he thought himself equal to him in Grandeur and Power, than on Account of the Antient Fable that deriv'd the Pedigree and Name of the Kings of Persia from Perseus the Son of Jupiter. He had a little before wrote a Letter to the Athenians filled with the same Pride, and added, ' That since they had preferred the ' Friendship of the Macedonian to his; they ' must not for the future ask him for any ' more Gold, for though they should beg it ' of him, he would send them none.

C H A P. V.

Alexander's Stratagem to gain over Memnon the Chief General of the Persians. A false Miracle which he makes use of to animate his Soldiers. He passes the Granicus; defeats the Persians; and rewards his own People as well the Dead as the Living.

ALEXANDER still marching on, arrived at that Land which the King of Persia had given Memnon; and commanded that no Injury should be offered either to the Persons of his Tenants, or the product of the Lands; by which proceeding he prudently contrived to cause at least a Suspicion of the only Man he did not despise among all the Enemy's Generals, if he should not be able to bring him over to his Interest. Hereupon some wondering at the King's Moderation and Goodness, did not scruple to say, that he being the most cunning and bitter Enemy

Enemy the *Macedonians* had, he ought to be put to Death, as soon as they could get him in their Hands, and in the mean Time they ought to do him all the Damage they could. To which the King reply'd, That on the contrary, they ought to win him by good Offices, and to make him a Friend of an Enemy, and that then he would exert the same Courage and Conduct on their Side.

When they came into the Plains of *Adraſtea* through which the *Granicus* ran with great Rapidity, ſome of thoſe who were ſent before, with *Hegelochus*, to reconnoitre the Enemy, brought Word that the *Persians* were drawn up in Battalia on the other Side the River. He therefore halted for ſome Time, to conſult about the paſſing the River, and call'd all his Generals together. The major Part were of Opinion, that it was altogether raſh and impracticable to Stem the Current of that River, in the Preſence of ſo many thouſand Horſe and Foot, that were drawn up on the other Side, and the Bank itſelf being very ſteep and of difficult Access. There were not wanting ſome that ſuggeſted, that it was then the Month called *Deſtus*, (which answers to that of *June*) which was always very unfortunate to the *Macedonians*. *Alexander* who did not regard the Danger, nevertheleſs deſpiſed not the Superſtition, knowing very well what Force a vain Scruple of Religion might have over the narrow Minds of ignorant Men. He therefore ordered that this dangerous Month ſhould be called *Artemiſus*, by the Name of the preceding Month: And, the better to fettle the Minds of the People, who were alarmed, he cauſed *Ariſtander*, who was to ſacrifice for a ſafe Paſſage, to be ſecretly admoniſhed to write with an artificial Ink, on that Hand that was to receive the Intails, inverting the Characters, that the Liver being impoſed thereon by its Heat, might attract the ſame, and expreſs 'em properly, That the Gods granted the Victory to *Alexander*. This Miracle being divulged, filled every Body with ſuch mighty Hopes of the future, that they unanimouſly declared, in loud Acclamations, That after ſuch Tokens of the Favour of Heaven, there

was no Room left to doubt of any Thing. Thus, being, by a Wile, brought into a Confidence of Succeſs, they, as it were, run away with the Victory, becauſe their Thoughts were convinced it was their own.

Parmenio endeavoured to perſuade the King that he ought to ſtay, at leaſt, till the next Day, before he attacked the Enemy, becauſe the greateſt Part of that Day was already ſpent; but *Alexander* judged it more adviſable to make uſe of the Diſpoſition of Mind his Men were in, led them on immediately, and ſaid to *Parmenio* in Raillery, That the *Helleſpont* would have reaſon to bluſh, if after he had ſurmounted the Difficulties of paſſing that, they ſhould boggle at the paſſing of a Brook. The King, with thirteen Troops of Horſe, had hardly paſſed thro' the Violence of the Streams, but before he could either get firm Footing on the Shore, or make good the Ranks that had been diſordered in the Paſſage, he was on all Sides preſſed by the *Persian* Cavalry; for upon their diſapproving *Memnon's* Advice, and their reſolving to fight, (*Arſites*, who was Governor of *Phrygia*, having openly declared, he would not ſuffer the leaſt Hut to be burnt within his Jurisdiction, and the reſt having entered into his Sentiments) they had poſted themſelves along the River *Granicus*, to the Number of one hundred thouſand Foot, and twenty thouſand Horſe, making Uſe of the River as of a Fortification, and deſigning, as it were, to bar that Door of *Aſia* againſt *Alexander*. When the *Persians* therefore knew of his Arrival, they diſpoſed their Cavalry, in which conſiſted their main Strength, in ſuch Sort, that *Memnon* with his Sons, and *Arſanes* the *Persian*, were oppoſed to the Right Wing of the *Macedonians*, which was commanded by the King, for *Parmenio* had the Command of the Left.

Arſites was on the ſame ſide as *Memnon* with the Auxiliary Horſe of the *Paphlagonians*, *Spithridates* the King's Son in Law was with the arrear Guard: He was accompanied by his Brother *Rheſaces*, who was Governor of *Libia* and *Jonia*, and by the *Hyrcanian* Horſe. In the right of the Foot there

there were two thousand *Medes* and as many *Bactrians* under the Command of *Rheomithres*. The main Body was commanded by *Pharnaces* the Queen's Brother, *Arbupales*, and *Mitrobarzanes* Governor of *Cappadocia*; the'e were joined by *Hipbates* and *Petanes*, as also by *Arfaces* and *Atizyes*, who had brought along with 'em Troops of several Nations; these being superior in Number, and having the Advantage of the Ground, press'd vehemently upon the Enemy, and the Fight was very sharp: The King was here particularly in Danger, who being remarkable by his Arms, by his Bravery and by the Orders he gave up and down, was chiefly attack'd by a great many. In the Heat of the Action a Dart that was levell'd at the King, struck fast in the Folds of the lower part of his Armour, but did not wound him; however he was in real Danger from *Rhasaces* and *Spitbridates*, two of the boldest of all the *Persian* Generals, who attack'd him at the same Time. For having broke his Lance upon *Spitbridates* his Breast-Plate; as he was going to make use of his Sword, *Spitbridates*'s Brother riding up to him, struck so great a blow with his Cymeter on his Helmet, that he cut it through, and lightly touch'd the King's Hair; part of the Helmet falling down by the force of the Stroke, he was just going to give him another, on that part of his Head, that lay bare, when *Clitus* observing the King's manifest Danger, flew to his Assistance and prevented him, by cutting off the Sword Arm of the Barbarian; *Alexander* flew *Spitbridates* at the same time.

Notwithstanding this the *Persians* made a gallant Resistance, till at last, being disheartened by the loss of their Generals, (of whom the major Part were already kill'd) and the Approach of the *Macedonian Phalanx* that by this Time had pass'd the River, they betook themselves to a precipitous Flight: After which the Foot made but a small Resistance; for imagining their Horse was more than sufficient to overcome the Enemy, their Mind was more intent on the Plunder, than on Danger; till by the sudden and unexpected Event, they became

a Sacrifice to the *Macedonians*; for it was now no longer a Fight, but a perfect Butchery. The *Mercenaries* however, who were commanded by *Omares*, having possess'd themselves of an Eminence, made a vigorous Defence: For he had admitted of none that would surrender upon Terms. In this Conflict therefore there fell more *Macedonians* than in the Engagement of the Horse: Nay, the King himself (who fought amongst the forwardest) was here so near Danger, that the Horse he rid upon, was run thro' the Body with a Sword. This Accident so inflam'd his Anger, that having surrounded them, both with his Cavalry and *Phalanx* he made an entire Slaughter of 'em, except two thousand that surrender'd at Discretion. There were in all kill'd of the Enemy, twenty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, and very near as many taken Prisoners. The Generals *Memnon*, *Arfaces*, *Rheomithres*, and *Antizyes*, sav'd themselves by flight; the others dy'd honourably of their Wounds. *Arstes* being got into *Phrygia*, laid violent Hands on himself, under a conflict of Shame and Repentance, that he should not undeservedly be looked upon as the Cause of this Defeat. *Alexander* lost in this Battle but few in Number, but they were the boldest and the best of his Men. Of the Foot only thirty were kill'd, and seventy of the Horse. That all might therefore be sensible, that they were sure of a Reward from him in their Fortune, he enrich'd the Survivors with the Spoils of the *Persians*; and magnificently interr'd the Bodies of the Dead, with their Arms, and other Ornaments; granting at the same time to their Parents and Children, an Exemption of all Offices. The wounded were also particularly taken Care of; for the King going about to their Tents, visited them one by one, and express'd thereby his Concern even for the meanest Soldier, comforting them in their Misfortune, either by his Bounty, Commendations or Promises. This condescending Carriage so endear'd him to them, that they were ready on all Occasions, to encounter the greatest Dangers for his Sake, with the utmost Constancy and Fidelity; none

none being unwilling to lay down their Lives for him, who neither suffer'd them to live in Want, nor to die without Marks of Honour. But he in a special Manner distinguish'd the five and twenty of the Band of his Friends, who fighting in a disadvantageous Ground, were at the first Onset oppressed by a Multitude of the *Persians*. For he commanded *Lyfippus* (who alone on the Account of his wonderful Art, had the Privilege to cast his Statue in Brass) to represent every one of them in a Statue on Horseback, which were to be set up in *Dion* a Town of *Macedonia*, and were afterwards upon the Fall of that Empire, translated to *Rome* by *Metellus*. The chief Glory of this Victory, was due to the King himself, who drew up the Army with all the Skill imaginable, and having observ'd the Nature of the Ground, he led them thro' the River in an oblique Order, that they might not be attack'd by the *Persians*, immediately on their getting out of the Water; then, when they were put in Disorder, and somewhat terrify'd, he animated them by his Exhortations, and prevail'd with them at least to make one vigorous Attack more; this was not all, for he fought gallantly in his own Person, killed several with his Launce, others with his Sword, insomuch that those that he encounter'd with himself, were the first that fled. His Conduct likewise, though it had an Appearance of Temerity and Rashness, yet it was grounded upon Reason; for as his Army was to engage with a new Enemy, much superior to it in Number, he had a Mind to arm it also with Despair, that observing their Retreat to be cut off by the River, they might place all their Hopes of Safety in the Victory. The *Theffalians*, in whom the main Strength of his Cavalry consisted, signaliz'd themselves on this Occasion, nor were the rest wanting in their Duty, especially the Horse, for it was the Horse that chiefly did the Work, the Enemy's Foot making but little Resistance, and soon giving way. Moreover, he gave Orders, that the most considerable of the *Persians*, should be decently buried, as also the mercenary *Greeks* that serv'd the Enemy: But

those of them that were taken alive, he caus'd to be distributed among the Prisons in *Macedonia*, because that contrary to the general Decree of all *Greece*, they had serv'd the *Barbarians* against their own Country. However, he dismiss'd the *Thebans*, in consideration that their Town being raz'd, and their Lands taken from 'em, they seem'd to be necessitated to what they did; besides, the many Calamities they had sustained, had in a Manner, glutted even Revenge, and made room for Pity. After this, he chose three hundred Bucklers out of the Spoils of the Enemy, and sent 'em to *Athens* to be hung up in the Temple of *Minerva*, with this pompous Inscription, *Alexander the Son of Philip, and the rest of the Greeks, excepting the Lacedæmonians, dedicate these Spoils, taken from the Barbarians, who inhabit Asia.* He did this with this View, that by making the *Greeks* partake of the Glory and Praise of the Victory, they might the more readily comply for the future, with the other Necessities of the War; at the same time he upbraided the *Lacedæmonians* contumacious Temper, who acting by a separate Interest, had cut themselves off from the main Body of the *Greeks*, and by that Deportment had depriv'd themselves of their Share in so great an Honour. Neither was he unmindful of his Mother, for whom he had always a true filial Duty and Veneration; for he sent her the Plate, the Purple, and all the other valuable Spoils of that Nature.

C H A P. VI.

Alexander returns Thanks to the Goddess Minerva. He receives many Nations under his Obedience without imposing any new Tributes on them. The City of Sardis is delivered to him. He discovers the Practices of Demosthenes endeavours to gain Phocian. Takes Ephesus, makes it a Republick, and does the same by other Cities. His great Esteem for Appelles.

AFTER this Battle, *Alexander* repair'd again to *Troy*, and return'd Thanks to the

the Goddess, who had upon his undertaking so dangerous a War, furnish'd him with Arms, and encourag'd him with prosperous Presages of the Event. For when he went thither first, immediately after his passing the *Hellepont*, (as we before took Notice) he saw an equestrian Statue lying on the Ground, just opposite to the Temple of *Minerva*, which represented *Aribarsanes*, who had formerly been Governor of *Phrygia*; upon the sight hereof, *Aristander* promis'd *Alexander* a glorious Victory in some Horse Engagement, more especially if the Action happen'd not far from *Phrygia*; and also that he should with his own Hand slay the General of the Enemy. Accordingly the Event made good the Prediction; for *Spirithides* being kill'd by the King's Sword, fulfill'd the Prophecy. He therefore not only made rich Presents to the Temple, but gave the Title of City to *Troy*, that before hardly exceeded in compass a moderate Village; and that it might with Credit bear that Honour, he appointed proper Persons to restore and enlarge it, bestowing on it, at the same Time, all manner of Immunities. And because he observ'd that the Temple of the Goddess was too small, for the great Concourse of People that resorted thither out of a religious Motive, and that it was decay'd; he had resolv'd hereafter to build a magnificent one in the room thereof; but these, as well as a great many other noble Designs, were prevented by his Fate, his Successors neglecting to put them in Execution. By this Victory, the King laid open to himself all that Part of *Asia* that is on this side Mount *Taurus* and the *Euphrates*, the Inhabitants being astonish'd at the unexpected overthrow: For having not only lost their Troops, but their Generals too in the Battle, they had now no Hopes left, but in the King's Clemency; in the obtaining of which, they endeavour'd to prevent one another, by a speedy surrender of themselves to his Mercy. *Arsites* had, by laying violent Hands on himself, rendered *Phrygia* defenceless; *Alexander* therefore constituted *Callas* (who was General of the *Thessalians*) Governor of that

Country. There came several Embassies likewise from the mountainous Parts, to surrender themselves and all they had to *Alexander*, who having taken them into his Protection, sent them home. He also forgave the *Zeliti*, because he knew they had been compell'd by the *Persians* to serve against him. He impos'd the same Tribute on them all, that they had used to pay to *Darius*; observing the same Method with reference to all the other Provinces of *Asia* he afterwards reduced, *Alexander* was sensible, that all Foreign Government is odious and subject to Envy, notwithstanding it be administred with more Lenity and Mildness than the Domestick; but if the former Burdens on the Subject, are increased by the addition of new ones, it is then looked upon as altogether intolerable; wherefore when a certain Person told him, that he might draw much greater Tributes and Revenues from so large an Empire, he answer'd, *That he hated even a Gardener, that pulled those Plants up by the Roots, which he ought only to Crop.*

Being informed, that *Dacylium* was possess'd by a Garrison of *Persians*, he sent *Parmenio* thither, whom the Inhabitants readily received; the *Persians* having quitted it, as soon as they heard of the approach of the *Macedonians*. In the mean Time, he went himself to *Sardis*, which is the Metropolis of all the Places which the Kings of *Persia* had put under the Jurisdiction of the Governors of the Maritime Countries: He was within threescore and ten Furlongs of the Town, when *Mithrenes*, (to whom *Darius* had committed the Care of the Citadel of *Sardis*) with the Chief of the *Sardian* Nobility, came and surrendered to him the Citadel, with the Money that was deposited there. Having graciously received them, he advanced to the River *Hermus*, that is about twenty Furlongs distant from the Town, having there pitch'd his Camp, he sent *Amyntas*, *Andromene's* Son, to take Possession of the Citadel. It is situated on the Top of a very high Hill, and every way of difficult Access; so that it might have been maintain'd against any Force whatever, even

even without the help of its Wall, that had also a tripple Rampart. Having therefore applauded his Success upon the surrender of so important a Place, which by Reason and its Strength, might have held out a long Siege, and so retarded the Execution of his other great Designs, he resolv'd to build a Temple there, in Honour of *Jupiter Olympius*; and as he was diligently looking about, to find out what place would be most proper for such a Structure, there arose on a sudden a furious Storm, which pour'd down a great quantity of Rain on part of the Citadel, where formerly the Palace of the *Lydian* Kings had stood. Believing therefore that the Gods thereby pointed out what Place they had destin'd for that purpose, he order'd the Temple to be built there. Then he made *Pausanias*, who was one of the Band of his Friends, Governor of the Citadel, assigning to him the Auxiliaries of the *Argives*. The other Troops of his Allies he allotted to *Calas* and *Alexander* the Son of *Æropeus*, giving them *Memnon's* Government. He appointed at the same Time, *Nicias* to collect the Tributes and Imposts. *Affander Philotas* his Son, had the Government of *Lydia*, with the same Bounds and Limitations *Spithridates* had held it before. He granted to the *Lydians* the Privilege of living according to their own Laws: And because he understood the *Sardians* were very much devoted to *Diana*, whom they call *Coloene*, he gave her Temple the Privilege of an Asylum. He did great Honours to *Mitbranes*, that by his Example others might be encourag'd to revolt; and in process of Time, he bestow'd on him the Government of *Armenia*. In this Citadel, he found an account of what Money had been distributed by *Darius's* Generals, to bring about a War upon *Macedon*, from the *Greeks*: It appear'd also that *Demosthenes* had receiv'd vast Sums for this purpose, some of whose Letters were there to be seen. But by reason he had made a Peace, and concluded all Matters with the *Athenians*, he did not think it proper to complain publickly of these Proceedings; however he thought it necessary, to be more careful to keep the

Athenians in their Duty, and to prevent their being prevail'd upon by this Man's wonderful Eloquence, since their Defection would go near to draw along with it that of all *Greece*. He had no body in greater Esteem than *Phocion*, whose Integrity and Innocency, together with his constant Adherence to Virtue, render'd Poverty itself honourable. He valued him at first for the use he made of him, but being afterwards on several Occasions, convinced of his Magnanimity, he honoured him out of Admiration of his Virtue, insomuch that, when (after *Darius's* overthrow) he was grown so haughty, as to think it beneath him to honour any one he writ to with the common form of Salutation, he reserv'd that mighty Favour for *Antipater* and *Phocion* only. It is certain the King sent him a hundred Talents at a Time, and gave him the choice of four no inconsiderable Towns in *Asia*: viz. *Cius*, *Elea*, *Mylassa*, and *Gergetho*; some put *Parata* instead of the last; but he refus'd all those Offers; yet least he should seem to slight the Friendship of so great a King, he desir'd that *Echeratides* the Sophist, *Athenodorus* the *Imbrian*, with *Demaratus*, and *Spartan Rhodians*, who were Prisoners in the Castle of *Sardis*, might be set at Liberty. But these Transactions run into a latter Date.

After this he marched to *Ephesus*, which the Garrison had quitted (being inform'd of the Defeat of the *Persians*) going off in two *Ephesian* Gallies; among the rest, was *Amyn-tas*, *Antiochus's* Son, who had fled from *Macedonia*, without any other Provocation, than that he was afraid of the King, whom he mortally hated, making a Judgment of his Disposition from his own. *Alexander* enter'd into *Ephesus* the fourth Day after he left *Sardis*: Here he recalled those that were banished in the Time of the *Oligarchy*, and restor'd the Government to the People, who now obtained their long-wish'd for Liberty, desir'd that those who had call'd in *Memnon*, and those who had plunder'd the Temple of *Diana*, and had cast down *Philip's* Statue that stood there, or had dug up *Horophythus's* Monument that was plac'd in

in the *Forum*, as to the Deliverer of the City, might all suffer the Punishment they deserv'd. Of these therefore *Pelagon* with his Brother *Syrphaces*, and his Cousin were dragg'd out of the Temple, into which they had fled for Protection, and ston'd to Death. All Things tended to Blood and Confusion, when *Alexander* putting a stop to the outrageous Licence of the Rabble, forbade making any farther Enquiry into those Matters, or molesting any one on that Account. Thus the chief and best Citizens were saved, who would otherwise on the Score of their Dignity or Riches, under the pretext of real or fictitious Crimes, have been expos'd to the Hatred and Avarice of the enrag'd Multitude. While these Things were doing, the *Magnesians* and *Trallians* sent Ambassadors to him to notify their Submission to his Will and Pleasure; he therefore sent *Parmenio* thither, with five thousand Foot and two hundred Horse, he sent *Alcinalus* with the same Number, to the *Aeolic* and *Jonian* Cities, within the *Persian* Jurisdiction; giving Orders to both to abolish the *Oligarchy's*, and to establish every where a popular State; for he had found by Experience, that the People were well inclin'd to him, which had been the cause of the *Barbarians* restraining 'em by the Government of Tyrants.

As *Alexander* stay'd some Time at *Ephe-sus*, he would oftentimes go to divert himself in the Shop of *Apelles*, who was the only Person he would allow to draw his Picture, and for whom he had so great a Friendship, that he bestowed on him the best beloved of his Concubines, because he found *Apelles* was deeply in Love with her. Her Name was *Pancasta*, she was born at *Larissa*, a considerable Town in *Thessaly*; and the King lov'd her tenderly, as well for her exquisite Beauty, as because she was the first that he took a Fancy for in his youthful Days. This Action was very suitable to *Alexander's* greatness of Soul; but I do not give Credit to the Report, that *Apelles* by a shrew'd Repartee, silenc'd *Alexander*, who let his Tongue run very fast, but unskilfully, concerning many Things in his Art; for this is not agreeable to the Veneration that

is due to the Majesty of so mighty a King, nor to the modesty of the Painter, who neither wanted Parts or the Address of a Man of Letters. Besides, as *Alexander* from his tender Years, had been conversant with the liberal Sciences, it is to be suppos'd he could make a proper Judgment, even in those Arts he was not thoroughly vers'd in. What others say, seems more probable, that it was one of the *Ephebian Diana's* Priests, generally call'd *Megabizi*, that was so reprov'd by *Apelles*, who told him, *That while he held his Tongue, his Ornaments of Gold and Purple render'd him venerable to the Ignorant, but when he pretended to speak concerning Things he knew nothing of, he became ridiculous even to the Boys that ground the Colours.* It was in this City that *Herostratus* burnt the so much celebrated Temple, as we before observ'd.

The *Ephebeans* were now very intent on the rebuilding that curious Structure, sparing no Expence in the Work. *Alexander*, therefore, to assist their Zeal, ordained, that the Subsidies which they used to pay before to the *Persians*, should, for the future be paid to *Diana*; and confirmed to it the Privilege of an *Asylum*, which, he understood, had formerly been preserved to it, both by *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, and enlarged its Bounds, allowing them to reach every Way to the Extent of a Furlong: Some Time after, when he had settled all Things in *Asia*, he writ to the *Ephebeans*, *That he would re-imburse all the Charges they had been at in the restoring that Edifice; and moreover, would supply whatever should hereafter be wanting, provided his Name was inscribed on the new Building;* but the *Ephebeans* excused themselves from granting that; and, because it was of dangerous Consequence to refuse *Alexander* any Thing he required, their Ambassador had Recourse to Flattery, which he knew had a mighty Influence over him, and told him, *That it was an Affront of his high Dignity, to consecrate any Thing to the Gods, since he was himself a God, that being an Honour paid by Men to the Deity, as to a superior Nature;* so great was the Contention for
Glory

Glory betwixt this mighty Monarch, and one single City. However, the *Ephesians* gained their Point, chusing rather to go without so vast a Sum, than to yield to the King the *Inscription* of the new *Temple*.

Now how great their Expences were in this Work, may be guessed from the Price of one single *Picture* they hung up in it, which cost 'em twenty Talents of Gold: It represented *Alexander* with a Thunder-bolt in his Hand; *Apelles* had drawn this Piece after so inimitable a Manner, that he made use of but four Colours, which heightened the Admiration of all who had any Taste or Judgment in that Art.

CHAP. VII.

Alexander is advised in a Dream to build a City for the Smyrnæans, Has a Mind to cut the Isthmus between Clazomenæ and Taos. He joins Clazomenæ to the Terra-Firma. Besieges and takes Miletum, and restores Liberty to its Inhabitants. A Prodigy happens in the Temple, which some Soldiers are about to pillage. A Child is beloved by a Dolphin.

AT this Time the *Smyrnæans* were restor'd to their antient Splendour, after having been scattered up and down in Villages, for the Space of four hundred Years from the Time of the first *Smyrna's* being destroy'd by the Arms of the *Lydians*; for *Alexander* rebuilt it about twenty Paces from the Place where the old City stood, being admonish'd thereto in a Dream.

When he had no Affairs of Importance upon his Hands, he used to divert himself with Hunting, and being one Day fatigued with his Sport, he laid him down and slept at the Foot of Mount *Pagus*, at which time he thought the Goddess *Nemesis*, whose Temple was just by, commanded him to build a City on that Spot, and bring the *Smyrnæans* thither. This Dream was afterwards confirmed by the Oracle of *Apollo Clarius*, which promised the *Smyrnæans*, that their Removal would redound to their Advantage; here upon the Foundations of the

new Town are laid by the King's Orders, but *Antigonus* had the Glory of finishing it: *Alexander* some time after giving to him the Government of *Lydia*, *Phrygia*, and other neighbouring Regions.

The *Clazomenæ* inhabit that Part of the Gulph of *Smyrna* that is narrowest, and joins to the Continent, the Lands that run into the Sea, for the space of sixty Furlongs, making a kind of *Peninsula*. *Taos* stands on that Side of the *Isthmus* which is opposite to the *Clazomenæ*, and *Erythra* is situate in the utmost Point of the *Peninsula*, which was even then famous for its Prophetesses: Hard by this Town is the high Mountain *Mimas*, over against the Isle of *Chio*, and looks into the Sea, then falling with a gentle Declivity, not far from the Streights of the *Clazomenæ*, it terminates in Plains. *Alexander* having view'd the Nature of the Place, resolv'd to cut thro' that narrow neck of Land, and divide it from the Continent, so that he might encompass *Erythra* and *Mimas* with the Sea, and unite the upper and the lower Gulph. It is observ'd, that this was the only Thing in which he was disappointed, Fortune labouring, as it were, to accomplish all his other Undertakings. This Disappointment caus'd a sort of religious Reflection, as if it were not lawful for Mortals to change the Face of Nature, since others who had made the same Attempt had likewise been frustrated before; however, he join'd *Clazomenæ* to the Continent by a Bank of two Furlongs, the *Clazomenæ* having heretofore made a Island of it, out of fear of the *Persians*, but these Works were committed to the Care of the Governors. As for himself, having been very Magnificent in his Sacrifices at *Ephesus*, he made a General Exercise of all the Troops that were with him, in honour of the Goddess, and marched the next Day to *Miletum*, taking with him all the Foot, the *Thracian* Horse, and four Troops of those he called his Friends, the Royal being one of them, for *Hegistratus*, who commanded the Garrison, had given him Hopes in a Letter, that he was ready to surrender to him; but understanding afterwards

wards that the *Persian Fleet* was at Hand, he alter'd his Mind, and was for preserving the Place to *Darius*, for he wanted neither Arms nor Provisions, nor any other Necessaries requisite to endure a long Siege; besides, his Garrison was numerous, *Memnon* having re-inforc'd it (when he fled thither after the Battle) with a considerable Body of Troops he had with him. *Alexander* therefore coming suddenly upon 'em with his incens'd Army, he, at his very first Arrival, possess'd himself of the outward Town, as they call it, for the Townsmen and Soldiers (that the strength of the Place might not be too much scattered) had retired into the inward Town, resolving there to wait for the Succour of their Friends, who, as they were informed, were not far off. But these Hopes were frustrated by the seasonable Arrival of the *Macedonian Fleet*, under the Command of *Nicanor*, who had taken Possession of the Island *Lede*, that lies above *Miletum*; and upon Information that the Enemies Fleet lay at Anchor under the Mountain *Mycale*, sailing into the *Milesian Harbour*, he cut off all Hopes of Succour from the *Persians* to the besieged, neither did the *Barbarians* offer to oppose him, notwithstanding they were so much superior to him in number of Ships, for they had near four hundred Sail, whereas *Nicanor* had not above one hundred and sixty.

While these Things were doing, *Glaucippus*, the most considerable Man of the Town, was sent to *Alexander*, to desire that the Town and Harbour might be in Common to the *Persians* and *Macedonians*; but he return'd with this melancholy Answer, That he did not come into Asia to receive what others would bestow on him, but that every Body should be contented with what he spar'd them; that they ought to know it was their Duty to resign all their Fortunes to their Superior, or be ready the next Morning to decide the Matter by the Sword. But the Townsmen repell'd the first Shock of the Enemy with a great deal of Gallantry, killing amongst the rest, the two Sons of *Hellenica*, who was *Alexander's* Nurse, and Sister to *Citus*, who had with so much

Bravery sav'd the King's Life. Hereupon, the *Macedonians* being enrag'd with Grief and Anger, and having planted their Machines, they soon made a considerable Breach in the Wall, and were just ready to storm the Town, when the besieged saw the Enemies Gallies in the Port, were seiz'd with a fresh Terror, and some of them betook themselves to the opposite little Island for Safety upon their Bucklers, others got into little Boats, and endeavour'd to imitate 'em, but were taken by the Enemies Ships at the very Mouth of the Harbour. *Alexander* having thus made himself Master of the Town, dispatch'd Ships after those who had gain'd the Island, providing them with Ladders, whereby the Soldiers might overcome the difficult Ascent of the Coast, as if they were scaling the Walls of a City. But observing the *Greeks* that were in the Enemy's Pay, (who did not in all exceed three hundred Men) ready to undergo the last Extremities, he took Compassion of 'em on account of their Bravery; and seeing 'em so Constant to them that hir'd 'em, as to venture Perishing, for their Fidelity, he pardon'd 'em, and took 'em into his Service.

As for those *Barbarians* he found in the Town, he made them all Slaves; granting at the same Time to the surviving *Milesians*, their Liberty, in consideration of the Ancient Glory of their City, for *Miletum* was once so Rich and Powerful as to have no less than seventy Colonies in the neighbouring Seas; moreover, it was celebrated on the Score of several of its gallant Citizens, who had in the sacred Combats often won the Prize, and thereby advanced the Glory of their Country; for these kind of Victories were (according to the Practice even of the *Greeks*) esteemed the greatest Ornaments of Virtue. This made *Alexander*, when he beheld the great Number of Statues, that were erected on this Account, ridicule the Custom with a biting Reproach; for he asked them, Where were the strong Arms of those Men, when they received the *Persian Yoke*? For, as he was a Gallant Man, and judg'd of all Things that were subservient to War, he thought it a shameful Thing to waste

waste that Strength that ought to be employed only in Battles of Moment, in the fruitless Diversion of the Rabble, out of a vain and unprofitable Ostentation. In the mean time the Soldiers who had entered the Town by mere Force, pillaged every Thing before them, and were come to the Temple of *Ceres*; and as some of them broke into it, with a Design to plunder it, a sudden Fire that came from the inner Parts, struck the sacrilegious Wretches blind. Here *Alexander* found some Monuments of his Progenitors, and particularly a Fountain, whose Waters, tasted at the Spring-Head were Salt, and yet were fresh when they ran into Streams. The *Milesians* call it *Achilles's* Fountain, and it is rumour'd, that that Hero bath'd himself near it, after he had vanquish'd *Strambelus*, *Telamon's* Son, who was bringing Succour to the *Lesbians*. The *Milesians* had with them also the Oracle of *Apollo Didymeus*, much celebrated for its Riches and Fame. *Seleucus* (who was very powerful after *Alexander*) then consulted it, about his return to *Macedon*, and received for Answer, *That bidding adieu to Europe, he should embrace Asia*.

There was another Thing that awakened the King's Attention, whose curious Genius was greedy of Knowledge, and was wonderfully delighted with Novelty; he was told, that a Youth of *Jassus*, that is not far distant from *Miletum*, was beloved by a Dolphin, and that the Fish knew his Voice so well, that whenever he called upon it, and would be carried on its Back, it readily received him, whereupon the King, inferring that he was in *Neptune's* Favour, made him his High Priest.

C H A P. VIII.

Alexander forces the Enemy's Ships to retire. He dismisses his Fleet; his Reasons for so doing. He enters Caria, and takes several Towns. He re-establishes Princess Ada in her Kingdom, by which he gains the Friendship of the People.

ALEXANDER thus made himself Master of *Miletum*, and as the numerous

Fleet of the *Persians* still hovered about that Sea, that they might provoke the *Lacedaemonians* to Battle, being confident of their surpassing the Enemy both in the Number of their Vessels, and in their Experience, and even sometimes coming with a Bravado before the Port where the King's Ships lay, he sent *Philotas* with the Horse, and three Regiments of Foot to Mount *Mycale*, near which Place the *Persian* Vessels were at Anchor, with Order to repulse them, if they attempted to land, to take in Water or Wood, or any other Necessaries. This reduced the *Barbarians* to the greatest Extremity, keeping them pent up as if they were besieged, so that they could not go on Shore, either to refresh themselves, or take in any Provisions. Hereupon they called a Council, and steered towards *Samos*, where having furnished themselves with what they wanted, they came back again to *Miletum*, and presented themselves before the Harbours in Order of Battle.

In the mean while five of the *Persian* Ships perceiving several of the Enemy's Fleet in a certain Port between the little Island we before-mentioned, and the Road where the *Macedonian* Fleet lay, made all the Sail they could thither, imagining they should find them in a Manner unmann'd, and consequently an easy Prize; for they conjectur'd, that the major Part of their Men were taken up in many other different Employments. But the King immediately putting those that were present on board ten Gallies, commanded them to go and meet the Enemy. Who being terrify'd both by the Number of Ships, and the unexpectedness of the Thing (finding themselves attack'd by those they thought to have surpriz'd) made off as fast as they could; however, one of their Ships that was mann'd with *Jassians* was taken, the rest being swift Sailors regain'd their Fleet: Thus the *Barbarians* were forc'd to leave *Miletum* without effecting any of the Things they intended. *Alexander* considering now that his Fleet was inferior to that of the Enemy, and would be of no great use to him for the future, and besides that, it was a great Charge to him; resolv'd to dismiss it, retaining

aining only a few Ships with him to transport the Machines and Engines necessary in Sieges; but *Parmenio* was of a different Opinion, and advis'd the King to hazard a Sea Engagement, since if the Macedonians were victorious, many Advantages would arise therefrom; and if they were beaten, they would lose nothing, since the Persians were even now Masters at Sea, and it would be no very difficult Task for those that were strongest at Land to defend their Coasts. That his Advice might the sooner prevail, he offer'd to execute it himself, and to share the Danger with the rest of that Fleet the King should assign him for this Purpose. Moreover, his Opinion was backed by lucky Presages, for some Days before an Eagle was seen to rest on the Shore, behind the King's Fleet. However, *Alexander* reply'd, That his Opinion was ill grounded when he flatter'd himself that so small a Fleet was able to encounter with so great a Multitude of Enemies, and that it was not advisable to oppose skilful Rowers, and expert Sailors to raw and unexperienc'd Men in both Capacities, that tho' he did not distrust the Bravery of his Subjects, yet in Sea Fights he was sensible, that was but of little Moment towards the obtaining the Victory. That those Actions were liable to many Dangers from the Waves and the Winds, both which are, by the Experience of the Pilots and Rowers, either declin'd or turn'd to an Advantage, that a great deal depended on the very building of the Ships, that the Macedonians would in vain use their bravest Endeavours, since it would be in the Power of the Barbarians, either to baffle them, or, if an Accident happen'd, totally to destroy them, which was a Thing of the last Consequence as Affairs stood, since all Asia would be animated and encourag'd, if in the Beginning of the War he should receive so great an overthrow; that the generality of Men were naturally of such Tempers as to expect the event of all Things to be answerable to the pre-conceived Hopes or Fears from the first Successes; and that we may not doubt of the Truth hereof, with respect to Asia, who will

ensure me, that the Greeks themselves will remain in their Duty, if they find our Felicity and Success once forsakes us, which, to speak the Truth, is all they admire and venerate in us? I must confess, I look upon it to relate to my Fortune that an Eagle was seen behind my Fleet, and I take it as an Omen of Prosperity. But then the Augury seems plainly to indicate, that we shall overcome the Enemy's Fleet by Land; for the Eagle that presages the Victory, did not rest upon our Ships, but on the Shore, and so does not more expressly point at the Event, than at the Place of Action. This is certain, that if, as we have begun, we continue to possess ourselves of the Maritime Towns, the Persian Fleet will waste of itself, for it will neither have Recruits, Provisions, nor Harbours; and if these are remov'd, the greater their Strength is at Sea, the sooner they'll be undone. By this Means we shall make good the Prophecy that was engrav'd on the Copper Plate that was (as we are inform'd) cast up by a Fountain in Licia, and signify'd that the Persian Empire was hastening to its Period. Having therefore discharg'd his Fleet, he left Pontus and its adjacent Countries for his Governors to subdue, and pursuing his intended Designs, he advanc'd towards Caria, for he was told, a great Number of the Enemy had resorted thither. Indeed *Halicarnassus*, which was strong by its Situation, and was besides provided with two Citadels, gave some Hopes that the Macedonian, who like a Torrent bore down all before him, might be stop't there, as by a strong Bank. There were great Hopes also in *Memnon*, who was with the utmost Diligence, making all the necessary Preparations for maintaining a long Siege, for he had lately been made Admiral by *Darius*, and Governor of all the Maritime Coasts; as he was a Man of great Subtilty, and an observer of the Turns and favourable Occasions of Times, so he was very sensible that he exceeded all the Persian Generals in the War, notwithstanding which, he was not rewarded according to his Merit, for this Reason only, that as he was a Greek by Extraction, and had formerly been well received

ceived in the *Macedonian* Court, there was some room to suspect him of Treachery; he therefore sent his Wife and Children to *Darius*, as if he were solicitous for their Safety, but in truth by those Pledges to convince the King of his Fidelity. However, *Alexander*, having entered into *Caria*, had in a little time made himself Master of all the Places between *Miletum* and *Halicarnassus*, most of them being inhabited by Greek Colonies, to whom it was his Custom to restore their Liberty, and the Privilege of living after their own Laws, assuring them, that he came into Asia to deliver them from Oppression.

Soon after this, he gained much upon the Affections of the *Barbarians* by the favourable Reception he gave to *Ada*, a Princess of the Royal Blood, who came to visit him, as he passed thro' this Country, to desire he would grant her his Protection, and re-establish her in her Kingdom; for *Hecatomnus*, King of *Caria*, had three Sons and two Daughters, of whom *Mausolus* married *Artemisia*; and *Ada*, the youngest Daughter, had married his Brother *Hidricus*. *Mausolus* being dead, was succeeded by his Sister and Wife, according to the Custom of the Country, which allows Brothers and Sisters to marry together; but *Artemisia* dying with Grief for her deceased Husband, *Hidricus* enjoyed the Crown, and dying without Issue, left the same to *Ada*; but *Pexodarus*, who was the only one left of *Hecatomnus's* Sons, drove her out of her Kingdom; and altho' he also was dead, she remained still deprived of her Right, because *Pexodarus* had married his Daughter to *Orontobates*, a Nobleman of *Persia*, that he might by his Wealth and Interest, be protected in his new Usurpation; so that his Father-in-Law being dead, he held the Kingdom in Right of his Wife. *Ada* having therefore, made her Condition known to *Alexander*, and surrendering to him at the same Time the strong Castle of *Alinda*, obtained from him the Approbation of her, calling him Son, and a Promise of his

speedy Assistance to restore her to her Dignity.

In the mean Time the Rumour of this Queen's courteous Reception being spread all over that Country, procured *Alexander* the Affection of a great many Towns; for most of them were in the Hands of *Ada's* Relations or Friends, insomuch that they sent Ambassadors to him with Presents of Crowns of Gold, and solemn Assurances, That they put themselves under his Protection and Power, and that they would readily obey his Command.

While these Things were doing, *Ada* was wholly taken up with providing the most exquisite Meats for Taste, and dressed after the most curious Manner, and Sweetmeats of all Kinds, and sent them with the Cooks and Confectioners to the King, as a Present, thinking to shew her Gratitude for the Favours she had received from him, if she entertained him after his Fatigues and Toils, with the Delicacies of *Asian* Luxury: But being too wise not to know, that Intemperance is of pernicious Consequence to the Man who is employed in serious and weighty Matters, he very civilly returned her Thanks, but told her at the same Time, She had been needlessly solicitous for him, who had himself better Cooks, with which his Tutor, *Leonidas*, had formerly provided him, viz. A Walk early in the Morning to get him a Stomach to his Dinner, and a frugal Dinner to prepare him for Supper.

CHAP. IX.

Alexander besieges Halicarnassus; but attempts, in vain, the City of Myndus. The Sally of the Halicarnassians to prevent his Designs. The Rashness of two Soldiers, which occasions a great Battle. The Wisdom and Moderation of Memnon the Persian General.

THUS almost all *Caria* was brought under the Obedience of *Alexander*, except *Halicarnassus*, which was still maintained by a strong Garrison; wherefore, concluding

concluding the Siege would be tedious, he ordered Provisions, and all the necessary Machines for battering the Place, to be brought from on board his Fleet, and went and encamped with the Foot at the Distance of five Furlongs from the Town: But while his Men were battering the Walls of the Place, near the Gate that leads to *Mylassa*, the Besieged made an unexpected Sally; however, the *Macedonians* behaved themselves with a great deal of Bravery and drove them back to the Town with little Loss.

Some few Days after *Alexander* having had Hopes given him, that the Town of *Myndus* would, upon his appearing before it, be delivered up to him; he took along with him part of the Army and marched thither in the dead time of the Night: But no body offering to stir, he commanded the heavy armed Soldiers to undermine the Wall, for he had brought neither Ladders nor Machines along, with him, by reason he did not go thither with an Intention to make a formal Siege. These Men flung down one of the Towers, and yet for all that made no Breach they could enter at, for the Tower fell after such a Manner that the Ruins defended the same Ground that the Tower did while standing, and the Inhabitants made a vigorous Resistance, and were re-inforced by Succours from *Halicarnassus*, which *Memnon*, (hearing of the Danger they were in) had sent them. Thus the *Macedonians* Attempt was frustrated. *Alexander* being now returned to the Siege of *Halicarnassus*, resolved first of all to fill up a Ditch about thirty Cubits broad, and fifteen in depth, that the Enemy had made for the better Security of the Place; he therefore prepared three *Tortoises*, under the Protection of which the Soldiers might with Safety bring the Earth, and what other Materials were necessary for that Purpose, and having filled the Ditch, he ordered the Towers and other Machines used in the battering of Walls, to be properly apply'd. By these Means having made a sufficient Breach in the Wall, he endeavoured to force his Way into the Town through it; but the Enemy being strong in

Number, was constantly succeeded by fresh Men in the room of those that were tired, and being besides encouraged by the Presence of their Generals, omitted nothing that was necessary for a vigorous Defence. The Day being wasted in a drawn Fight, and *Memnon* imagining the Enemy might be tired with the Fatigue of the Action, and so would be more negligent in keeping their Guards, made a strong Sally out of the Town, and set Fire to their Works; hereupon the *Macedonians* advancing to oppose them, while these labour'd to extinguish the Flames, and the others to increase them: The *Macedonians*, tho' much superior to their Enemy in Strength and Courage, and their Familiarity with Danger, yet were mightily press'd by the Number and contrivance of the *Persians*, and as the Fight was not far from the Walls, they were very much gall'd from thence by their Engines and Machines, so that the *Macedonians* receiv'd many Wounds, which they had no Opportunity of revenging; the Shouts were great on both Sides, each encouraging their own Men, and threatening their Enemy; besides the Groans of the Wounded and Dying, together with the darkness of the Night, fill'd every Thing with Horror and Confusion, which was still increased by the Clamour of the rest of the Multitude, who while their Companions were fighting, were intent on repairing the Damage the Walls had sustained from the shock of the Engines and Machines: At last the *Macedonians* pushing bravely on, drove the Enemy within the Walls, having killed about one Hundred and Seventy of them; and among the rest *Neoptolemus*, who with his Brother *Arryntas* had fled to the *Persians*. Of the *Macedonians* there did not fall in that Action above sixteen, but there were near three Hundred wounded, which may be ascribed to the Night, in the Darkness of which they could not decline the Blows, nor avoid the random Darts. A few Days after, an Accident, inconsiderable in itself, proved the Occasion of a notable Contention which began between two of *Perdiccas* his Veterans; they were Comrades, and had been

been drinking together, and among the rest of their Discourse, they happened to enlarge on the Gallant Actions they had each performed, till at last they quarrelled about the Preference; upon which one of them broke out in this Expression, *Why do we fully so glorious a Contention with empty and useless Words? The Matter is not who has the best Tongue, but the strongest Arm, and here is a fine Opportunity to decide the same: If you are the Man you pretend to be, follow me.* They were both heated with Wine and Emulation, and therefore on their own accord took their Arms, and advanc'd to that part of the Wall that stands near that side of the Citadel that faces *Mylasse*.

Their rash Enterprize being observed by those of the Town, caused some of the Enemy to go out against them; they undauntedly stood their Ground; and came to an Engagement, and received those who come nearest them Sword in Hand, flinging their Darts after those who retreated. But their bold Attempt had not remain'd long unpunish'd from so many, who had besides their Number the Advantage of a rising Ground, if a few of their fellow Soldiers at first observing the Danger they were in, had not come to their Assistance, and afterwards, as Occasion requir'd, more and more, the Besieged doing the same to succour their Men. This made the Success various, according as each Party was superior either in Strength or Number, till *Alexander* himself coming up with those that were about him, struck a Terror into the Enemy, and drove them within their Fortifications, and was very near entering the Town at the same Time with them, for the Besieged being wholly intent on what pass'd before the Town, the Defence of the Walls was carelessly minded; and two Towers were already beat down with the adjoining part of the Wall, by the repeated Violence of the battering Rams, and the third was so shaken that it could not stand long against the Mines. But by reason of the suddenness of the Action, and that the whole Army was not drawn out, this Opportunity, however, favourable, was lost. *Alexander* hereupon

desired a Suspension of Arms, and Leave to bury the Dead; notwithstanding that according to the Greek Notion, it was yielding the Victory to the Enemy, yet he chose rather to do it, than leave the Bodies of his Men unburied: But *Ephialtes* and *Thrasibulles*, Athenians (who were then in the Persian Service, and had a greater regard to their Aversion to the Macedonians than to Humanity) openly declared, *That such an Indulgence ought not to be granted to such inveterate Enemies*; however, this did not hinder *Memnon* from representing, *That it was altogether unbecoming the Practice of the Greeks, to refuse an Enemy the Privilege of burying their Slain; that Arms and Force were to be used against Enemies, that made Head against us, and that it was an unworthy Thing to insult those whose Fate had put it out of their Power either to do us good or harm.* It is most certain, that *Memnon*, besides his other Virtues, was remarkable for his Moderation; for he did not think it at all honourable, out of a virulent Prejudice, to slander an Enemy, and load him with Invectives; on the contrary, he strove to overcome him by Bravery and Conduct. This made him, when he heard one of the Mercenaries speak with Disrespect and Petulancy of *Alexander*, strike him with his Pike, and tell him, *He did not hire him to rail at Alexander, but to fight against him.*

CHAP. X.

Another Sally of the People of Halicarnassus. They are repulsed. They set Fire to their City, abandon it, and retire to two Citadels, which Alexander takes soon after.

IN the mean Time the Besieged took all the care they could for their own Security, and raised another Brick Wall, not in a strait Line, but in Form of a Crescent, in the room of that which was beaten down, and as they employed many People in the Work, it was finished in a short Time. But *Alexander* began the next Day to batter this Wall, because while the Work was new, it seemed the more easily to be overthrown. The

The Besieged took the Opportunity of the *Macedonians* being thus employed, to make a vigorous Sally from the Town, and set fire to some of the Hurdles with which the Works were covered, and to part one of the Timber Towers: But *Philotas* and *Hellanicus*, who had that Day the Guard of the Machines, hindered the Fire from spreading, and *Alexander* appearing seasonably, struck such a Terror into the Minds of the Enemy, that flinging away their Torches, and some their Arms, they fled back to the Town with great Precipitation.

The Advantage they had here from the situation of the Place, enabled them to repel the Force of the Enemy with ease, and the Wall (as we before took Notice) was built so that what part soever the *Macedonians* attacked, they were not only opposed in Front, but were also sure to be flanked on each Side thereof.

While these Things were doing the *Persian* Generals finding themselves straitened every Day more and more, and being well assured that the *Macedonian* would not go off till he had made himself Master of the Town, held a Council on what was necessary to be done in the present Juncture of Affairs, and *Ephialtes*, a Person equally remarkable for the Strength of his Body, and the Courage of his Mind, made a Speech of the many Inconveniences of a tiresome Siege; and argued against *expecting till they were altogether weaken'd, and unable to resist, and of course fall a Prey, with the Town, to the Enemy*, and advised them, *that while they had yet some Strength, to engage the Enemy cheerfully, with the choicest of the best Troops: That this his Counsel, by how much it was more bold in Appearance, was by so much the more easy to execute; for the Enemy expecting nothing less than this, might be easily surpriz'd, being altogether unprepar'd, against such an Accident.* Nor did *Memnon* (who otherwise us'd to prefer the Cautions and wary Counsel to the specious and plausible in Appearance) oppose him; for he consider'd, that altho' no great Alterations should happen, yet as there was no Hopes of any succour at hand, the Issue

of the Siege would be fatal, he therefore did not think it improper, in so great an Extremity, to try what so brave a Man could do, since he seem'd, as it were, inspired to execute the boldest Undertakings.

Ephialtes therefore having made choice of two thousand, out of the whole Body of the hired Troops, ordered two thousand Torches to be prepared, and commanded the Men he had made choice of to be ready in Arms, by break of Day, to receive Orders. As soon as Day appeared, *Alexander* brought his Machines again to the new brick Wall; and while the *Macedonians* were employed in their Work, *Ephialtes* opening one of the Gates suddenly, caused half of his Men to Sally out with the Torches in their Hands, and followed himself with the other Half to prevent the Enemy from extinguishing the Fire they were to set to the Machines. When *Alexander* found what they were about, he quickly drew up his Army, and having strengthened the Succours with chosen Men, he dispatched some to put out the Fire, while he himself attacked those that were with *Ephialtes*; and *Ephialtes*, on his Part, as he was of a prodigious Strength, kill'd all those that engaged him Hand to Hand, animating his Men by his Voice and Looks, but most by his Example. The Besiegers were not a little annoy'd also from the Walls, for the Besieged had erected a Tower thereon a hundred Cubits high, from which, with the Help of their Engines, they galled the Enemy with Darts and Stones. In the mean time, there sallied out of another Part of the Town, which was called *Tryphylon*, and from whence it was least expected, another Body of the Inhabitants, under the Command of *Memnon*, which occasioned so much Confusion in the *Macedonian* Camp, that the King himself was at a Loss for a while what to do. But he surmounted all Sorts of Difficulties by the Greatness of his Courage, by the proper Commands he knew how to give, and by the Assistance of Fortune, who never forsook him when he stood in Need of her. Thus those who set Fire to the Machines were repulsed with great Slaughter by the Men who guarded them,

them, and by the Succours which the King had sent them. On the other hand, *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Philip*, Captain of the Body Guard, having with him the Regiments of *Addæus* and *Timander*, besides his own, received *Memnon* so warmly, that the *Macedonians* on that Side, had much the better of it, notwithstanding they lost in the Action *Ptolemy*, *Addæus* and *Clearchus*, Captain of the Archers, and about Forty private Men. The Enemy retired with so much Precipitation and Disorder, that in the Hurry they broke down the narrow Bridge they had laid over the Ditch, and pushed those headlong down that were upon it, of whom some were trod to Death by their own Men, and others perished by the *Macedonians* Darts from the higher Ground: A great many that had escaped this Calamity were destroyed at the very Gate of the Town, for the Inhabitants (being in the utmost Confusion, and apprehending that the *Macedonians* would enter at the same Time with their own Men) over-hastily shut the Gate, delivering up their Friends to the Fury of the Enemy. In the mean time *Epbialtes*, who was no less formidable by his Hopes than his Despair, gallantly maintained the Fight against the King's Troops, and had made Victory doubtful, if the Veteran *Macedonians* had not seasonably come to the Assistance of their distress'd Companions, these Veterans, tho' in the Camp, were exempt from all Duty, except in case of Necessity, notwithstanding they enjoy'd at the same time their Salaries, and other *Premiums*; and indeed they had deserv'd this Honour by their brave Behaviour under former Kings, and even under *Alexander*, as having pass'd their whole Life in Military Exercises. These Men therefore observing their Companions terrified, and declining the Engagement, and looking about, as it were for a Place to retire to, flew to their relief under the Command of *Atharias*, and having renew'd the Fight that began to grow languid, they forced the young Soldiers, by reproaching them with their shameful Behaviour, to resume their Courage; then making a furious Attack all at once, and

out of Emulation striving who should do the Enemy most Mischief, in a Moment Fortune turn'd to their Side; *Epbialtes*, with the bravest of his Party was slain, and the rest were drove into the Town, a great many *Macedonians* enter'd it at the same Time with them, and the Town was near being taken by Storm when the King gave Orders to sound a Retreat, either out of a Desire to save the Place, or else because the Day being in a Manner spent, he apprehended Danger from the Night, and the Ambuscades that might be laid for him, in the unknown Parts of the City. This Fight consumed the chief Strength of the Besieged, wherefore *Memnon* having deliberated with *Orontobates* (who was the Governor of the Town) and the other Generals, on what was proper to be done, caused the wooden Tower, and the Arsenals where their Arms were kept, to be set on Fire in the Dead-time of the Night, as also those Houses that were near the Wall, which soon taking Fire, and the Flames from the Tower and the Arsenal (being blown by the Wind) increasing, it made a dreadful Conflagration: The bravest part of the Inhabitants and the Soldiers retired into a Castle built within an Island, others got into *Salmacis*, another Castle so called from a Fountain that is there, of great Fame; and the Generals sent the rest of the Multitude, and all their most valuable Things into the Island of *Cos*. *Alexander* being informed by Deserters, and his own Observation of what pass'd in the Town, altho' it was Midnight, he commanded the *Macedonians* to enter the Place, and put all to the Sword they should find promoting the Fire, but to forbear injuring those who kept themselves within their Houses. The next Morning he took a View of all the Fortresses the *Persians* and his Troops had possessed themselves of, finding they would require a long Siege to reduce them, and that having made himself Master of the capital City of the Country, it was not worth his while to trifle away his Time about them; he raz'd the Town, and commanded *Ptolemy*, to whose Care he had committed

mitted the Country of *Caria* (leaving with him three thousand Foreigners, and two hundred Horse, for that purpose) to observe those Castles, which were encompassed both with a Wall and Ditch. Not long after *Ptolemy*, having joined his Forces with those of *Asander*, Governor of *Lidya*, defeated *Orontobates*; and the *Macedonians* being enraged, and not able to endure so tedious a Delay, apply'd themselves strenuously to the Siege of the Castles, and reduced them.

But the King whose Thoughts had already laid the scheme of taking into his Conquests *Phrygia*, and the adjoining Provinces, sent *Parmenio* with the Bands he honoured with the Title of his Friends, the auxiliary Horse, and the *Thessalians* commanded by *Alexander Lyncestes* to *Sardis*, with Orders from thence to make an Irruption into *Phrygia*, and get from the Enemy Provisions and Forage for the Army that was coming after, allotting him Waggon for that use. Afterwards understanding that several of the *Macedonians* (who had marry'd a little before the Expedition) impatiently desired the Company of their Wives, he gave *Ptolemy*, *Seleucus's* Son the Command of them, and ordered him to conduct them home, that they might pass the Winter with their Wives. *Cenos* and *Meleager*, two of his Captains, went along with them on the same Account. This endeared the King mightily to the Soldiers, and made them more chearfully undergo the remote Service; for they perceived he had a Consideration for them, and reasonably hoped they should now and then obtain Leave to visit their Country. He gave Orders to the Chiefs to make all the Levies they could while they were in *Macedonia*, both of Foot and Horse, and to bring them in the Spring, with those who were to return at that Time. Here he observed that his Army had already began to be debauched by the Manners and Luxury of *Asia*, and that there were a great Number of *Catamites* in his Camp; he ordered strict Search to be made after those who might be justly reproached with that Scandal, and to separate them from the rest, he sent

them to a little Island in the *Gerannick* Gulph, which Place afterwards partook of their Infamy, and was called *Cinedopolis*.

CHAP. XI.

Alexander does Honour to a Statue of Theodectes. Punishes Alexander Lyncestes, who conspired against him. The Prognostick by which he discovered this Treason. The Jews are well treated by him. He adores the Name of the True God. He views the Books of the Prophets in Jerusalem. He makes Offerings in the Temple.

THESE Things being thus executed, as he persevered in his first Design of reducing all the Places on the Sea Coast under his Obedience, that he might make the Enemy's Fleet of no use to them, he made himself Master of *Hyparnes*, which was delivered up by the hired Foreigners that were in the Citadel. He then marched into *Lycia*, where having made an Alliance with the *Telmiffenses*, and having passed the River *Xanthus*, the Town that bears that Name, with *Pinara* and *Pirara*, considerable Places in that Country, and about Thirty more submitted to him; so that having settled Things well enough for the present, he proceeded on to *Mylias*, which is a Part of the Greater *Phrygia*, but the Kings of *Persia* had thought fit to join it to *Lycia*. While he was here, receiving the Fealty of the Inhabitants, Ambassadors came to him from the *Phaselite*, desiring his Friendship, and presenting him with a Crown of Gold, as a Token of their kind Reception of him; a great many Towns of the Lower *Lycia*, did the same; the King therefore, having sent proper Persons to take Possession of the Towns of *Phaselite*, and the *Lycia*, in a few Days marched himself to *Phaselis*. This City was then endeavouring to reduce a strong Fort, that the *Pisida* had raised within their Territories, from whence they did the Inhabitants a great deal of Mischief; but upon *Alexander's* arrival, this Fort was soon taken. He remain'd some Days with the *Phaselite*

Phaselita to refresh himself and his Army, the Season of the Year inviting him to do so; for it being then the middle of the Winter, the badness of the Roads would have made his Marches uneasy. Here having indulg'd a Glass, and being in a merry Humour, and beholding the Statue that the People had erected to *Theodectes* he went to it, and dancing about it, flung several Garlands of Flowers about it; for he had contracted a Familiarity with him, and received him into his Favour when they were both at the same time Pupils to *Aristotle*. However, this jovial Humour was soon interrupted by the shocking Message he received from *Parmenio*. This General had taken up a *Persian* call'd *Asifines*, whom *Darius* had indeed sent publickly to *Atyses* Governor of *Phrygia*, but with these private Instructions: *That he should watch an Opportunity to speak in private to Alexander Lyncestes, and promise him the Kingdom of Macedon, and a thousand Talents of Gold, if he performed what was agreed between them*; for *Lyncestes* had formerly gone over to the *Persians* with *Amyntas*, and had took upon him the treasonable Office of killing the King.

He hated *Alexander* on several Accounts, but particularly for having put to Death *Heromenes* and *Arrabaus* his Brothers, for being privy to the Murder of his Father. And notwithstanding he himself was pardon'd, and loaded with Honours, so as to be doubly indebted to the King, yet his natural Cruelty was such, and his Ambition of Power so great, that he thought nothing a Crime, that was instrumental to his obtaining a Crown. The Thing being examin'd in Council; the King's Friends represented to him, *his excessive good Nature, which had made him not only pardon a Man detected in the foulest of Crimes; but heap Honours upon him, even to giving him the Command of the choicest part of the Horse*. Who could he hope would be faithful to him hereafter, if Parricides not only went unpunish'd, but were received into the greatest Favour, and had the chiefest Dig-

nities, and most considerable Employments, conferr'd upon them; that it was necessary to redress in Time, the Error he had been led into by his too great Clemency; least if Lyncestes should be sensible, that he was discover'd, he should stir up the inconstant Temper of the Thessalians to a Revolt, that the Danger was not of a Nature to be contemned, since there could not be a greater imagin'd. Besides, that it would be no less than slighting the Deity's Care itself, who was pleas'd after so remarkable a Manner, to admonish him of the treacherous Designs against him. For the King, during the late Siege of *Halicarnassus*, being laid down in the Afternoon, to refresh himself after his Fatigues and Labours, a Swallow which is a Bird remarkable for Omens, flutter'd round about his Head as he was asleep, making a considerable Noise, and sometimes settling on that side of the Bed, chatting longer than is usual. But as the King was much tired, it did not altogether waken him; however, as it was troublesome to him, he brush'd it away with his Hand. Notwithstanding which, the Bird was so far from being frightened, that it even settled upon his Head, and did not leave off chirping, till having thoroughly waken'd him he scar'd it quite away.

This Accident was by *Aristander*, interpreted after this Manner: He said *the King was in Danger from one of his Friends, but the Treason would remain undiscovered; the Nature of the Bird seeming to foretel as much, for it is more familiar with Man than any other, and at the same Time is a great Chatterer*. Having duly considered these Things, and finding *Asifines's* Discovery to agree with the Diviner's Answer, and moreover having been carefully warned by his Mother, to have a particular Eye upon this Man, he thought all farther Delay might be of ill Consequence, and therefore sent Instructions to *Parmenio*, what he should do upon this Occasion. For as we took Notice before, *Alexander Lyncestes* was gone along with him into *Phrygia*. Now left by some Accident or other, the King's Designs should

should be unseasonably betrayed, he would not trust it in Writing, but sent it by Word of Mouth, by a trusty and honourable Person. *Amphoterus*, Brother to *Crater*, was pitched upon; who putting on a *Phrygian* Habit, instead of the *Macedonian*, and taking along with him some of the *Pergenses* for his Guides, he came in Disguise to *Parthenio*. Hereupon *Alexander Lyncestes* is seized; and notwithstanding his Punishment was for a long Time put off, in consideration of his own and Family's Quality and Interest; yet three Years after, when *Philotas's* Accomplices were executed, he was put to Death likewise, sharing in their Punishment, for having participated in their Crime. Besides the Detection of this Plot against his Life, the King moving from *Phaselis*, had soon another Token of the Deity's Favour and Protection. He had sent part of his Army to the Town of the *Pergenses*, and followed himself with the rest thereof, along the Coast, where the Mountain *Climax* looks into the *Pamphylian* Sea, and leaves but a narrow Way to Travellers, even when the Sea is Calm; but when this is Tempestuous, the other is drowned by the over-flowing Waters, which frequently happens in Winter, if not always. But *Alexander*, who dreaded nothing more than Delay, led his Army through the rough, as well as smooth, with equal Ardour and Expedition. The South Wind having blown for some Days, had covered the Ways with Water: There fell at the same Time great and frequent Rains, as is usual when those Winds blow. However upon *Alexander's* Approach, the North Wind rose on the sudden, and dispersed the Clouds, and driving the Waters back into the Sea, opened a Passage to the *Macedonians*. Notwithstanding which, he was forced to wade thro' several unknown Fords, which took his Men sometimes up to the Middle. At the same Time that I allow that *Alexander's* great Boldness in Dangers was the Effect of his Courage and Greatness of Soul, I must confess that this was greatly confirmed by so many Prodiges and lucky Omens, which made him ima-

gine that he was, by the Decree of Heaven, destinated to perform so many great and glorious Exploits.

It is said, that before he left *Macedonia*, a Person of a more august and venerable Figure than ordinary, presented himself to him in a Dream, and *bad him follow him into Asia to overthrow the Persian Empire*: And that when he made War in *Phenicia*, a Priest of the *Jews* appeared before him, who put him in Mind of his Dream. For while *Alexander* was employed in the Siege of *Tyre*, he had commanded the neighbouring Kings and People to submit to him, and to raise him Soldiers. But the *Jews*, who were Masters of the famous City of *Jerusalem*, excusing themselves, as being in Alliance with *Darius*, rejected the King's Friendship. He therefore being incensed thereat, marched into *Jueda* with a Design to punish the Contumacy of the People. But the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, to appease the King's Anger, went out of the Town to meet him, with their Wives and Children, in a suppliant Manner. The Priests led the Procession, being cloathed with fine Linnen, the People followed cloathed also in White, and *Jaddus* the High-Priest in his Pontifical Habit, was at the Head of the Multitude. The King admiring the Beauty of this pompous Procession, alighting from his Horse, advanced alone, and having first adored the Name of God that was engrav'd on a Gold Plate in the High-Priest's Mitre, he afterwards saluted the High-Priest himself. The unexpectedness of the Thing, struck all the Spectators with Amazement: And the *Jews* who not only saw themselves freed from their imminent Danger, but also taken into Favour, contrary to their Expectation, surrounded the King, praising and congratulating him, and offering up their Prayers for his Prosperity. On the contrary, the little Kings of *Syria*, who were bitter Enemies of the *Jews*, and had followed *Alexander* in hopes to gratify their Eyes with the Punishment of their inveterate Foes, were so astonished, that they in a Manner doubted, whether what they beheld, was a Reality, or whether their Senses were

were imposed upon by a Dream; nay the *Macedonians* themselves were not less surprized at the unusual Spectacle; insomuch that *Parmenio* approaching the King, took the Liberty to ask him, *Why he shewed so much Respect to a Foreign Religion, since to receive it from so vile a Nation, would be very disgraceful to so great a King.* *Alexander* then told *Parmenio* the Dream that he had formerly had; and afterwards entering in the City, sacrificed to God, in one of the finest Temples in *Jerusalem*, according to the Custom of the Country, and made his Offerings. Here also he saw the sacred Books of these People, containing their Prophecies; among which one foretold manifestly that the City of *Tyre* should yield to the *Macedonians*, and that the *Persians* should be subdued by a *Greek*. As he imagined himself to be meant by these Prophecies, he granted the Liberty to the Jews to live according to their own Laws and their own Customs, both within and without the City; and because their Land lay untill'd every seventh Year, he exempted them from paying Tribute that Year. He admired the Nature of this Country, which was among the most fertile, and abounded in all Fruits, besides which it produced the Oil of Balm of itself.

Alexander at his Departure, left *Andromachus* Governor of the Country; but the *Samaritans*, the constant Enemies of the *Jews*, put him to Death in a barbarous Manner sometime after: But this was not till after the taking of *Tyre*, and *Gaza*, and we speak of it here but casually.

CHAP. XII.

Alexander defeats the Barbarians, who would stop his Passage. *Memnon* forms a Design of transporting the War into Macedonia, gains an Advantage over the Macedonian Allies; but dies of the Plague in the Beginning of these promising Enterprizes.

WHEN *Alexander* had passed the narrow Way that lies along by the Sea of

Pamphilia, and was departed from *Perga*, he met on the Road the Ambassadors of the *Aspendii*, who were the Chiefs of the City, they desired of him, that they might not be compelled to receive a Garrison, promising in consideration of that Exemption, fifty Talents towards the Soldiers Pay, and as many Horses as they used to maintain by Way of Tribute for the King of *Persia*: From thence the King advanced to the *Sidete*, who are seated near the River *Meles*; they are of the Race of the *Cumeans* of *Æolia*, but are barbarous in their Speech, having lost their *Greek*, not by Length of Time, as it usually happens, but it is said that their Ancestors were no sooner arrived in the Country, but they immediately lost their Native Tongue and spoke a Language entirely new, and till that Time unknown.

When he had taken *Sidon*, which was the Capital of *Pamphilia*, he marched towards *Syllium*, a Place that was of great Strength both by its Situation and a good Garrison of Foreign Soldiers; for which reason he changed his Course, and receiving News, at the same Time, that the *Aspendii* were revolted, he marched his Army to *Aspendus*, the Inhabitants of which were so surprized at the sudden Arrival of the *Macedonians*, that they all abandoned their Houses and retired to the Citadel. *Alexander* having made himself Master of the empty Town, encamped under the Citadel, and as he had excellent Engineers with him, he brought the Besieged to sue for Peace by the very Appearance of a Siege. Nothing could have happened more agreeable to this Prince, who, having greater Designs in view, could not endure the Thoughts of being detained by sitting down before a Town that was too considerable to yield in a short Time. But that the Revolters might not go unpunish'd, he demanded that some of the Principal Inhabitants of the Town should be delivered as Hostages, and that, as they had not before paid the Tax that was imposed upon them, they should now pay double the Sum. It was also added, that they should obey what Governor soever *Alexander* appointed over them, that they should pay an Annual Tribute

Tribute to the *Macedonians*; and that they should abide by the Decision of the Law, with respect to the Territories, from whence they were accused of having driven their Neighbours by Force.

After these Things he went towards the City of *Perga*, and so continued his March into *Phrygia*: But in his Way he was obliged to pass thro' a very strait and narrow Lane, formed by two Mountains that almost join to one another, near *Telmessus* a Town belonging to the *Pisida*. The Entrances into this Lane are so strait, that they may be compared to Gates: Here the *Barbarians* had posted themselves, resolving to dispute *Alexander's* Passage. But he presently caused his Army to encamp at the very Entrance, concluding, as it afterwards happened, that the *Telmessenses*, seeing the Tents pitch'd, would imagine the Danger to be delay'd, and so would not long remain in those Straits, but leaving a competent Number of Men to guard them, would retire into the Town. *Alexander* therefore laying hold of this Opportunity, ordered the Archers and Slingers to advance, as also those of the heavy-arm'd Troops that were least encumbered; and having beat those who guarded the Pass, he went and encamped before the Town. Here Ambassadors came to him from the *Selgenses*, who, out of their inveterate Hatred to the *Telmessenses*, altho' of the same Nation, offered their Friendship and Assistance to the King. He having received them very graciously, that he might not waste his Time in the Siege of one Place, he went and encamped before *Sagalassus*, which is a strong Place, and was well provided with the Flower of their Forces for its Defence; for tho' all the *Pisida* are warlike and brave, yet the *Sagalassenses* are esteemed the Stoutest of them all. These being re-inforced with Troops from the *Telmessenses*, their Allies, and having more Confidence in their own Courage, than in their Walls, had drawn up their Army on a Neighbouring Hill, and by reason of the Advantage they had of the Ground, they repulsed the light-arm'd Forces *Alexander* had sent against them: However, the *Agriani*

made an obstinate Resistance and seemed to be encouraged by the Approach of the *Macedonian Phalanx*, and the the King's presence, whom they beheld before the Colours. The Soldiers labour'd under great Difficulties while they forced their Way up the Hill; but as soon as they had got a little firmer Footing, they easily dispersed the Multitude of Mountaineers that were but half arm'd. There fell in this Action of the *Macedonians*, *Cleander*, who was a Captain, and about twenty private Men: Of the *Barbarians*, five hundred were slain, the rest saved themselves by flight, and the Knowledge of the Country. The King pursued them as fast as Troops so encumber'd with Arms, possibly could, and at the same Time made himself Master of their Town. He carried his Arms against the other strong Places of *Pisidia*, of which he reduced some by Force, others he receiv'd by Composition. He raz'd *Telmessus*, for the obstinacy of the Inhabitants, whom he depriv'd of their Liberty, and a little after, he united them with some other Cities of *Pisidia*, to the Government of *Celene*. *Alexander* having thus quieted these bold People, continu'd his March into *Phrygia*, by the Lake *Ascanius*, whose Waters naturally come into a Concretion, and so save those who live within its Neighbourhood the Trouble of going farther for Salt.

While these Things were doing, *Memnon* having got together the scatter'd Remains of his Army, resolv'd to carry the War into *Greece* and *Macedonia*, and by that Diversion, force *Alexander* to leave *Asia*. For *Darius* now put all his Hopes in him alone, seeing he had by his Bravery, and Conduct kept the Conqueror so long in Play at *Halicarnassus*: He therefore made him *Generalissimo* of all his Forces, and sent him a vast Sum of Money. *Memnon* by this Help, having hir'd as many Troops as he could, sail'd up and down the Seas without Opposition, his Fleet consisting of three hundred Ships. He now took it into serious Consideration, what could either favour or cross his Designs: And having made himself Master of those Places that were less carefully guarded,

guarded, (among which was *Lampsacus*) he attack'd the Islands which the *Macedonians* could not succour for want of a Fleet, notwithstanding they were Masters of the Continent, on both Sides.

The great Divisions that reigned among the People were of mighty Advantage to *Memnon* in his Undertaking. For as some were in *Alexander's* Interest on account of their Liberty which he had restor'd to them; there were others, who, having got together great Riches under the *Persians*, preferred their own private Power, under their old Masters, to a general Equality in a free Republick. This made *Athenogaras* and *Appollonides*, (who were two of the most considerable Men of the Isle of *Cbios*) having communicated their Design to *Phisinus* and *Megareus*, and others of their Faction, invite *Memnon* thither. Thus *Cbios* was taken by Treachery, where having left a sufficient Garrison, the Administration of Affairs was put by him into the Hands of *Appollonides* and his Associates.

From thence sailing to *Leshos*, he with small Opposition made himself Master of *Antissa*, *Pyrrha*, and *Eressus*. He established *Aristonicus* in the Regency of *Metbymna*, and reduced the whole Island, except the famous City of *Mitylene*, which held out a considerable Time, and was not taken by

Memnon himself: For when he had rais'd a great many Works about the Town, had shut up the Port, and dispos'd his Ships in proper Places, to cut off all Succour from the Place, he was seiz'd with the Plague, and so frustrated all the Hopes of the *Persians*, to their irreparable Damage. But when he found he was near his End, he resigned his Command to *Pharnabazus*, his Sister's Son, whom she had by *Artabazus*, till *Darius* being inform'd of his Death, should provide otherwise; *Pharnabazus* therefore dividing the Duties of the Siege with *Antophradates*, the Admiral so streighten'd the Besieged, that they surrender'd upon the following Conditions: That the Garrison should be permitted to march off unmolested: That the Pillars on which were engrav'd the Terms of their Alliance with *Alexander* should be flung down; and swearing Allegiance to *Darius*, they should call home half of those who were banished. But the *Persians* did not observe all the Articles of Capitulation; for having introduced Soldiers to the Town, they made *Lycomedes*, the *Rhodian*, Governor; assigning the Regency of the Country to *Diogenes*, on the Account of his Zeal for the *Persian* Interest. After this they extorted Money from the richest Inhabitants, notwithstanding, which the common Tax of the *Mytelenians* was not at all lessened.

The End of the Second B O O K.

B O O K III.

CHAP. I.

Alexander having taken the City of Celenæ, and the Citadel, enters into the Capital of Phrygia, where he cuts the Gordian Knot; and afterwards went to seek for Darius.

ALLEXANDER, after he had sent *Cleander* to *Peloponnesus*, with Money to raise Troops, and given Directions for the Management of Affairs in

Lycia and *Pamphilia*, went and sat down with his Army before the Walls of *Celene*, thro' which Town ran the River (*Marfas*), which has been render'd famous by the *Greek Fables*. Its Source is on the Summit of a Mountain, from whence it falls on a Rock with a very great Noise, and spreading itself in the Plains, waters the neighbouring Fields, preserving its own Waters clear from a Mixture with any other: And because

because its Colour resembled the Sea when it is calm, the Poets from thence feigned that the Nymphs, falling in love with this River, took up their Residence in the foresaid Rock. While it runs within the Walls of the Town it preserves its own Name, but when it has passed the Ramparts, and becomes larger and more impetuous, it is called *Lycus*. *Alexander*, finding the Town abandoned by its Inhabitants, went and attacked the Fortress to which they were retired; but sent a Herald before him to summon them to Surrender, or let them know they were to expect no Favour: But they taking the Herald into a high Tower strong both by Nature and Art, bad him take a View of its Height and acquaint *Alexander*, that the Inhabitants and He had different Nations of its Fortifications: They knew they could not be reduced; but however, let the worst come that could, they were ready to lay down their Lives for their Loyalty. Yet when they saw they were formally besieged, and that every thing grew scarcer with them from one Day to another, they agreed upon a Truce for two Months, in which time if they received no Relief from *Darius*, they promised to surrender; and accordingly, no Succour appearing, they submitted to the King, on the Day that was fixed. About this Time Ambassadors came to him from the *Athenians*, to desire that those of their City, who had been made Prisoners at the Battle near the River *Ganicus* might be restored to them. *Alexander* made Answer, that not only their Citizens, but likewise all the other Greeks should be restor'd to their respective Cities, as soon as the Persian War was ended. However as he long'd to come to an Engagement with *Darius*, who, as he was inform'd, had not yet pass'd the *Euphrates*; he from all Parts summon'd his Troops, that he might be able with his whole Strength, to come to a decisive Action with him. He was then leading his Army through *Phrygia*; which abounded with Villages, but had not many Towns. Yet there was one still in Request called *Gordium*, the antient Seat of *Midas*. The River *Sangarius* runs thro'

it, and it is seated between the *Pontick* and the *Cilician* Seas. These Seas almost unite, having but a small Neck of Land to part 'em, each Sea striving to encroach upon the Land, and reducing it into a narrow Streight. But yet tho' it reaches the Continent, and as it is almost surrounded with Water, it seems to represent an Island; insomuch, that were it not for this slender Partition, these Seas would join. *Alexander*, having made himself Master of the Town, went into *Jupiter's* Temple, where they shew'd him *Gordius's* Chariot, who was Father to *Midas*. This Chariot in outward Appearance differ'd very little from the common sort. But there was one Thing in it very remarkable, which was a Cord so mysteriously ty'd into Knots, so artfully interwoven one within the other, that no body could find out where they began, nor where they ended; the Inhabitants giving him to understand, That the Oracle had declared, that he that could untie that Knot should conquer Asia, he was mighty desirous to fulfil the Prophecy. The King was then surrounded with a great many *Phrygians* and *Macedonians*: Those impatiently waited for the Event, and these were full of Concern for the rash Undertaking of their Prince: For the Series of Knots was so perplex'd, that neither Reason nor Sense could direct him in the discovery either of its Beginning or End. Hereupon, the King being apprehensive that his failing in this Point might be look'd upon as ominous, after a long and fruitless Struggle with the intricacy of the Knots, broke out into this Expression, That it was not very material how they were untied; so taking his Sword he cut them all asunder, and by that Means either eluded or fulfilled the Prophecy.

Alexander being now resolv'd to find out *Darius* wherever he was, that he might leave all Things in safety behind him, he gave to *Amphoterus* the Command of his Fleet, on the Coast of the *Hellepont*, and declar'd *Hegelochus* General of the Land Forces, giving them Orders to drive out the Persian Garrisons from *Lesbos*, *Chios*, and *Caos*, and order'd them fifty Talents for the said

said Uses: He sent at the same time to *Antipater*, and the other Governors of the Greek Cities, six hundred Talents. He required also of his Confederates that they should with their own Ships defend the *Hellspont*. The King was not yet inform'd of *Memnon's* Death, who was then the chief of his Care, being well assur'd that he should meet with nothing to stop him, unless it was through his Means.

Alexander was by this Time come to the Town *Ancyra*, where having muster'd his Army, he enter'd *Paphlagonia*, which border'd upon the *Eneiti*, from whence some are of Opinion the *Venetians* are descended. All this Country readily submitted to the King; and having given him Pledges for their future Loyalty, they obtained an Exemption from Tribute, it not appearing they had paid any even to the *Persians*. He gave *Calas* the Government of this Country, and march'd himself into *Capadocia*, taking with him the new Levies that were lately come from *Macedonia*.

C H A P. II.

The Persians review their Army, and Charidemus the Athenian is put to Death for giving his Advice too freely, altho' by the Command of Darius.

DARIUS receiving the News of the Death of *Memnon*, and being as much afflicted as so great a Loss required, resolved henceforth not to build his Hopes on any other, but to command his Army himself; for he was not well satisfied with his Lieutenants, seeing the greatest Part of them unsuccessful. Having therefore formed a Camp near *Babylon*, that they might enter upon the War with the greater Courage, he drew all his Forces together in Sight of the City: Where having intrenched such a Space of Ground as would conveniently hold ten thousand Men after *Xerxes's* Method, he took a List of the Number of his Army. From the rising of the Sun till Night, they kept moving into this intrenched Ground, according to their respective Rolls,

and from thence they were distributed in the Plains of *Mesopotamia*.

The Multitude of his Horse and Foot was almost innumerable, and yet in Appearance they seem'd to be still more than they really were. Of *Persians* there were one hundred Thousand, whereof thirty Thousand were Horse. The *Medians* made up ten thousand Horse and fifty thousand Foot. The *Barcians* consisted of two thousand Horse, armed with two edged Bills and light roundish Bucklers, and ten thousand Foot armed after the same Manner. The *Armenians* had sent forty thousand Foot, and seven thousand Horse. The *Hircanians*, who were in great Repute among those Nations, furnished six thousand Horse. The *Derbicas* had fitted out forty thousand Foot, most of them arm'd with Pikes, and the rest with Staves hardened in the Fire; these were also accompany'd with two thousand Horse of the same Nation. From the *Caspain* Sea there came eight thousand Foot and two hundred Horse: These had with them of the less considerable *Asiaticks* two thousand Foot and double the Number of Horse. Besides these Troops, there were thirty thousand *Greeks* in their Pay, all chosen young Men. As for the *Bactrians*, *Sodgians*, and *Indians*, and the other Inhabitants bordering on the *Red Sea*, whose Names were hardly known to him, the Haste he was in would not permit him to wait for their coming. His Cavalry was composed of thirty thousand *Persian* Horse, ten thousand *Medes*, ten thousand *Barcians*, armed like their Infantry, seven thousand *Armenians*, almost as many *Hircanians*, as good Soldiers as any of those People could be, two thousand *Derbicas*, two hundred from the *Caspain* Sea, and four Thousand gathered together of different Sorts, making in the whole above sixty thousand Horse; so that a numerous Army was what he least wanted.

The Sight of this vast Multitude was so grateful to him, and his Nobles, according to their usual Flattery, so swelled his Hopes, that turning to *Charidemus* the *Athenian*, an experienced Soldier, and an Enemy to

Alexander, on the Account of his Banishment, (for he had been expell'd Athens by his Order) he asked him, *Whether he thought him well enough provided to overthrow his Enemy?* But *Charidemus*, unmindful of his Condition, or the King's Pride, made this Answer, *Perhaps, Sir, you may not be pleased with the Truth; and yet, if I do not tell it now, it will be in vain for me to tell it hereafter: This Army of your's, that makes so great an Appearance, this vast Multitude compos'd of so many different Nations, and of all the Eastern Countries, perhaps, may be terrible to the neighbouring People: The Purple and Gold, with which it is adorn'd, the Splendor and Riches of its Arms, are such, that they who have not beheld it with their Eyes, can hardly bring their Thoughts to conceive an Appearance of this Nature: But the Macedonian Army is dreadful to behold, and are immur'd to protect their immoveable Wedges, and the united Strength of their Men, with their Pikes and Bucklers. Their Phalanx is a firm Body of Foot; the Men stand in close Order, and their Arms are, in a Manner, united: They are so perfectly well exercised, that they know how, (upon the last Signal given) to follow their Colours and observe their Ranks. The Word of Command is by all obeyed at once; whether it be to repel the Enemy, to wheel about, or change the Order of Battle, the Officers themselves are not more expert, than the common Soldiers. And that you may not think they value Gold or Silver, they have learned this Discipline in the School of Poverty; when they are tir'd the Ground is their Bed; they satisfy their Hunger with any thing they can get. Now as for the Thessalian Horse, the Acarnanians, and the Etolians, they are an invincible Body of Men, and still I believe they are to be repulsed with Slings, and Pikes harden'd in the Fire? No, Sir, there must be an equal Strength, and you ought to seek for Succour in that Country that produced these Men: Send therefore that Gold and that Silver to hire Troops from whence they came. Darius was naturally of a mild and tractable Disposition, but his*

high Station now and then tainted it. Being therefore to hear the Truth, he broke thro' the Laws of Hospitality, and commanded both his Guest and Suppliant, and best Adviser, to be hurried away to Execution. However, that did not hinder him from speaking his Mind freely; for he told the King, *I have one at Hand that will revenge my Death, and he that I advis'd against will Chastise you for slighting my Counsel: And you, that by the Regal Prerogative are so suddenly changed, shall be an Example to Posterity, that when Men abandon themselves to their Fortune, they even forget Nature.* While he was making this publick Declaration, the Executioners cut his Throat. The King was afterwards touch'd with too late a Repentance; and acknowledging he had spoke the Truth, ordered him to be buried.

CHAP. III.

The Pomp of the Kings of Persia when they march, and the Description of Alexander's Troops.

DARIUS afterwards commanded *Thymondas*, the Son of *Mentor*, an active and enterprizing young Man, to receive from *Pharnabazus* the foreign Soldiers under his Command, designing to make use of them in the War, as of those in whom he could the most confide; and he put *Pharnabazus* in the Place of *Mentor*. Now as *Darius's* Thoughts were wholly taken up with the Views of the present important Affairs, he had also in his Sleep several Dreams, that seemed to foretel the Event of Things, which whether they proceeded from Solicitude and Care, or that his Mind had a real Fore-knowledge of what was to happen is uncertain. He dreamed that the *Macedonian* Camp was all on Fire; and a little after that *Alexander* was brought to him in the same Garb he was in himself when he was chosen King, and that having rid through the City, he on a sudden vanished, Horse and all. The judgments of the *Southsayers* were various, and kept People

People in suspense; for some of them said, *His Dream portended good Luck, by reason that the Enemy's Camp was on Fire, and Alexander having laid aside his Regal Kobes, had been brought to him in the private Dress of the Persians.* Others were of quite different Opinion, and said, *That the Brightness of the Macedonian Camp was a Token of Alexander's future Splendour; who they conjectured would make himself Master of Asia, because he had appeared in the same Dress Darius had on when he was saluted King.* The present Anxiety had also received past Presages, as it usually happens. *Darius* in the Beginning of his Reign had ordered the *Persian* Scabbard to be changed into that Form that the *Greeks* used; hereupon the *Chaldeans* prognosticated, that the *Persian* Empire should pass into the Hands of those, who Arms they had imitated. However he was wonderfully pleased with the Interpreters Exposition, which was what was spread among the common People, and so caused his Army to march towards the *Euphrates*.

It was an ancient Custom among the *Persians* not to march with their Army before the rising of the Sun, and then a Signal was given, by a Trumpet, from the King's Tent, upon which the Image of the Sun was exposed to the People, in a Case of Chrysal. Their March was in the following Order: First the Fire, that was held Sacred and Eternal, was carried on Silver Altars, and the *Magi* followed it singing Hymns after the Manner of the Country. These were succeeded by three hundred and sixty-five young Lads, according to the Number of the Days in the Year, clothed in Vests of Purple. After these came a Chariot consecrated to *Jupiter*, which was drawn by white Horses; these were followed by a Horse of uncommon Height and Bulk, and was called the *Horse of the Sun*; the Grooms were clad in White, with each a Golden Wand in his Hand. At a small Distance followed ten Chariots embellished with a great deal of Gold and Silver finely carved. Next came the Cavalry of twelve Nations, different in their

Manners, and variously armed. After these marched those whom the *Persians* call *Immortal*, being ten Thousand in Number; among all the *Barbarians* none were more richly clad: They had gold Chains about their Necks, and their Cloths were embroidered with Gold; besides which they had sleeved Jackets, finely adorned with Pearl. At a small Distance followed those who went by the Denomination of the King's Relations, consisting of fifteen Thousand Men. This Band being dress'd almost after the Manner of Women, was more conspicuous for its Luxury than for its Arms. The *Doryphori* came next, who carried the King's Apparel; these preceded the King's Chariot, where his Seat was so high, that he was easily seen. Each Side of the Chariot was curiously set off with the Images of the Gods, wrought in Gold and Silver; the Beam of it glittered with precious Stones, and bore two Images of Gold about a Cubit high, one whereof represented *Ninus*, and the other *Belus*: Between these was placed a sacred Eagle of Gold, with its Wings expanded. But nothing could equal the Magnificence of the King's Apparel; his Vest was of Purple Silk striped with Silver, upon which he had a Robe shining all over with Gold and precious Stones, whereon two Hawks wrought in Gold seemed to peck at each other. His Girdle was also after the Women's Mode of Gold, at which hung his Sword, which had a Scabbard of Pearl. The Regal Ornament for the Head, is by the *Persians* called a *Cidaris*, this was encompassed with a Roll of Sky Colour, with a Mixture of White. The Chariot was followed by ten Thousand Pikemen, whose Pikes were plated with Silver, having their Spikes tipped with Gold. He had on his Right Hand and Left, about two hundred of his Relations: This Body was attended by thirty thousand Foot, who were followed by four hundred of the King's Horses. After these within the Distance of one Furlong was *Sysigambis*, *Darius's* Mother, in one Chariot, and his Queen in another: The Troop of Servants that waited on the Queen's, was on Horseback; next came fifteen

reen covered Waggon, in which were the King's Children with their Tutors, and Eunuchs, which are not accounted contemptible in those Nations. Then followed three hundred and fifty of the King's Concubines, all in regal Apparel. The King's Money which was carried by six hundred Mules, and three hundred Camels, attended by a Guard of Archers, went next. After these came the Wives of the King's Relations and Friends, who were followed by Crowds of Servants and Slaves. The whole was concluded by the light-armed Soldiers, with their respective Officers, who brought up the Rear. Such was *Darius's* Army.

But he that beheld *Alexander's* would find it altogether different; for neither the Men nor the Horses glittered with Gold nor rich Apparel, but with their Iron and Brass; yet his Troops were always ready either to halt, or to march, being neither burthened with Followers, nor overloaded with Baggage, ever attentive, not only to the General's Signal, but even the least Nod of his Head: He had room enough to encamp in, and Provision enough for his Army; so that when it was drawn up in Order for Battle, he could see a single Soldier was not wanting. Whereas *Darius*, who was King of so vast a Multitude, by the straitness of the Place in which he fought, was reduced to the small Number he had despised in his Enemy.

C. H. A. P. IV.

Alexander seizes opportunely the Pass of Cilicia, which had been abandoned by Arfanes, Darius's General.

IN the mean time *Alexander*, having given the Government of *Cappadocia* to *Abistamenes*, marched with his Army toward *Cilicia*; and was already come to the Place they call *Cyrus's* Camp, this Part of the Country was so called from *Cyrus's* having encamp'd there, as he was marching into *Lydia* against *Cresus*. It was about fifty Furlongs distant from the narrow Passage that leads into *Cilicia*, which by the Inha-

bitants is called *Pyle*, being narrow Streights, which Nature seems by Situation to have made as strong as if they had been fortify'd by the Hand of Man. Upon Advice of this, *Arfanes*, who was Governor of *Cilicia*, calling to Mind *Memnon's* Counsel at the Beginning of the War (when it would have been of Use) executed the same when it was too late; ravaging *Cilicia* with Fire and Sword, that the Enemy might find it a mere Desert, spoiling every Thing that could any Way be useful, that he might leave that Country naked and barren, which he could not defend; but it had been much more advisable to have seized the Pass, and to have guarded it with a strong Body of Men; and to have made himself Master of the Mountain that commands the Road, from whence it had been easy, without the least Danger, either to have kept off, or to have oppressed the Enemy. However, he having left a few to defend the same, went back himself to lay waste that Country, that he ought to have preserved from Depredations. This made those he left there, imagining they were betrayed, not so much as wait for the Sight of the Enemy, when at the same Time a smaller Number might have defended that Place; for *Cilicia* is hemm'd in by a Ridge of craggy steep Hills, which beginning at the Sea on one Side, and fetching a Compass about, joins again to the Sea on the other Side. The Back of the Mountain that lies farthest from the Sea, three very narrow Passes, by the one of which you enter *Cilicia*; that Part of it that lies towards the Sea is Champaign, and has its Plains watered by several Rivers, of these *Pyramus*, and *Cydnus* are the most considerable. The *Cydnus* is not so remarkable for the Largeness of its Stream, as for the Clearness of its Water; for falling gently from its Fountain-head, it is received in a pure Soil, and has no Torrents falling into it to disturb its gentle Current. This is the Cause that its Waters are very clear, and at the same Time mighty cold; for being shaded by the Trees that grow on its Banks on each Side, it preserves its Purity all the Way till it falls into the Sea. Time

has

has impaired many antient Monuments in this Country, which have been celebrated by the Poets: Here are to be seen the Ruins of the Towns *Lyrnessus* and *Thebes*, as also *Thryphon's* Cave, and the *Corycian* Grove, which affords Saffron; with the Fame of many other Curiosities, which subsist now only in Report.

Alexander having entered these Streights, and considered the Nature of the Place, was seized with an Admiration of *his own Felicity*, for he did not scruple to own, *That he and his Army might have been knocked on the Head with Stones only, if there had been but Hands to have rolled them down upon them as they passed under the Mountain.* The Way was so narrow, that four Men could hardly march a-breast; besides, the back of the Hill hung over it, and it was not only difficult on the Score of its Streightness, but also for its being in many Places broken by the several Rivulets that flow from the Bottom of the Hills.

Alexander therefore ordered the light-armed *Thracians* to march before, and examine the narrow Ways, for fear the Enemy should lye there in Ambuscade to surprise him. He also sent a Body of Archers to possess themselves of the Top of the Hill, ordering them to March with their Bows ready bent, admonishing them that they were not entering upon a March, but upon an Engagement. In this Order he advanced to the City of *Tarsus*, which the *Persians* were then setting on Fire, that so rich a Place might not fall into the Hands of the Enemy. But the King having sent *Parnenio* before with a Detachment of light Horse, to put a Stop to the Fire, sav'd the Place; and understanding that upon Approach of his Men the *Barbarians* were fled, entered the Town he had preserved.

C H A P. V.

Alexander falls dangerously ill, occasioned by his Bathing in the River Cydnus, at an improper Time.

THE River *Cydnus*, of which we have spoken before, runs thro' this City,

and it was then the Summer Season, at which time the Heat is no where more violent than in this Country of *Cilicia*, and it was the hottest Time of the Day. The Clearness of the Stream invited the King to wash the Sweat and Dust off his Body, which at that Time was over-heated; therefore he pulled off his Cloaths in Sight of the Army, thinking it would still increase their Esteem for him, if they perceived he was not over nice in the Care of his Person, But was contented with that Refreshment that was cheap and always at Hand, and so went into the River: He was no sooner in it but a sudden Horror seized all his Limbs, and turned pale, the vital Heat having almost forsaken his Body. Hereupon his Servants took him up, and carry'd him into his Tent, he being like one expiring and equally insensible.

The Camp was now in the greatest Affliction and Concern, nay, almost in Tears; they bewailed the hard Fate of their King, the greatest and most memorable Prince of any Age, that he should be in such a Manner snatch'd away, in so promising a Course of Success; and that too, not in Battle, nor by the Hand of the Enemy, but bathing himself in a River. That *Darius* was now almost in the Neighbourhood, and would be a Conqueror without so much as seeing his Enemy. That they should be forced to march back as Men vanquished, thro' those Countries they had so lately subdued; and as either they themselves or the Enemy, had laid every Thing waste in their March, they should Perish even by Famine and Want, in such vast Wildernesses, altho' no Enemy pursued them. Who would presume to be their Leader in their Flight? Who would dare to succeed *Alexander*? And admitting they made a good Retreat to the *Hellepont*, who would prepare a Fleet to transport 'em? Then turning their Pity again to the King, they lamented, that such a Flower of Youth, such a Genius and Strength of Mind, their King and their Fellow Soldier at the same Time, should be as it were torn from them, after so surprizing a Manner. In the mean time *Alexander* began to breath a little more

more freely, and to open his Eyes, and by Degrees recovering his Senses, to know those about him; and the height of his Distemper seemed to abate, if it were but in this, that he was now sensible of the Greatness of his Sickness. The Indisposition of his Body now affected his Mind, for he was informed, that *Darius* was but five Days March off *Cilicia*. It grieved him to think, that he should be delivered as it were bound into the Hands of his Enemy; that so glorious a Victory should be wrested from him, and that he should die after an obscure and ignoble Manner in his Tent. Having therefore called together his Friends and Physicians, he spoke to them to this Effect, You see in what Juncture of my Affairs Fortune has surprized me; methinks I hear the Noise of the Enemy's Arms; and I that was the Aggressor am now provoked to Battle; one would think that when *Darius* writ those haughty Letters to me, that my Fortune had been of his Council, but yet in vain, if I may be permitted to be cured my own Way. My Occasions do not require slow Medicines, nor timorous Physicians, nay, I had better dye resolutely than to recover my Health slowly; therefore if there be any Help or Art in my Physicians, let them know, that I do not seek so much a Remedy against Death, as against the impending War. This violent Temerity fill'd all the Standers-by with Concern, every one therefore began to entreat him, that he would not encrease his Danger by too precipitous a Haste, but that he would commit himself to the Care of his Physicians, that they did not without Cause distrust untry'd Remedies, since the Enemy had with Money tempted those about him to his Destruction (for *Darius* had publicly notify'd, that he would give a thousand Talents to whoever should kill *Alexander*;) that on this Account they did not believe any Body would dare to make Trial of a Remedy, that by its Novelty might give just Cause for Suspicion.

CHAP. VI.

Alexander recovers his Health, by the Assistance of Philip, a learned and faith-

ful Physician, to whom the whole Army return Thanks.

AMONG many famous Physicians, who followed the King out of *Macedonia*, there was one named *Philip*, an *Acarnanian* by Birth, who had attended him in his Youth, and loved him not only as his King, but as his Pupil. This Man promised *Alexander* that he would give him a Dose of Physick that should work its Effects soon, and yet should not fail of curing his Distemper. This Promise pleased no Body but him at whose Peril it was made, for he lik'd any Thing better than Delay. The Armies were constantly before his Eyes, and he thought himself sure of the Victory if he could head his Men. The only Thing he dislik'd was, that he was not to take his Medicine (for so the Physician had pre-acquainted him) till three Days were elapsed.

While these Things were a doing, he receives Advice from *Parmenio*, in whom he chiefly confided, not to trust *Philip* with his Health, for that *Darius* had corrupted him with the Promise of a thousand Talents, and the Hopes of his Sister in Marriage. These Letters fill'd him with Anxiety and Care, he weighed within himself whatever either Fear or Hope could suggest to him. Shall I take this Potion? That in Case it be Poison I may be thought to deserve whatever happens? Shall I distrust the Fidelity of my Physician, or shall I resolve to be oppressed in my own Tent? However, it is better I should dye by an other's Crime than my own Fear. These Things worked his Mind different Ways, yet he did not reveal to any Body the Contents of the Letter, but sealing it with his Ring, he laid it under his Pillow. Having passed two Days in this Agitation of Mind, the third was now at Hand, which was the Day prefixed by his Physician for the taking his Medicine, the which he accordingly brought him. *Alexander* seeing him, rais'd himself upon his Elbow, and holding *Parmenio's* Letter in his left Hand, took the Potion from him, and drank it off boldly; and then gave *Philip* the Letter to read, keeping

keeping his Eye fix'd upon his Countenance all the Time, judging that if he were Guilty, there would appear some Symptoms of guilt in his Looks. *Philip* having read the Letter, shew'd more Indignation than Fear, and flinging down his Cloak and the Letter at the Bed-side, he said, Sir, my Life has always depended on your Majesty, but I look upon it now to do so in a particular Manner, since the sacred Breath you draw must determine mine. As for the Treason and Parricide I am charg'd with, your Recovery will sufficiently declare my Innocence; and I beg that when I have sav'd your Life, you will graciously grant me mine. In the mean Time suffer the Medicine to work itself into your Veins, and compose your Mind, that your Friends, tho' out of Duty, have unseasonably disturbed. This Speech not only made the King easy, but chearful, and full of Hopes. He therefore told *Philip*, that if the Gods had given him the choice of an Expedient to know how he was affected towards him, to be sure he would have pitched upon some other: But however, he could not have wish'd for any more certain than that which Fortune now offer'd him; for you see, that notwithstanding the Letter I received, I took the Potion you gave me, and I believe you are now no less sollicitous for your own Fidelity, than for my Recovery.

Having spoke these Words, he gave him his Hand, but when the Medicine began to exert itself, the Symptoms that ensued, seem'd to back *Parmenio's* Advice, for he was so far spent, that he with much Difficulty drew his Breath. However, *Philip*, omitted nothing that was proper, he applied Fomentations to his Body, and when he fainted he restor'd him by the Odour of Meats and Wine, and as soon as he perceived him to grow sensible, he put him in mind sometimes of his Sister and Mother, and then again of the approaching Victory.

But when the Physick had worked itself into his Veins, there began to appear manifest Tokens of his Recovery; for his Mind was first restored to its former Vigour, and then his Body regained its Strength sooner

than could be expected. For in three Days Time he shew'd himself to the Army, which was overjoyed to see him, and almost with equal Eagerness beheld *Philip*, whom they caress'd, returning him Thanks as to a present Divinity. Besides the natural Veneration this Nation has for its Kings, it is not easy to express, how particularly they admir'd and lov'd *Alexander*. For in the first Place, he seem'd to undertake nothing but with the immediate Assistance of the Deity; and as Fortune sided with him in every Thing, his very Rashness always turn'd to his Glory. Besides, as his Years did not seem ripe for such great Performances, yet as he acquitted himself worthily thereof, they were so far from lessening them, that they even added to their Lustre. Moreover, there are many Things, which, tho' inconsiderable in themselves, yet are very acceptable to the Soldiery; as his exercising his Body amongst them, his extraordinary Apparel that differ'd little from that of a private Man, and his military Vigour, by which Endowments of Nature, or Arts of his Mind, he made himself both beloved and respected.

C H A P. VII:

Alexander finding himself well, proposes to go and attack Darius: He orders a Persian, named Sisines, to be killed, who lost himself by his Imprudence.

WHEN *Darius* heard of *Alexander's* Illness, he march'd towards the *Euphrates* with all the Expedition so great a Multitude would permit of, and having laid a Bridge over the River, his Army pass'd it in five Days; for he desired to prevent his Enemy in the Possession of *Cilicia*. But *Alexander* having recover'd his Strength, was now come to the Town called *Soli*, which he made himself Master of and rais'd by Contributions from it, two hundred Talents, putting a Garrison into the Castle. Here he performed the Vows he had made for the Recovery of his Health, and celebrated Sports in Honour of *Æsculapius* and *Minerva*.

Minerva, shewing thereby with what Assurance he despised the *Barbarians*. While he assisted at these Games he received an Express from *Halicarnassus*, which brought him the favourable News of the *Persians* being beat by his Forces, and that the *Minidians* and *Caunians*, with several other People in those Parts, were brought under his Obedience.

The Sports being ended, he decamped, and having laid a Bridge over the River *Pyramus*, he came to the City of *Mallos*; from whence he broke up, and came to *Castabala*. Here he was joined by *Parmenio*, whom he had sent to view the Passage of the Forest through which he was to march to the Town *Iffus*. *Parmenio* having seized these Passes, and left a sufficient Number of Men to guard them, had also taken Possession of *Iffus*, which the Inhabitants had abandon'd; from hence he advanced farther on, and drove the Enemy from their Holds in the Mountains, and having secured the Roads, as we said before, he returned to the King, both the Performer and the Messenger of these Successes. Upon this, *Alexander* march'd his Army to *Iffus*, where he held a Council to consider, whether he should advance any farther, or wait there for the coming up of the new Levies, that he suddenly expected from *Macedonia*. *Parmenio* was of Opinion, that he could not pitch upon any more proper Place to give a Battle in, since there the Troops of both Kings would be reduced to an equal Number, by reason the Streights there would not admit of a Multitude. That they ought to avoid the Plains and open Fields, where they might be surrounded, and oppressed by the inequality of Number. For he did not fear so much being overcome by the Bravery of the Enemy, as by their own weariness. Whereas the *Persians* in a more spacious Place, would be constantly relieved by fresh Troops. So wholesome a Council was easily approved of, and therefore he resolved to wait there for the Enemy.

There was at that Time in the *Macedonian* Army, a *Persian* named *Sifnes*, who had formerly been sent by the Governor of

Aegypt to King *Philip*, this Man being courteously entertained, and honourably promoted in *Macedon*, chose rather to remain there, than return into his own Country; but upon *Alexander's* Expedition into *Asia*, he accompanied him, and was of the Number of those that the King confided in. A *Cretan* Soldier having one Day delivered him a Letter sealed with an unknown Seal from *Nabarzanes*, one of *Darius's* Lieutenants, he exhorted him therein, to do something worthy his Quality and Merit, assuring him, that the King would requite him for it. *Sifnes* being altogether innocent, had often endeavour'd to shew *Alexander* this Letter, but finding him always busy, and taken up with his Preparations for the ensuing Action, he waited for a more favourable Opportunity; but this Delay caused a Suspicion of his being ill inclin'd; for the Letter was brought first to *Alexander*, who having read it, seal'd it with an unknown Seal, and ordered it to be delivered to *Sifnes*, intending thereby to try his Fidelity: But he not attending on the King for several Days, was look'd upon to suppress the Letter out of an evil Design, so that he was kill'd by the *Cretans*, no doubt by *Alexander's* Order.

C H A P. VIII.

The Councils and Resolutions of Darius before the Battle. A great Consternation in the Persian Army. A Prognostick of its Defeat.

THYMONDAS was now arrived in the Camp with the *Grecian* Bands, that *Pharnabazus* had put into his Hands, who were the principal and almost only Hope of *Darius*. These would fain have persuaded him to retire, and gain the Plains of *Mesopotamia*. If he did not approve of this, at least to divide his vast Army, and not suffer the whole Strength of his Kingdoms to depend upon one single Stroke of uncertain Fortune. This Advice was not so disagreeable to the King as to his Nobles. They urged, that there was no relying upon the

the Fidelity of these Men, that they were bribed to betray the Army, which they would have divided for no other Reason, but that they might deliver up to *Alexander* whatever should be committed to their Trust. Therefore the safest Way was to surround them with the whole Army, and cut them to Pieces at once, for an Example to all Traitors. But as *Darius* was a religious Prince, and of a mild Disposition, he abhorred so barbarous a Counsel, as that of butchering those who had put themselves under his Protection, and were actually in his Service. Which of all the foreign Nations, said he, would trust their Lives with him hereafter, who should stain his Hands with the Blood of so many Soldiers? Besides, no Body ought to suffer Death for giving weak Advice, since there would be no such Thing as Counsellors, if their Lives must be in Danger of speaking their Opinion: That they themselves were every Day consulted by him, and he heard their different Sentiments, yet he did not Esteem them that gave him the most prudent Counsel, to be more faithful than the rest. Wherefore he made this Answer to the Greeks, *That he thank'd them for the good Disposition they express'd, but as for his going back, he did not think it convenient, since he should thereby deliver up his Kingdom as a Prey to his Enemy. That the Reputation of War depended on Fame, and he that retires, is look'd upon to fly. As to the prolonging the War, it was impossible, by reason the Winter was coming on, and there would be no Means to subsist so vast an Army, in a Country already wasted both by himself and the Enemy. That he could not divide his Forces without acting contrary to the Practice of his Predecessors, who always brought their whole Strength when they hazarded a Battle. And in Truth, that terrible King, who while he was at a Distance, was puff'd up with such a vain Assurance, when he understood that he was near at hand, of rash, was become cautious, and lurking in the Streights of the Forest, like the cowardly Beasts, who at the least Noise of Passengers, hide themselves in the*

Woods. That even now he counterfeited being Sick, to disappoint his Soldiers, But however it should now be no longer in his Power to refuse fighting, for if he did, he would seize him in the very Den his faint Heart had made him repair to for Safety.

This Speech had more of Ostentation in it, than of Truth. However *Darius* having sent all his Money, and his most precious Moveables, under a moderate Guard to *Damascus* in *Syria*, march'd with the rest of his Army into *Cilicia*; his Royal Consort and Mother following in the Rear of the Army, according to the Custom of the Country. His Daughters also, and little Son, accompanied their Father. *Alexander*, as it happen'd, came the same Night to the Streights that lead to *Syria*, and *Darius* to a Place called the *Amanice Pyle*. The *Persians* made no doubt, but the *Macedonians* had abandon'd *Iffus*, which they had taken, and were fled: For they had intercepted some of the Wounded and Sick, that could not keep up with the Army; and *Darius*, at the Instigation of his Nobles, who were urg'd on by a barbarous Inhumanity, having caus'd their Hands to be cut off, and fear'd, ordered them to be led about his Camp, that they might take a View of his Army, and having satisfy'd their Curiosity, report to their King, what they had seen. After this, *Darius* decamp'd, and pass'd the River *Pinarus*, with a Design to pursue the routed, as he thought them. In the mean Time those whose Hands had been cut off, arrive in *Alexander's* Camp, and inform him, that *Darius* was following them with the utmost Diligence. The King hardly believ'd them, and therefore sent Scouts to the maritime Regions, to know for certain, whether *Darius* was there in Person, or whether some of his Grandees did not counterfeit coming with the whole Strength of the Kingdom. But by that Time the Scouts returned, the vast Multitudes appear'd at a Distance, and in a little Time, Fires were kindled all over the Camp, which had the Appearance of a general Conflagration, the disorderly Multitude dispersing themselves more loosely for the conveniency of the Cattle.

Hereupon, *Alexander* order'd his Army to pitch their Tents, being overjoy'd that he was to come to a decisive Action in those Straights, a Thing he had long wish'd for. Nevertheless (as it usually happens, when the Time of Danger draws nigh) his great Assurance began to turn into Solitude and Care. And he now seem'd to distrust that Fortune by whose Assistance he had been so Successful, and did not, without some Reason, conclude her to be very fickle, from the many Advantages she had bestow'd on himself. He reflected, that there was now but the Space of a single Night between him, and the Event of so great a Hazard: Then again, he considered, that the Reward would be full much greater than the Danger; and altho' it was yet doubtful, whether he should gain the Victory or not, however, this was undeniably certain, that if he perished, he should die honourably, and with universal Applause. He therefore order'd the Soldiers to go and refresh themselves, and to be in readiness with their Arms at the third Watch: In the mean Time he went himself to the Top of a high Hill, having with him several Torches and Lights, and there, after the Manner of his Country, offer'd Sacrifices to the Gods of the Place. The Trumpet had now given the third Warning, according to Order, and the Soldiers were ready either to march or fight; and being commanded to march with the utmost Diligence, they came, by break of Day, to the Straits they design'd to possess themselves off. By this Time, they that were sent to get Intelligence, came and acquainted him that *Darius* was but thirty Furlongs off. He therefore commanded the Army to halt, and having put on his Armour, he drew up his Army in Order of Battle. The affrighted Peasants came now to *Darius*, giving him to understand, that the Enemy was at Hand, who could hardly be perswaded that those he thought to pursue as Fugitives, should dare to give him the Meeting: Hereupon his People were all seized with a sudden Fear; for they were better prepared for a March than for Battle; they therefore take to their Arms in haste,

and the very hurry they were in on that Occasion, increas'd their Terror. Some got up to the Top of the Hill, that from thence they might take a View of the Enemy; others were bridling their Horses: So that the Discord that reigned in this Army, which was not guided by the Direction of any single Person, fill'd all Things with a tumultuary Confusion. At first *Darius* had resolv'd, with part of his Troops, to take Possession of the Top of the Hill, in order to Attack the Enemy both in Front and Rear, appointing others to do the same on the Side of the Sea, which cover'd his Right, so that he might press upon them from all Parts. Moreover, he had sent before, twenty Thousand Foot, with a Band of Archers, with Orders to pass the River *Pyramus* (that runs between the two Armies) and charge the *Macedonians*: And if they found that impracticable, to retire to the Mountains, and secretly surround their Rear. But Fortune, that is Superior to all Reason, disappointed his prudent Measures; for some out of Fear did not care to execute their Orders, and others executed them to no Purpose, for where the Parts fail, the whole is confounded.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Forces of each Army; and a Comparison between them.

THE Disposition of the Army was in the following Manner: *Nabarzanes* was in the Right Wing with his Horse, and about twenty thousand Archers and Slingers; here were also the thirty thousand Mercenary *Greeks*, commanded by *Thymondas*. These were beyond all doubt the main Strength of the Army, a Body equal to the *Macedonian Phalanx*. In the Left, was *Aristomedes* the *Thessalian*, with twenty Thousand of the *Barbarian* Foot, behind them were placed the most warlike Nations as a Body of Reserve. The King being here in Person, was attended by three thousand chosen Horse, the usual Guard of his Body, and forty thousand Foot, which were followed

lowed by the *Hyrcaian* and *Median* Cavalry. That of the other Nations was disposed on the Right and Left as Occasion required.

The Army thus drawn up, was preceded by six thousand Slingers and Darters. There was not the least Space in the Streights but was filled with Troops; infomuch that one of the Wings extended itself to the Mountains, and the other to the Sea. The Queen Confort, with *Darius's* Mother, and the rest of the Women, were received in the Center of the Army.

Now *Alexander* drew up his Army, so that the *Phalanx*, which is the chief Strength of the *Macedonians*, was in the Front: The Right was commanded by *Nicanor*, the Son of *Parmenio*; next to him were *Cenos*, *Perdiccas*, *Meleager*, *Ptolemy*, and *Amyntas*, with their respective Corps: On the Left, that extended itself to the Sea, were *Craterus* and *Parmenio*; but *Craterus* had Orders to obey *Parmenio*. The Horse were placed as Wings on each Side; the *Macedonians* with the *Thessalians* on the Right, and the *Peloponnesians* on the Left. In the Front of all was a Body of Slingers, intermixt with Archers. The *Thracians* likewise, and the *Cretans*, who were also lightly armed, advanced before the main Army. The *Agrianians*, who were lately arrived from *Greece*, where commanded to make Head against those, whom *Darius* had sent before to take Possession of the Top of the Mountain. The King had ordered *Parmenio* to extend his Forces as far as he could towards the Sea, that they might lie at a greater Distance from the Hills, that the *Barbarians* had taken Possession of. But *Darius's* Men, neither opposed the Troops that marched against them, nor dared to surround those who had passed them, but fled at the very first Sight of the Slingers; which secured *Alexander's* Army from being flanked from the higher Ground, which was what he was afraid of. They march'd Thirty-two in a Rank; for the straitness of the Place would not admit of a greater Number: But as the Passage between the Mountains, by Degrees, grew wider and

wider, and stretched itself out into a larger Space, the Foot had not only Room to extend their Ranks, but the Horse had also Liberty to form their Wings on each Side of them.

CHAP. X.

Alexander's Speech to his Soldiers.

THE two Armies were now in Sight of one another, but out of the Reach of their Darts; when the *Persians* first gave a confused but terrible Shout, which the *Macedonians* returned with Advantage, altho' fewer in Number, by reason of the Repercussion from the neighbouring Hills and Woods, which multiply'd every Sound that reached them. *Alexander* rid at the Head of his Army, making Signs with his Hand to his Men, not to march too fast, that they might be able to charge the Enemy with the greater Fury. Then riding along the Line, he made a different Speech to the several Troops, suitable to their different Dispositions. He reminded the *Macedonians* of their experienced and hardened Courage, and of their numberless Victories in Europe, and that they were come thither voluntarily under his Conduct, to subdue all Asia, and to extend their Conquests even to the utmost Bounds of the East. That they were the Deliverers of the oppressed, throughout the whole World; and that having carry'd their Victories as far as *Herculus* and *Bacchus* had formerly done, they were to give Law, not only to the *Persians*, but also to all the Nations of the Universe. That *Bactra* and the *Indies* were to be theirs. That what they had in view at present, was but inconsiderable in comparison of what the Victory promised them. That the broken Rocks of *Illyria*, or the barren Country of *Thrace*, should no longer be the Reward of their Labour; for now the Spoils of all the East were laid before them: That there would hardly be Occasion for their Swords; their very Reputation having already made such an Impression upon the fearful Diffidence of the Enemies Army, that they

might drive them only with their Bucklers. He refreshed their Memory, with the Victory his Father Philip had gained over the Athenians, with the late Conquest of Boeotia, and the razing its principal City. He put them also in mind of the Granick River; of the many Towns they had either reduced by Force, or received by Submission. In fine, he reminded them of all their past Conquests.

When he came to the Greeks, he told them, that these were the People, that had made War upon Greece, through the Insolence of Darius first, and then of Xerxes; who required no less than all the Water as well as Land; even to the drinking their very Fountains dry, and consuming all their Provisions. That these were they who had destroyed and burnt the Temples of their Gods, taken and plunder'd their Towns: In a Word, had broke through all Laws divine and human. As for the *Illyrians* and *Thracians* who were accustomed to live by Rapine, he bid them, behold the Army of their Enemy, how it glittered with Gold and Purple, insomuch that they might not be said to carry Arms so properly as a Booty. That as Men, they had nothing to do but to rifle those weak Women of their Gold; and to make an Exchange of their craggy Mountains, and naked Tracts, which were perpetually covered with Ice and Snow, for the fruitful Plains and Fields of *Perfa*.

C H A P. XI.

A bloody Battle, in which a Hundred Thousand Foot and Ten Thousand Horse were killed on the Side of the Persians; and the rest put to Flight. Alexander, seizing on the Camp of Darius, obtains a very great Booty.

AS both Armies were now within the Reach of one another's Arrows, the *Persian* Cavalry charged the left Wing of the Enemy, with great Fury; for Darius was desirous to decide the Matter by the Horse, being sensible that the *Phalanx* was the chief Strength of the *Macedonians*, and

Alexander's right Wing was near being surrounded; which he perceiving, ordered two Squadrons to keep Possession of the Top of the Hill, and commanded the rest to assist their Fellows who were engaged. Then having drawn off the *Thessalian* Horse, he commanded their Officer secretly to fall behind the Army, and join *Parmenio*, and vigorously to execute his Orders.

By this Time the *Phalanx* was in a Manner enclosed by the Enemy, but yet bravely maintained its Ground; however, as they stood too close to one another, they could not cast their Darts with Freedom; for those that were flung at the same Time, meeting in the Air, so intermingled, that they fell with little or no Force, very few of them reaching the Enemy, and the greatest Part falling on the Ground without doing any Execution. Wherefore they gallantly drew their Swords, and engaged the *Persians* in a close Fight. Here it was that a great deal of Blood was spilt; for the two Armies were so near each other, that they parry'd their mutual Thrusts with their Swords, directing their Points in one anothers Faces. Here the cowardly or the timorous were not suffered to be idle; for joining Foot to Foot, they fought after the Manner of single Duellists, and kept the same Spot of Ground, till having slain their Adversary, they made themselves Way: And even then a fresh Enemy engaged him that was already fatigued. Besides, the Wounded could not, as is customary, withdraw from the Fight, the Enemy pressing upon them in Front, and their own Men in the Rear. *Alexander* not only discharged the Duty of a General, but also of a private Soldier, and was ambitious of killing *Darius* with his own Hand. For as he was so loftily seated in his Chariot, that he was easily seen by all, it was a mighty Inducement to his own People to defend, and to the Enemy to attack him. This made *Oxathres*, his Brother, as soon as he perceived *Alexander's* Design, bring the Horse, that he commanded, before *Darius's* Chariot. He was remarkable for the Splendor of his Arms, as well as for his personal Strength, and had

had a tender Affection for the King, and distinguished himself very much in his Defence, killing those who pressed on too rashly, and putting others to flight. But the *Macedonians*, who were also near the King, so encouraged each other, that with him they broke into the Enemies Horse. Here the Slaughter was like a meer Butchery. The noblest Commanders lay wallowing in their Blood round *Darius's* Chariot, having had the Satisfaction of his being a Witness to their dying gallantly for his Defence: They all fell upon their Faces in the Places where they fought, having all their Wounds in the fore Part of their Body. Among the rest, were to be seen *Atizyes*, *Rheomitres* and *Sabaces*, the Governor of *Egypt*, who had all commanded great Armies, and round them lay Heaps of Foot and Horse of an inferior Rank. Of the *Macedonians* there did not fall many, but the bravest and forwardest among them. *Alexander* himself being slightly wounded in the Thigh. The Horses that drew *Darius's* Chariot being stuck in many Places, and enraged with Pain, began to kick and fling, and were like to cast him out of his Seat, when fearing lest he should fall alive into the Hands of his Enemies, he leap'd down and mounted a Horse that was ready for that Purpose, ingloriously flinging away the Ensigns of his Royalty, lest by them he should be discovered in his Flight. *Darius* being fled, the remaining Part of his Army was soon dispersed through Fear, every one flinging down those Arms he had taken for his Defence, and making the best of his Way; such being the Nature of Fear, as to dread even that which should protect it.

Parmenio ordered a Body of Horse to pursue them that fled, and it happened that all that Wing had taken to their Heels. But in the right Wing the *Persians* press'd hard upon the *Thessalonian* Horse, and had already broke down one of their Squadrons; but the *Thessalonians* wheeling about, and rallying, charged the *Persians* a fresh, with so much Bravery, that they easily routed their disorder'd Troops, who had broken their Ranks, thinking themselves secure of the

Victory. The *Persian* Horses, as well as the Riders, being loaded with Armour, could not wheel about but with great Difficulty, and as that is an Act that depends on Celerity, the nimbler *Thessalonians* killed a great many of them before, they could perform their Wheel. When *Alexander* was informed of his Advantage also on this Side, tho' he did not dare to pursue the *Barbarians* before, yet as soon as he found he had gain'd a compleat Victory, he resolv'd to pursue the Enemy. The King had not above a thousand Horse with him, and yet he made a prodigious Slaughter of the Enemy. But who examines into the Number of Troops either in a Victory or Flight? They were drove therefore by this handful of Men, like so many Sheep; and the same Fear that made them fly, retarded their Flight. But the *Greeks* that were hir'd by *Darius*, and commanded by *Amynias* (formerly one of *Alexander's* Lieutenants, tho' now a Malecontent and a Deserter) separating themselves from the rest, retreated in good Order.

The *Barbarians* in their Confusion, took several Roads; some took the direct Road to *Persia*, some fetching a Compass, repaired to the Rocks and the close Woods of the Mountains, a small Body of them betook themselves to *Darius's* Camp; but the Enemy had already enter'd the same, where they found all Manner of Riches. There was an immense Treasure of Gold and Silver (which seem'd rather to be intended for Pomp and Luxury, than for the use of the War) which fell a Prey to the Soldiers. And as they increas'd their Plunder, they lighten'd themselves by flinging away what their Avarice made them think of less Value in Comparison of a richer Booty. They were now come among the Women, who the richer they were clad, were by the Soldiery more outrageously strip'd of their Ornaments: Nay, their very Bodies were not exempt from what Power and Lust could inspire. The whole Camp was fill'd with Cries and Lamentations, according to every one's Fortune, there being no sort of Evil that they did not Experience, since the Cruelty and Licentiousness

Licentiousness of the Victor raged through all Ranks and Ages.

Here was at the same Time, a particular Specimen of the Impotency of Fortune, for those very Persons who had dressed up *Darius's* Tent with all the Opulency and Luxury imaginable, took Care of the same for *Alexander*, as if he had been their first Master.

For this was the only Thing the Soldiers had left untouched, in Compliance with an ancient Custom that preserved always the Tent of the conquered Prince, for the Reception of the Victorious. But of all the Captives, the Mother and Wife of *Darius* drew the Eyes and Reflections of all Beholders upon them. The first was venerable, not only by her Majesty, but also by her Age, the latter, by her consummate Beauty, which even her present Calamities did not impair. She held in her Lap her young Son, who did not yet exceed six Years of Age, and who was intitled by his Birth, to that vast Fortune his Father had just lost. *Darius's* two Daughters that were then marriageable, leaned on their Grandmother's Bosom, not more afflicted at their own Misfortunes, than at hers. A Crowd of noble Ladies stood round about her, with their Hair and Garments torn, unmindful of their former Splendour, calling upon the distinguishing Titles of Majesty and Sovereign, which once belonged to them, tho' they now depended upon another's Pleasure. But the Queens themselves, forgetting their own Disaster, were inquisitive in which Wing *Darius* fought, and what was his Success? For they still denied that they were Prisoners, if the King were safe. At the same Time, as he often changed Horses, he was a great Way off. There fell of the *Persians* in this Action, one Hundred Thousand Foot, and ten Thousand Horse. On *Alexander's* Side, there were of the Foot, five Hundred and four wounded, and thirty-two killed; and of the Horse, one Hundred and Fifty were slain. So inconsiderable was the Loss that procured him so glorious a Victory.

Alexander, by a Royal Generosity, comforts the Mother and Wife of Darius, and the other Prisoners for the Loss of the King, whom they suppose dead.

THE King, tired with pursuing *Darius*, seeing Night approach, and that there was no likelihood of overtaking him, returned to the Enemy's Camp, which his Men had just pillaged. Here he entertained the chief Persons of his Court at a magnificent Feast, which his Wound, being but slight, did not hinder him from assisting at. But a sudden mournful Clamour, intermixt with a barbarous Outcry, from a neighbouring Tent, disturbed their Mirth, inso-much that the Guard, before the King's Tent, ran to their Arms, apprehending some Insurrection. The Cause of this unexpected Alarm, was owing to the Cries and Lamentations of *Darius's* Mother, his Wife, and the rest of the noble Ladies, who believing the King was slain, bewailed him after their Country Manner. For one of the captive Eunuchs, who chanc'd to stand before their Tent, saw one of the Soldiers carrying *Darius's* Cloak, which he had cast away, lest it should betray him in his Flight, and judging thereby that the King was killed, had acquainted the Queens with the false Supposition. It is said, *Alexander* being inform'd of the Ladies mistake, wept in Compassion of *Darius's* Fortune, and the pious Disposition of the Women. He therefore sent *Mithrenes* (who had surrendered *Sardis*) to them (he being well vers'd in the *Persian* Language) to comfort them in their Affliction; then reflecting that the Sight of this Traitor might aggravate their Grief, he ordered *Leonatus*, one of his Nobles, to assure them, *they were in the wrong to lament Darius as dead, since he was actually living*, *Leonatus* taking a few armed Soldiers with him, went accordingly to the Tent, where the Royal Captives were, and notify'd that he was come thither with a Message from the King. But they

that

that waited at the Entry of the Tent, as soon as they perceived the Men in Arms, concluding the Fate of their Mistresses was now at Hand, run into the Tent, crying out, *That their last Hour was come, and that the King had sent Soldiers to kill them.* However, the Queens not being able to make any Opposition, and not daring to give Orders for their coming in, made no Answer at all, but silently expected the Pleasure of the Conqueror. *Leonatus* therefore having waited a considerable Time for some Person to introduce him, when he found no body dared to come to him, leaving his Men without, he enter'd into the Tent alone; that of itself was enough to frighten the Ladies, because he rush'd in without having obtained Admittance. Hereupon *Darius's* Mother and Wife, flinging themselves at his Feet, implor'd him, *To grant them Leave to bury Darius's Corpse after the Manner of their Country, before he put them to Death, telling him, that after they had performed the last Rights to their King, they were ready to submit to their Fate.* But *Leonatus*, to their great Surprise, assured them, that *Darius* was living, and that for their own Parts, they should not only be in Safety, but be used as Queens, with all the Splendor of their former Granduer. Upon this *Darius's* Mother suffered herself to be helped up; the next Day *Alexander* took Care to bury his dead, and ordered the same Honour to be shewn to the most considerable among the *Persians* that were slain; and gave Leave to *Sizigambis* to bury as many as she pleased, after the manner of the Country. But she was contented to shew that Honour only to some few of her nearest Relations, and even in reference to them, had a Regard to her present Circumstances; imagining that the Pomp that the *Persians* use on that Occasion, might be taken ill by the Conquerors, who are contented to burn their own Dead, with little or no Ceremony. *Alexander* having discharged this Office to the Dead, notifyed to the Captive Queens, that he was coming to pay them a Visit; and leaving his Attendants without, entered the

Tent with *Hephæstion* only, who of all his Friends was most in his Favour, as having been educated with him: He was privy to all his Secrets, and alone had the Privilege of speaking freely to him, even to admonish him upon Occasion; which Liberty he was so far from abusing, that whenever he used it, he seemed to do it rather by the King's Permission, than of his own Authority; and as he was of like Age with the King, so he had the Advantage of him in the Beauty of his Person. The Queen therefore mistaking him for the King, paid him Homage after their Manner; but some of the Eunuchs reminding her of her Error, and shewing her which was the King, she flung herself at his Feet, *excusing her Ignorance, as never having seen him before.* But the King lifting her up, said to her, *Mother, you were not mistaken, for he too is Alexander.* Now if he had preserved the same Moderation to the end of his Life, I should have esteem'd him happier than he seemed to be when he imitated the Triumph of *Bacchus*, after his Conquest of the several Nations from the *Hellefpont* to the *Ocean*. He would then have suppressed his Pride and his Anger, which he afterwards found invincible Evils. He had not then embro'd his Hands in the Blood of his Friends at Table. He would have then been ashamed to put to Death those renowned Warriors (who had help'd him to Conquer so many Nations) without so much as giving them a Hearing. But at that Time, the greatness of his Fortune had not got Possession of his Mind, so that he bore its first beginning with Moderation and Prudence, tho' at last she grew too fast for his Capacity. At first he behav'd himself so well as to excell all the Kings before him, in Clemency and Continency for his Deportment towards the Royal Virgins, was so religiously Virtuous, tho' they were perfect Beauties, that he could not have acted with more reserve, had they been his own Sisters: And as for *Darius's* Wife, notwithstanding her Beauty was such as to be exceeded by none of her Time, he was so far from offering Violence to her, that he took due

Care

Care that no Body else should offer at that usage of his Captive. He commanded all manner of Respect to be paid to the Royal Ladies, insomuch that there was nothing wanting to their primitive Magnificence tho' in Captivity, except Confidence in the Conqueror. *Sizigambis* therefore addressed herself to him in this Manner.

You deserve, Sir, that we should offer up the same Vows for you that we formerly made for Darius; for as far as I can see, you are worthy to surpass him, not only in Felicity, but also in Justice. You are pleased to call me Mother and Queen, but I acknowledge myself to be your Servant; for notwithstanding I am able to bear my former Dignity, yet I find I can conform myself to my present Servitude. But it is for your Glory and Honour, that you express the Power you have over us, rather by your Clemency and Goodness, than by your Anger and Severity. The King hereupon bid them not be dejected, and then took *Darius's* Son in his Arms, who was so far from being frighten'd, tho' it was the first Time he had seen him, that he put his Hands about his Neck: The King was so mov'd at the Child's Constancy, that turning to *Hephestion*, he said, *How glad should I be, if Darius had something of this Child's Disposition.*

CHAP. XIII.

The Governor of Damascus delivers the Treasure of Darius into the Hands of Parmenio, with a great Number of his People.

ALEXANDER taking his Leave of the Queen, went away, and having caused three Altars, to be rais'd on the Banks of the River *Pinarus*, in Honour of *Jupiter*, *Hercules*, and *Minerva*, march'd into Syria, sending *Parmenio* before to *Damascus*, where the King's Treasure was kept; but learning by the Way that one of *Darius's* Lieutenants was gone before him, and apprehending that the small Number he had with him might appear contemptible to

the Enemy, he resolv'd to send for a Re-inforcement, but it happened that a certain *Mardian* fell into the Hands of his Scouts, who bringing him to *Parmenio*, deliver'd to him Letters from the Governor of *Damascus* to *Alexander*, telling him withal, *That he did not doubt but the said Governor intended to deliver up to him all the King's Furniture and Money.* *Parmenio* having set a Guard upon him, opens the Letter, in which was writ, *That Alexander should send with Expedition one of his Generals with a small Body of Men.* Upon this Information, *Parmenio* sent back the *Mardian*, with a small Guard to the Traitor. But he making his Escape, arriv'd at *Damascus* before Day. This made *Parmenio* something uneasy, for he began to expect some Ambuscade might be laid for him, and therefore was afraid to march without a Guide; however, confiding in the good Fortune of his Prince, he order'd some Peasants to be intercepted to serve him as Guides, and his Men having quickly found some, he reach'd the Town on the fourth Day, when the Governor began to think his Letter had not been credited. Wherefore, pretending to distrust the Strength of the Place, before the Sun was up, he order'd the King's Money, and the most valuable Moveables, to be brought forth, pretending to fly, but in reality to deliver the Booty to the Enemy. He was accompany'd out of Town by a great many thousand Men and Women, a deplorable Object to all the Spectators, except him to whose Care they were committed. For that he might be the better rewarded for his Treachery, he intended to deliver to the Enemy, a more acceptable Booty than that of Money, viz. several Noblemen, with the Wives and Children of *Darius's* Governors. Besides these, there were the Ambassadors of the Greek Towns, all which *Darius* had put into his treacherous Tuition, as into a Place of Safety. The *Persians* call those who carry Burthens on their Shoulders, *Gangaba*. These Men not being able to endure the Cold (for there had fallen a great deal of Snow, and besides it was a hard Frost) put on the rich Garments of

of Gold and Purple, with which they were loaded as well as with Money; no body daring to oppose their so doing, the King's hard Fate having rendered him contemptible even to the vilest Wretches. This Multitude seemed at first to *Parmenio* to be no despicable Army, he therefore having made a short Speech to his Men to animate and encourage them, commanded them *to clap Spurs to their Horses, and to charge the Enemy vigorously*: But those that carried the Burthens, perceiving what was doing, flung down their Loads, and took to their Heels out of Fear. The Soldiers that followed them, being also intimidated, cast away their Arms and fled through the Byeways that they were well acquainted with; the Governor himself, counterfeiting Fear likewise, had caused a general Confusion. The King's Riches lay scattered up and down the Fields; *viz.* That Money that was to pay so vast an Army, with the rich Apparel of so many Noblemen and Women; Golden Vessels, Gold Bridles, Tents adorned with Regal Magnificence, Chariots forsaken by their Drivers, loaded with infinite Riches; insomuch that it was a dismal Sight even to the Plunderers themselves, if it was possible for any Thing to stop the greedy desire of Wealth. Here was to be seen all that immense Treasure and rich Furniture (heap'd up in so long a Course of Prosperity, and which almost exceeded all Belief) exposed to be pillaged; some Things being torn from the Bushes where they hung, others dug out of the Mire where they lay. There were not Hands enough for this inglorious Work. By this Time those that first fled, were overtaken, there were a great many Women among them, whereof some led their little Children by the Hand. Here were also three Maiden Ladies, the Daughters of *Ochus*, who had reigned last before *Darius*,

they had fallen from their Paternal Rank and Dignity by the former Change of Affairs; but now Fortune seemed cruelly to aggravate their Calamity. In this Crowd there was, besides the Wife of *Ochus*, and the Daughter of *Oxatres*, *Darius's* Brother, with the Wife of *Artabazus* (who was the first Nobleman of *Persia*) and his Son named *Ilioneus*. With these were also taken the Wife and Son of *Pharnabazus*, to whom *Darius* had given the chief Command of the Maritime Coast; *Mentor's* three Daughters, and the Wife and Son of that noble Captain *Memnnon*. In fine, there was hardly any noble Family that did not share in the Misfortune. Here were taken also, several *Lacedemonians* and *Athenians*, who contrary to the League with *Alexander*, had sided with the *Persians*: *Aristogiton*, *Dropides*, and *Iphicrates* were considerable People among the *Athenians*, both for their Birth and Renown: *Pausippus*, *Onomastorides*, with *Monimus* and *Callicratides*, who were likewise considerable Men among the *Lacedemonians*. The Sum of coin'd Money that was taken, amounted to two Thousand and Sixty Talents; the wrought Silver was equal to five Hundred Talents in Weight, besides all which, there were thirty Thousand Men, and seven Thousand Beasts of Burthen taken; but the Gods quickly punished the Betrayer of so much Wealth, for one he had imparted the Matter to, retaining still a Veneration for *Darius*, even in his Calamity, cut off the Traitor's Head, and carry'd it to the King, as a seasonable Comfort to a Prince so foully betrayed; for he was not only revenged of his Enemy, but had moreover the Satisfaction to find that all his Subjects had not lost the Respect and Fidelity that was due to the Dignity of a King.

The End of the Third BOOK.

M

CHAP.

BOOK IV. CHAP. I.

Alexander answers like a King to the proud Letters written to him by Darius. He gives the Kingdom of the Sidonians to Abdolominus; who was Poor, but of the Blood Royal, and who had a Royal Mind. Amyntas who had quitted Alexander's Party, is killed by the Persians themselves. Many of Darius's Generals are defeated in sundry Places.

DARIUS who was so lately at the Head of a powerful Army, riding in his Chariot more after the Manner of a Triumph, than of one going to give Battle to his Enemy, was now forced to a shameful Flight through those Places he had lately filled with his numerous Troops, but were now, by his Misfortune, become desolate and waste. Some few followed their King, for the broken Army did not all take one Road; and as the King chang'd Horses frequently, his Followers not having the same Advantages, could not keep pace with him. He first came to *Conche*, where he was received by four Thousand Greeks, who guarded him to the *Euphrates*; for he looked upon that only to be his now, that he could by his Expedition prevent the Enemy's seizing. In the mean Time *Alexander* gave Orders to *Parmenio*, who had taken the Booty at *Damascus*, to place good Guard over it, as also upon the Prisoners, and made him Governor of *Syria*, which they call *Cele*. But the *Syrians* could not at first brook the new Government, because they had not yet sufficiently felt the Scourge of the War; however, being suppressed as fast as they revolted, they were glad at last to conform to its Orders.

Aradus, which is an Island, was about this Time surrender'd to *Alexander*. *Strato*, had also the Sovereignty of the Maritime Coast, and a considerable Inland Territory.

Alexander, having received his Submission, and taken him into his Protection, marched his Army to *Marathon*. Here Letters were brought him from *Darius*, at

which he was very much incens'd, they being writ in a very haughty Style: But what vexed him most was, that *Darius* therein writ himself King, without giving *Alexander* that Title, and required rather, than desired, That he would restore to him his Mother, Wife and Children, promising for their Ransom as much Money as all *Macedonia* is worth; and as for the Empire, he would try for it again, if he pleased, in a fresh Action. At the same Time he advised him, if he was still capable of wholesome Advice, to be contented with his own Dominions, and to retire from that Empire he had no right to, and from being an Enemy, to become a Friend and Ally, he being ready both to give and receive any Engagements on that Account. To this Letter *Alexander* made answer much after this Manner: *Alexander* King to *Darius*; that Prince whose Name you have taken, having committed great Hostilities on those Greeks, who inhabit the Coast of the *Hellespont*, and also on the *Ionian Colonies*, who are also Greeks, put to Sea with a powerful Fleet and Army, and invaded *Macedonia* and *Greece*. After him *Xerxes*, who was a Prince of the same Family, attacked us with an infinite Number of Barbarians; and notwithstanding he was beaten at Sea, yet he left *Mardonius* in *Greece*, to pillage the Cities in his Absence, and burn the Country: Besides all which, who does not know that my Father *Philip* was inhumanly murdered by those you had basely corrupted with your Money? You make no Scruple to enter upon unjust Wars, and altho' you do not want Arms,

Arms, you unworthily set a Price upon the Heads of your Enemies, yourself having given a late Instance of that, in offering a Thousand Talents to him that would murder me, tho' you had so mighty an Army at Command. It is plain therefore, that I am not the Aggressor, but repel Force by Force; and the Gods, who always side with the just Cause, have already made me Master of great Part of Asia, and given me a signal Victory over yourself. However, tho' you have no Reason to expect any Favour at my Hands, since you have not so much as observed the Laws of War towards me, yet if you come to me in a suppliant Manner, I promise you, you shall receive your Mother, Wife and Children without any Ransom at all. I know how to conquer, and how to use the Conquered. If you are afraid to venture your Person with me, I am ready to give you Sureties, for your doing it with Safety: But I would have you remember for the future, when you write to me, that you do not only write to a King, but also to your King, Therfippus was charg'd with this Letter. After this he descended into Phœnicia, where the City of Biblos was surrendered to him, from whence he march'd to Sydon, a City famous for its Antiquity, and the Splendour of its Founders. Strato was King there, and had received Succours from Darius, but because the Town had been surrendered to him, more by the Agreement of the Inhabitants than by Strato's own Consent, Alexander judging him unworthy of the Crown, gave leave to Hephæstion to bestow the Crown on him, that the Sydonians should think most worthy of that Honour. Hephæstion was lodged with two young Noblemen of considerable Note, among the Sydonians, he therefore offered them the Kingdom, but they refused it, telling him that it was contrary to the Laws of the Country, to admit of any one to that Dignity, that was not of the Royal Family. Hereupon Hephæstion, admiring their Greatness of Soul, which made them slight what others covet at any Price of Danger, encouraged them to persist in that virtuous Disposition, since

they were the first that understood how much greater it was to despise a Kingdom than to accept of it. However, he desired them to -Name one of the Royal Race, who might remember he received that Dignity at their Hands.

They seeing a great many made Interest for obtaining that distinguishing Rank, courting the Favour of Alexander's Friends, in hopes of it, declared, That none deserved it better than *Abdolominus*, who tho' remotely of Kin to the Royal Family, was reduced, thro' Poverty, to cultivate a Garden for a small Stipend in the Suburbs of the City. His Virtue and Probity were the Causes of his Poverty, as it happens to many; and as he kept close to his daily Labour, he was out of the Noise of Arms, which at that Time shook all *Asia*: But on the sudden the two Gentlemen before-mentioned entered the Garden, with the Royal Apparel, where they found *Abdolominus* pulling up the Weeds and useless Plants. When they had saluted him King, one of them told him, he must make an Exchange of his mean Apparel, for those Royal Robes he beheld in his Hands; and therefore bid him wash his Body that was covered with Dirt and Filth, and take up a Kingly Spirit, and advance his Continency and Moderation, to that high Fortune he was worthy of; and when he should be seated in the Royal Throne, and had in his Power the Life and Death of his Citizens, not to forget the Condition he was in when the Crown was conferred upon him; nay, in Truth, for which he was chosen King. This Discourse appeared to *Abdolominus* like a Dream, and he would now and then ask them, if they were in their Senses, to ridicule him after so odd a Manner? But as he was slow in complying, they caused him to be washed, and having clothed him with a Purple Garment, interwoven with Gold, and by their Oaths satisfy'd him they were serious, and that he was really pitched upon to be King, he accompanied them to the Palace. The Rumour of what was done, as it usually happens, soon spread itself over the Town, and some were pleased with it,

while others were incensed. The Rich represented to *Alexander's* Friends his mean Condition and Poverty; wherefore the King ordered him to be brought before him, and having view'd him well, he said his Person did not disagree with the Account of his Extraction, but he desired him to inform him how he had born his Poverty? To which he reply'd, Would to God I may be able to bear the Weight of the Crown with the same Tranquility of Mind; for these Hands of mine have sufficiently supply'd my Wants, and as I had nothing, so I wanted nothing. The King taking this Answer as a Token of a noble Disposition, not only commanded *Strato's* Royal Furniture to be delivered to him, but also presented him with a considerable Part of the *Persian* Booty, adding the adjacent Territory to his Jurisdiction. In the mean Time *Amynas* (who we said before had left *Alexander*, and fled to the *Persians*,) was come to *Tripolis* with four Thousand *Greeks*, who had followed him, after the last Battle; there having shipp'd off his Soldiers, he sailed to *Cyprus*; and as every one thought at that juncture of Time, that whate'er he could get Possession of, would be his own of Right, he resolved to go to *Egypt*, at this Time an Enemy to both Kings; resolving to conform himself to the Mutability of the Times, making therefore a Speech to his Soldiers, he gave them mighty Hopes of succeeding in so great an Attempt, and reminded them that *Sabaces*, who was Governor of *Egypt*, was killed in the Battle, that the *Persian* Forces were without a Leader, and were but few in Number; and that the *Egyptians*, who were always dissatisfied with their Governors, would look upon them rather to be their Friends than their Enemies.

Necessity put him upon trying all Things, for as he had been disappointed of his first Hopes, he looked upon the future to be preferable to the Present: Hereupon the Soldiers unanimously agree to follow him wherever he should lead them, and he thinking it Prudence not to give them Time to alter their Minds, brought them into the

Haven of *Pelusium*, pretending he was sent thither before by *Darius*. Having got Possession of *Pelusium*, he advanc'd to *Memphis*. The Rumour of his Arrival being spread up and down, the *Egyptians*, out of their natural Levity, which makes them fitter for Innovations, than for any considerable Performances, came out of their Towns and Villages with a design to assist him to destroy the *Persian* Garrisons; who notwithstanding they were alarmed at the suddenness of the Enterprize, did not cast away all Hopes of maintaining their Ground: But *Amynas* having got the better of them in a set Battle, drove them into the Town, and having pitched his Camp, he led his victorious Army out to pillage and destroy the Country; and as if every Thing now lay at his Mercy, he ravaged whatever belonged to the Enemy; wherefore *Mazaces*, notwithstanding he knew his Men were dishearten'd by their late overthrow, represented to them, that the Enemy was dispers'd up and down; being altogether careless on the Account of their late Victory, and that they might with ease recover what they had lost.

The Counsel was no less prudent in its Reason, than happy in the Event, for they killed them every Man, their Leader perishing among the rest: Thus *Amynas* was punished for his Treachery to both Kings, for he proved as false to him he went over to, as to him he had deserted. *Darius's* Lieutenant that had survived the Action at *Issus*, having got together the scatter'd Forces that had fled with them, and raised what Men they could at *Capadocia* and *Paphlagonia*, resolved to try to recover the Country of *Lydia*. *Antigonus* was Governor there for *Alexander*, who notwithstanding he had sent the greatest Part of his Garrisons to strengthen the King's Army, yet despising the *Barbarians*, he drew out his Men, and gave them Battle.

Here Fortune shew'd herself constant to *Alexander's* Side, for the *Persians* were routed in three several Engagements, fought in three several Provinces. About this Time the *Macedonian* Fleet sailed from *Greece*, overcome

overcome *Aristomenes*, whom *Darius* had sent to recover the Coast of the *Hellepont*, and either took or sunk all his Ships. On the other Side, *Pharnabazus*, Admiral of the *Persian* Fleet, having forced the *Milesians* to pay a considerable Sum of Money, and put a Garrison into *Cbius*, sailed with a hundred Ships to *Andros*, and from thence to *Syphnus*, leaving a Garrison also in those Islands, and exacting a Sum of Money from them by way of Punishment. This great War between the most powerful Princes of *Europe* and *Asia*, in hopes of an universal Empire, had likewise put *Greece* and *Crete* in Arms; for *Agis*, King of the *Lacedemonians*, having got together eight Thousand *Greeks*, who were returned home, having made their Escape from *Cilicia*, march'd against *Antipater*, Governor of *Macedonia*. The *Cretans*, according as they chang'd their Sides, where sometimes garrison'd by *Spartans*, and sometimes by *Macedonians*: But these were but trifling Quarrels, and hardly worth Fortune's Concern, who seem'd wholly taken up with that War on which all the rest depended.

C H A P. II.

Alexander besieges the Tyrians; because they would not receive him.

THE *Macedonians* had already made themselves Masters of all *Syria*, and of all *Phenicia* excepting *Tyre*, and the King was encamp'd upon the Continent, from which the Town is separated by a narrow Sea. *Tyre* is the most considerable City of either *Syria* or *Phenicia*, both for its Largeness as well as Fame, and therefore expected rather to be admitted into *Alexander's* Friendship as an Ally, than to become Subject to his Empire. On this Account they sent him a Present of a Gold Crown, and a large Quantity of Provisions for his Army; all which the King graciously accepted of as from Friends. Then turning to the Ambassadors, he told them, he intended to Sacrifice to *Hercules*, who is in great Veneration with the *Tyrians*; that the Kings of *Macedon* looked upon themselves to be descended from that God; and that he was moreover

advised by the Oracle to acquit himself of that Devotion. To this the Ambassadors answer'd, that there was a Temple dedicated to *Hercules* without the Town, in a Place called the *Paletyron*, where the King, if he pleased, might discharge that Duty. This Answer so inflamed *Alexander*, who could not command his Passion, that he spoke to them in this Manner, *I perceive that because you live in an Island, you trust so much upon the Situation of your City, that you despise my Land Army, but in a little Time I'll make you know you are on the Continent; and therefore know, that I'll be either admitted into the Town, or I'll take it by Force.*

As they were returning with this Answer, some of the King's Friends endeavour'd to persuade them not to deny the King Entrance into their City, since the whole Province of *Syria* and *Phenicia* had submitted to him. But they relying on the Strength of the Place, resolved to endure the Siege; for the Town was divided from the Continent by a narrow Sea, of about four Furlongs in breadth, which is much exposed to the South-West Wind, which when it raged, beat the Waves so violently against the Shore, that the *Macedonians* could not carry on their Work of Communication between the Continent and the Island. Nay, they had much ado to work when the Sea was calm; but when it is disturbed by this Wind, whatever is cast into it is carryed away by the violent Motion of the Waves: Nor could there be any Foundation laid so strong, but the Waters would eat their Way thro' the Joints of the Work, and when the Wind was high, it would carry the Waters above the highest Part. Besides the Difficulty, there was another of no less Consequence, *viz.* The Walls and Towers of the Town, were surrounded with a very deep Sea, so that they could not plant any Battering Engines against them, but upon Ships at a great Distance, and it was impossible to apply Ladders to the Walls. Now *Alexander* had no Shipping, and if he had any, they might easily have been kept off by Darts from the Town; besides, the Waters keeping

keeping them in a continual Motion, would have made their Machines ineffectual. Besides all which, there was an Accident, which, tho' but inconsiderable in itself, yet served to encourage the *Tyrians*.

Ambassadors were come from the *Carthaginians* to offer their annual Sacrifice to *Hercules*, according to the Custom of the Country; for the *Tyrians* having founded *Carthage*, were in great Esteem with the *Carthaginians*, who respected them as their Parents. These Ambassadors having exhorted them to undergo the Siege with Courage, and they should in a little Time receive Succour from *Carthage*, for at that Time the *Carthaginians* were very powerful at Sea. Having therefore resolved upon a War, they dispose their Engines on their Walls and Towers, distribute Arms to their Youth, and fill their Work-houses with Artificers, with which the City abounded. In fine, the whole Town was taken up with the Preparations for the War: They provided themselves with grappling Irons, Crows, and other Inventions for the Defence of Towns; but when the Iron was put into the Forge, as they were blowing the Fire, they perceived little Streams of Blood under the Flames, which the *Tyrians* interpreted as an ill Omen to the *Macedonians*; and it happened that one of *Alexander's* Soldiers, in the breaking of his Bread, observed Drops of Blood to rise out of it. The King being something alarmed at this Accident, consulted *Aristander* (who was the most skilful of all the Soothsayers) about the meaning of it, who told him, that if the Blood had flown from without, it would have pretended Evil to the *Macedonians*, but as it proceeded from the inward Parts, it prognosticated Mischief to the City he was going to Besiege. As *Alexander's* Fleet was at a great Distance, and that the long Siege would be detrimental to his other Designs, he sent Heralds to invite them to peaceful Terms; but the *Tyrians*, contrary to the Law of Nations, cast them headlong into the Sea. This foul Usage so exasperated the King, that he resolved upon the Siege, but he was first of

all obliged to make a Peer, to join the Continent and the Town; hereupon, the Soldiers were seized with the utmost Despair, seeing the Sea was so very Deep, that they look'd upon it to be impossible for them, even with the Divine Assistance, to fill it up; where should they find Stones large enough, or Trees tall enough for so prodigious a Work? Since whole Countries hardly would afford enough for the Purpose; the narrowness of the Strait making the Sea always rough, and the closer it was confin'd, the more it raged. However, the King, who was not now to learn how to manage the Soldiers Minds, assured them, *That Hercules had appeared to him in a Dream, and taking him by the Hand, seem'd to conduct him into the City.* At the same Time he reminded them of the barbarous Usage to his Heralds, of the Violation of the Law of Nations, and that it was a shame the Course of their Victories should be stopp'd by a single Town. There was great Plenty of Stones at Hand, in the Ruins of the old Town, and Mount *Libanus* supply'd them with Materials for their Boats and Towers. The Work was already swell'd to the Bulk of a Mountain from the Bottom of the Sea, but yet it did not reach the Surface of the Water, and the farther it advanced from the Shore into the Sea, the easier whatever was cast therein, was swallowed up by the deep Abyss. While the *Macedonians* were thus employed, the *Tyrians* came out in their Boats, and in a scoffing Manner upbraided them with carrying Burdens on their Backs like Beasts, they who were such mighty Warriors: They also asked them, *Whether Alexander was greater than Neptune?* These Insults served very much to animate the Soldiers. By this Time the Work began to shew itself above the Water, and to increase in Breadth, drawing near to the Town.

When the *Tyrians* beheld the Bulk, of the increase of which the Sea had hindered them before from observing, they came out in little Boats, and row'd round the Work, which was not joined to the Island, and attacked, with their Darts, those that guarded it.

it. And as they wounded several without a Return, they being able to advance or retire as they pleased, the *Macedonians* were forced to interrupt the Work, for some Time, to defend themselves. The King therefore caused Skins and Sails to be stretched out before the Workmen, to protect them from the Darts, and raised two Towers at the Head of the Peer, from whence the *Macedonians* might with ease annoy with their Darts, those of the Enemy that passed under in Boats. On the other Side, the *Tyrians* having landed some of their Soldiers at a considerable Distance, so as not to be perceived by the *Macedonians*, fell upon those that were fetching Stones, and cut them to Pieces. And on Mount *Libanus*, there were some *Arabian* Peasants, who finding the *Macedonians* that were straggling out, they killed about Thirty of them, and took as many Prisoners.

C H A P. III.

The Siege of Tyre becomes famous by the doubtful Events of the War.

THESE little Losses obliged *Alexander* to divide his Troops, and that it might not be thought that he would set down before a Town, without doing any Thing, he left the Conduct of the Siege to *Craterus* and *Perdiccas*, and went himself with a flying Camp towards *Arabia*. During his Absence, the *Tyrians* made Use of this Stratagem, They loaded one of their largest Ships with Sand and Stones in the Stern, so that the Prow was raised very high, and having rubb'd it over with Bitumen and Sulphur, they rowed it along, and its large Sails gathering a great deal of Wind, they soon worked it up to the Peer. They that were on board, having set Fire to the Forecastle, leaped into Shalops that followed them for that Purpose. The Ship thus on Fire, quickly communicated its Flames, which before any help could be brought, had took hold of the Towers and other Works at the Head of the Bank; and they who were in the little Boats, ply'd the Works with burn-

ing Torches, and other combustible Materials, proper to feed the Conflagration; the Fire had already gained the very Top of the Towers, where some of the *Macedonians* perished in the Flames, while others flinging away their Arms, cast themselves into the Sea: But the *Tyrians*, who chose rather to take them alive than to kill them, having lamed their Hands with Sticks and Stones, so as altogether to disable them, took them into their Boats with Safety. The Works were not only consum'd by Fire, but the Wind happening to be high that Day, put the Sea into so great a Ferment, that the Waves beating furiously upon the Peer, and having loosened the Joints of the Work, the Water forced its Way thro' the Middle of the Peer. When the Stones on which the Earth was cast, were washed away, the whole Structure sunk into the deep, so that *Alexander* in his Return from *Arabia* hardly found any Footsteps left of so vast a Pile, Here, as it is usual in Disappointments, one cast the fault upon the other; when they might all with more Reason have fix'd it on the Tempestuousness of the Sea. The King therefore giving Directions for a new Peer, order'd that the Front of it should be carried on against the Wind, whereas the Side of the old one lay expos'd to it: This was done, that the other Works, lying as it were under the shelter of the Forepart, might be secur'd thereby: He also augmented the Breadth of it that the Towers being built in the Middle might be less subject to the Enemies Darts. Whole Trees, with their Arms and Branches were cast into the Sea, upon which they flung great heaps of Stones, these were covered with a new Course of Trees, which they cover'd again with Earth, till by successive lays of Trees, Stones and Earth, the whole Work became one solid Body. The *Tyrians* at the same Time omitted nothing that Ingenuity could invent to render the *Macedonians* Labour ineffectual. The greatest Help they received was from their Divers, who entering the Waters out of the Enemies Sight, swam down unperceived to the very Peer, and with Hooks dragged after

after them the Branches that stuck out of the Stones which drew along with them the other Materials into the Deep. The Trunk of their Trees being thus discharged of their Load, were easily removed; so that the Foundation falling, the whole Superstructure followed. While *Alexander* was thus perplexed in Mind, and deliberating with himself whether he should continue the Siege, or be gone, his Fleet opportunely arrived from *Cyprus*, and at the same Time *Cleander* with fresh Recruits from *Greece*. The King divided his Fleet, which consisted of one hundred and eighty Ships into two Squadrons; the one was commanded by *Pythagoras* King of *Cyprus*, and *Craterus*; the other he commanded himself in the Royal Galley. But altho' the *Tyrians* had a Fleet, yet they did not dare to venture a Sea Fight with *Alexander*; and therefore they placed all their Gallies under their Walls. However the King attacked them there, and sunk them. The next Day *Alexander* brought his whole Fleet up to the Walls, which he battered on all Sides with his Engines, but chiefly with those they call *Rams*. The *Tyrians* on their Part were very diligent in repairing the Damage, and began to build a new Wall within the old one, that in case this fell they might still have that for their Defence. But they were now pressed on all Sides; for the Peer was advanced within the Cast of a Dart, and the Fleet surrounded the Walls; so that they were annoyed both from the Sea and Land at the same Time. Moreover the *Macedonians* had fastened their Gallies two and two, Stern to Stern; so that their Sterns were as far distant from each other as the Interval would permit. This Interval between Stern and Stern was made good with Sail Yards and Planks laid a-cross and fastened together, and over these, Bridges were laid for the Soldiers to stand upon; in this Order they were tow'd to the City; and the Soldiers, from these Bridges, ply'd the Besieg'd with their Darts, they themselves being out of Danger, by Reason the Sterns cover'd them. It was Midnight when the King commanded the Fleet to surround the

Town in the Order we before described; and when the *Tyrians* saw the Ships draw near the City on all Sides, their Hearts began to fail them. But on the sudden the Sky was overcast with thick Clouds which presently intercepted the little Light that appeared about that Time: Then the Seas by Degrees became more horrible, and began to work high, and the Wind still encreasing, the Waves swell'd prodigiously, dashing the Ships one against another. The violence of the Tempest was such, that the Bands that fastened the Gallies were broke, the scaffolds and Bridges fell with a dreadful Noise and drew the Soldiers along with them into the Deep: and the Ships that were tyed together were not to be govern'd in so high a Sea; The Soldiers were a hindrance to the Seamen, and the Seamen disturb'd the Soldiers in their Duty: And as it frequently happens in such Cases, the skilful were forced to obey the ignorant. For the Pilots, who at other Times were used to Command, being threatened with Death, obeyed the Orders of others. At length the Sea, as if overcome by the obstinacy of the Rowers resigned the Ships, as to some parting Signal, and reach'd the Shoar altho' most of them much shatter'd. About this Time there came thirty Ambassadors from *Carthage*, being rather a Comfort than a Help to the Besieg'd; for they gave them to understand, *That the Carthaginians were themselves so engaged in War, that they did not now fight for Empire, but for Safety*. The *Syracusans* were this Time destroying *Africa*, with Fire and Sword; and were encamp'd not far from the Walls of *Carthage*. The *Tyrians* however were not discourag'd, tho' disappointed, of so considerable an Expectation, but delivering their Wives and Children to these Ambassadors to be Transported to *Carthage*, resolved to bear whatever happened with the greater Fortitude, since they had the Happiness to secure what was most dear to them, from sharing in the common Danger. At this very Juncture one of the Citizens declared to the Assembly, *That Apollo, whom the Tyrians had a great Veneration for, had appeared to him*

in

in his Sleep, as if he was going to leave the Town, and that the Peer the Macedonians had made, seemed to him to be changed into Wood. Hereupon, tho' the Author was not in great Credit amongst them, yet as they were inclined to believe the worst, out of Fear, they bound the Image with a Golden Chain, and fastened it to the Altar of *Hercules*, to whom their Town was dedicated; as if they thought by his Superiour Power to retain *Apollo* against his Will. The *Carthaginians* had brought this Image from *Syracuse*, and had placed it here as being their original Country; for they were used to adorn *Tyre* as well as *Carthage* with the Spoils they took from other Towns: And at this Time would fain have persuaded them to renew a Sacrifice, that I can not believe to be at all acceptable, to the Gods; and that the *Tyrians* had laid aside for several Ages, *viz. To offer up to Saturn, a free-born Child*; which Sacrilege rather than Sacrifice the *Carthaginians* had received from their Founders, and are said to have observed it till their City was destroyed. Now had not the Elders (by whose Directions all Things were managed) opposed this barbarous Superstition, it would, in all likelihood, have got the better of Humanity. However their pressing Necessity, which is more efficaciously ingenious than Art, made them not only put in Practice the usual Methods of Defence, but inspired them also with new ones: For, to annoy the Ships that approached the Walls, they contrived long Rapiers, to which they fastened Crows, Grappling Irons, Hooks and Scythes, which they discharged from their Engines, letting go the Ropes to which they were fastened, that they might recover them again. These Hooks and Scythes tore to Pieces the Men, and very much damaged the Ships. They had, besides, another Contrivance, they heated Brass Bucklers as hot as Fire could make them, and then filled them with burning Sand, and boiling Mud, which they poured down from the Walls upon the *Macedonians*. None of their Machines were more terrible than this; for if the burning Sand got between the Armour

and the Body, as it was impossible to shake it off, it failed not to burn whatever it touched; so that flinging down their Arms, and tearing every Thing off that was to protect their Bodies, they lay exposed to all Manner of Mischief without being able to do any.

CHAP. IV.

The City of Tyre, is taken by Storm with great Slaughter, and set on Fire.

ALEXANDER was so much discouraged by the vigorous Defence that was made by the Town, that he was thinking to raise the Siege, and go into *Egypt*; for tho' he had with incredible Celerity, run over *Asia*, the Walls of one single Town now stopp'd his Progress and hindered him from making use of the Opportunity he had of executing his great Designs on the other Side, he was no less ashamed of going away without carrying his Point, than of being so long about it. Moreover he considered his Reputation would suffer (by which he had done more than by his Arms) if he left *Tyre* as a Witness that he was to be overcome; therefore, that he might leave no Means untry'd, he resolved to make his last Effort with a greater Number of Ships, and the choicest of his Troops on board. At this Time it happened that a Whale of an unusual Size, (for its Back appeared above the Water) came and laid itself by the Peer Side, where having beat the Waves for some Time, it raised itself so as to be conspicuous to both Parties. After this it plung'd again into the Sea near the Head of the Peer, and sometimes shewing itself above the Waves, sometimes hiding itself in the Deep, it shewed itself for the last Time near to the Walls of the City. Both Sides interpreted the Sight of this Monster in favour of their respective Interest. The *Macedonians* conjectured, *That the Whale pointed to them, which way they ought to carry on their Work*: And the *Tyrians* concluded, *That Neptune had pitched upon it, as an Instance of his Right over the usurp'd Sea,*

Sea, and that the new erected Fabrick would in a little Time fall to ruin. Possessed with this Opinion they fell to Feasting, and loaded themselves with Wine. And at Sun-rise they mann'd cut their Ships, which they had adorned with Garlands and Flowers, not only presuming the Victory to be safe, but also rejoicing beforehand for it. It happen'd that the King had ordered his Fleet to a contrary part of the Town, and left but thirty of the smallest Rate upon the Shoar, two whereof were presently taken by the *Tyrians*, and the rest were in great Danger; till *Alexander* being alarm'd at the outcry of his Men, came with the Fleet to their Assistance. The first of the *Macedonian* Gallies that came up, was a Cinquereme, which was the swiftest Sailer in the Fleet. As soon as the *Tyrians* perceiv'd it, they came against it with two others, one on each Side. The Cinquereme, plying all its Oars to encounter one of them, received a rude Shock from the Peak of its Adversary, yet grappled with her, so as to hold her fast. The other being at Liberty, was just ready to attack her on the contrary Side, when one of *Alexander's* Gally's came very seasonably to her Assistance, and was drove so violently against her Enemy, that she struck the Pilot of the *Tyrian* Gally from his Post at Stern into the Sea. By this Time several others of the *Macedonian* Ships were come up, as also the King in Person, which made the *Tyrians* use their utmost effort to set their entangled Gally at Liberty; which having, tho' with difficulty, compassed, they made to their Haven with all their Fleet. *Alexander* immediately pursued them, but could not get into the Haven, by reason of the Darts with which they ply'd him from the Walls of the City: However, he either took or sunk most of their Ships. Then he granted two Days rest to his Soldiers, after which he advanced with all his Ships and Machines, that he might from both attack the Enemy that was already in a great Consternation. The King on this Occasion, plac'd himself on the Top of a high Tower, with a great deal of Bravery, but yet greater

Danger; for as he was remarkable by his Royal Apparel, and the Brightness of his Arms, they chiefly aim'd at him. Here he behaved himself with all the Gallantry imaginable; for he killed several upon the Wall with his Pike, others, in a closer Engagement, with his Sword and Buckle, he cast headlong into the Sea: For the Tower from which he fought, almost join'd to the Enemies Walls. The battering Rams had now by their repeated Strokes, beat down great Part of the Fortifications of the Place, the Fleet had enter'd the Port, and some of the *Macedonians* had taken Possession of some of the Towers the Enemy had deserted; when the *Tyrians*, sinking under the weight of so many ill Accidents at once, betoke themselves, some to the Sanctuary of the Temples, others making fast their Doors, chuse their own way of dying: Some again fell furiously upon the *Macedonians*, resolved not to dye unreveng'd; but the greatest Part got up to the Tops of the Houses, and from thence flung Stones, or whatever came next to their Hands, upon the Enemies in the Streets. *Alexander* gave Orders, To spare none but those who had taken Refuge in the Temples, and to set Fire to the Town. And notwithstanding Proclamation was made accordingly; yet none that cou'd bear Arms, thought fit to seek for Succour from the Gods. The Children of both Sexes, with the young Maidens, fill'd the Churches, and the Men stood at the Entry of their own Houses, ready to fall a Sacrifice to the Soldiers Fury. However, a great many were saved, by the *Sidomians* that served in *Alexander's* Army. These having enter'd the Town with the rest of the *Macedonian* Forces, and remembering their Relation with the *Tyrians* (for *Agenor*, as they believed founded both Cities) protect'd a great many of the Town's People, carrying them on board their Ships, and transported them to *Sydon*. There were sav'd by this Means, about fifteen Thousand. How much Blood was spilt may be guessed at by this, that six Thousand were found slain within the City Walls. Notwithstanding all this, the King's Anger was not

not satisfied, so that he commanded two Thousand of the Enemy that had surviv'd the Soldiers Rage (they being weary with killing) to be crucify'd along the Sea Coast: A sad Spectacle even to the Conquerors themselves! he spared the Ambassadors of, the *Carthaginians*, but declar'd War against them, tho' he could not prosecute it immediately, by reason of his other more pressing Affairs. Tyre was taken the seventh Month, after it was besieged, a Town famous to Posterity both for the Antiquity of its Origine, and for its frequent Variety of Fortune. It was built by *Agenor*, and held a considerable Time the Sovereignty, not only of the Neighbouring Sea, but also of all the Seas wherever its Fleets came. And if we may believe Report, this People was the first that either taught or learned Letters. It had plant'd Colonies almost all over the World; *Carthage* in *Africk*; *Thebes* in *Beotia*; and *Gades* upon the Ocean: For my part, I am apt to believe, that as the *Tyrians* were Masters at Sea, and often visited Countries unknown to other People, they made choice of such and such Seats for their Youth, with which they abounded; or else (for this is also said) that the Island being mightily subject to Earthquakes, the Inhabitants (tired therewith) were forced to settle themselves in other Habitations by dint of Arms. Be it as it may, having undergone many Casualties, and as it were, reviving after being rais'd, by the help of a long Peace, which makes every Thing flourish, it now enjoys a profound Ease under the Protection of the *Roman Clemency*.

CHAP. V.

Darius sends other Letters more humble to Alexander on the Subject of Peace; but the Conditions are rejected. The Grecians present Alexander with a Crown of Gold. He reduces several Provinces to his Obedience by the Means of his Generals.

ALMOST at the same Time Alexander received Letters from *Darius*, wherein

he gives him at the last, the Title of King, and desired he would accept of his Daughter *Statyra* for a Wife, offering him with her, all that Tract of Ground that lies between the *Hellespont*, and the *River Halys*; and that he himself would be contented with those Countries that lies Eastward from thence. That if he found any Difficulty to accept of this his Offer, he wished him to reflect, that Fortune seldom made any long Stay any where, and that the greater Felicity Men enjoy'd; the more they were also envy'd; that it was to be fear'd, lest by his juvenile Disposition of Mind, he shou'd be elated with Vanity, on the Account of his Success; after the manner of Birds, whose natural Lightness carry'd 'em up the Skies. That nothing was more difficult, than at his Age, to be capable of so great a Fortune. That as for his own part, he still had a great deal left, and shou'd not always be surpris'd at Streights: That Alexander would find himself obliged to pass the *Euphrates*, the *Tygres*, the *Araxes* and the *Hydaspes*, which were like so many Bulwarks to his Dominions: That in the large Plains he must come into, he would be ashamed of his small Number. When would he be able to reach *Media*, *Hycarnia*, *Bactra*, and the *Indians* that border upon the Ocean? Or the *Sogdians*, or *Arafcho-sians*, who are hardly so much as known by their Names, with the other Nations that dwell along *Mount Caucasus*, or the *River Tanais*? That were he but barely to Travel over these vast Countries without any Opposition at all, he wou'd find himself become old before he could perform the Journey. That it was not his best Way to stand upon his coming to him, since when ever he came it should be to his Ruin.

To which Letter Alexander made the following Answer, by those that brought it: That *Darius* promised him now what was none of his own. That he offered to divide that which he had entirely lost. That *Lydia*, *Jonia*, *Æolia*, and the Coast of the *Hellespont* were actually in his Possession by the Law of Arms: That it belonged to the Victorious to prescribe Conditions, and

to the Vanquished to receive them, if he was alone ignorant which of these States he was in at present, he might as soon as he pleas'd be made sensible thereof by another Battle. That when he pass'd the Sea, he did not propose to himself Cilicia, or Lydia (which he look'd upon as an inconsiderable Reward for so great a War) but that Persepolis, the capital of his Empire, with Baëtra, and Ecbarana, and the utmost Bounds of the East, were what he designed to submit to his Power. That whithersoever he could fly, he could also follow him; and that having pass'd the Sea, he was not to be frighten'd with Rivers. Thus the Kings writ to one another. In the mean Time the Rhodians surrendered their Port and City to Alexander. The King conferred the Government of Cilicia on Socrates, and that of the Country about Tyre to Philotas. As for Syria, that they call Celo, Parmenio had resigned it to Andromachus, that he might attend the King in the remaining part of the War. Alexander having order'd Hephestion to coast along Phenicea with the Fleet, came with his whole Army to the City of Gaza. Now was the Time of celebrating the Isthmian Games, which are used to be performed by the Concourse of all Greece. As the Greeks are naturally Time-Servers, it was agreed in this Assembly, to depute twelve Persons to the King, to present him with a Gold Crown, as an Acknowledgement of his glorious Victories, and of the great Things he had done for the Liberty and Safety of Greece. Yet a little before, they were very inquisitive about the Success of the War, their wavering Minds being ready to strike in with whichever Side Fortune should favour. However, not only the King was employed in reducing those Towns that refus'd to submit to his Authority, but his Deputies also (who were Captains) made several Conquests. Calas subdu'd Paphlagonia; Antigonus, Bycaonia; and Balacrus having defeated Idarnes, Darius's Lieutenant took Miletum; Amphoterus and Hegelochus, with a Fleet of a hundred and Sixty Ships, brought all the Islands between Achia and

Asia under Alexander's Obedience. They took Possession also of Tenedos by the voluntary Submission of the Inhabitants. They had a Design to possess themselves of Chios, in the same Manner; but Pharnabazus Darius's Admiral, having seiz'd those who favoured the Macedonian Faction, put the Government of the Town into the Hands of Apollonides and Athanagoras (who were in the Persian Interest) leaving them a small Garrison to defend it. Notwithstanding this Disappointment, Alexander's Lieutenants continued the Siege of the Place, not relying so much on their own Strength, as on the Disposition of the Besieged. Neither were they deceived in their Opinion; for a Dispute arising between Apollonides, and the chief Officers that commanded the Garrison, gave the Enemy an Opportunity of breaking into the Town. A Company of Macedonians having therefore forced one of the Gates, the Inhabitants pursuant to the Measures before concerted for the Surrender of the Place, joined themselves to Amphoterus and Hegelochus, and having put the Persian Garrison to the Sword, delivered up Pharnabazus with Apollonides and Athanagoras bound to the Macedonians. There were twelve Gallies taken with all their Crew and Mariners, besides thirty Ships and Barks belonging to Pirates, with three Thousand Greeks that were in the Persian Pay. The Greeks serv'd to recruit the Macedonian Forces, the Pirates were put to Death, and the Captive Powers were distributed among the Fleet. It happen'd that Aristonicus (who had a tyrannical Power in Methymna) being ignorant of what had pass'd at Chios, came with some Pyrates to the Mouth of the Haven, which was secured with a Boom; it being then about the first Watch, and being ask'd by the Guard, *Who he was?* He said he was Aristonicus, and came to the Assistance of Pharnabazus. The Guard made Answer that Pharnabazus was taking his Rest, and could not then be spoken with; however, as he was a Friend and Ally, he should have Admittance into the Port, and the next Day be introduced to Pharnabazus. Aristonicus hereupon.

hereupon, without Hesitation, entered the Haven, followed by about ten Pirates; but as they were making to the Key, the Guard shut up the Haven, as before, and having called to their Assistance the whole Corps, they took *Aristonicus* and all that were with him Prisoners, without their making the least Resistance; and, having put Chains upon them, delivered them up to *Amphoterus* and *Hegelochus*. From hence the *Macedonians* passed to *Mytelene*, which *Chares* the *Athenian* had lately possessed himself of, having with him a Garrison of about 2000 *Persians*; but finding himself too weak to hold out a Siege, he surrendered the Place, upon Condition to retire whither he pleas'd; so he went to *Imbrus*, and the *Macedonians* gave Quarter to the Garrison.

C H A P. VI.

Whilst Darius is preparing to give him Battle, Alexander takes the City of Gaza, and severely punishes Betis, the Governor of the Town,

DARIUS despairing of Peace, which he thought to have obtained by his Letters and his Embassies, began to re-assemble his Forces in all Parts, and prepare again, with great Assiduity and fresh Vigour, for the War. He therefore summoned all his Generals to meet at *Babylon*; but he in particular commanded *Bessus*, Governor of the *Bactrians*, to get together as powerful an Army as he could, and to come and join him. These *Bactrians* are the most warlike People of all those Nations, being of a barbarous Disposition, and not at all inclin'd to the *Persian* Luxury. And as they border upon the *Scythians*, who are also a martial People, and accustomed to live by Plunder, they were constantly in Arms; but *Bessus* was suspected to be perfidiously inclined, and by his Haughtiness, (which made him dissatisfied with the second Rank) gave *Darius* great Uneasiness; for as he affected Sovereignty, it was very much feared he would play the Traitor, as being the readiest Way to attain his End.

In the mean Time, *Alexander* used all his Endeavours to get Intelligence what Country *Darius* was in, but to no Purpose; the *Persians* being very religious Concealers of their King's Secrets; neither Fear nor Hope can force a Discovery from them: The antient Discipline of their Princes enjoining them to Secrecy on Pain of Death. The Intemperance of the Tongue is, with them, more severely punished than any other Crime; nor can they imagine him to be capable of great Matters, that finds a Difficulty in being Silent, a Thing that Nature has made so easy within itself. This was the Cause why *Alexander* (being altogether ignorant of what the Enemy was doing) laid Siege to *Gaza*, *Betis* was Governor, and was a Man of noted Fidelity to his King, and tho' his Garrison was but small, yet he defended the Walls which were of a large Compass. *Alexander* having viewed the Situation of the Place, ordered several Mines to be made, which Work was favour'd by the lightness of the Ground, for the neighbouring Sea discharged great Quantities of Sand upon it, and there were neither Rocks nor Stones to obstruct the Work. The Mines were begun on that Side where they could not be perceived by the Besieged, and that they might have no Suspicion of what was doing, the King gave proper Orders to approach the Towers to the Walls: But the Nature of the Ground was no Ways proper for this Work, for the Sand sinking under the Weight of the Wheels, retarded their Motion, and disconcerted the whole Frame of the Towers, so that the Scaffolds broke, and many of the Soldiers were killed thereby; besides, there was as much Difficulty to bring the Towers back, as there had been to carry them forward. Hereupon *Alexander* gave the Signal for a Retreat, and the next Day he ordered the Town to be surrounded; as soon as the Sun was up, before his Army advanced to the Charge, he offered Sacrifices to the Gods, after the Country Manner, to implore their Assistance.

While the King was thus employed, a Crow happened to fly over him, and suddenly let go a lump of Earth that it held in

its Claws, which falling on the King's Head broke in Pieces, and the Crow went and settled on a Tower hard by: The Tower was besmear'd with *Bitumen* and *Sulphur*, which catching hold of the Crow's Wings, so entangled its Feathers, that it struggled in vain to fly away, and was taken by the Standers-by. The Accident was looked upon to be important enough to have the Soothsayers consulted about it, for *Alexander* was something inclined himself to that kind of Superstition. *Aristander*, who was chiefly credited in this Art, told the King this Omen protended the Ruin of the City, but that he would be in danger of being Wounded, and therefore advised him, *not to attempt any Thing against it that Day*.

Altho' the King was very much concern'd that a single City, should by its Obstinacy, hinder him from passing into *Egypt* with Security, yet he thought it advisable to comply with the Soothsayer's Request, and accordingly gave the Signal for the Retreat. This so encouraged the Besieged, that Sallying out they attacked the *Macedonians* in the Rear, thinking that the Enemy's delay ought to be their Opportunity; but their Constancy did not second their Fury in the Engagement; for, when they saw the *Macedonians* rally, they presently stopp'd again. By this Time the Shouts of those that were fighting, reach'd the King, who presently flew to the Assistance of his Men, unmindful of the Danger he had been forewarn'd of; however, at the intreaty of his Friends, he put on his Armour, which he otherwise rarely wore.

Here a certain *Arabian*, one of *Darius's* Soldiers, ventured upon an Action above his Fortune, and covering his Sword with his Buckler, fell upon his Knees before the King, as if he had deserted to him; hereupon the King bid him rise, and order'd him to be received into his Service, but the *Barbarian* taking his Sword courageously into his Right Hand, made at the King's Head; who having declined the Blow at the same Time, cut off the disappointed Hand of the *Barbarian*, and flattered him-

self that he was now clear of the Danger of the Day. However, Fate as I take it, is unavoidable, for as he was fighting gallantly among the foremost he was Wounded with an Arrow, which passed through his Armour, and stuck in his Shoulder, from whence *Philip*, his Physician, drew it. Now the Blood began to run in a great Quantity, and all that stood by were frightened, never having known an Arrow penetrate so deep through Armour before. As for *Alexander* he did not so much as change his Countenance, but bid them stop the Bleeding and tye up the Wound. Thus he remained sometime at the Head of the Army, either dissembling or overcoming the Pain, but when the Blood that had been stopped by an Application, began to run a fresh in a larger Quantity, and the Wound (by Reason of its newness did not at first pain him) upon the cooling of the Blood, began to swell, then he fainted and fell on his Knees. They that were next to him took him up, and carried him into his Tent, and *Betis* concluding he was dead, return'd into the Town in a triumphing Manner; but the King, impatient of delay (before his Wounds were cured) gave Orders for a Teras to be raised as high as the City Walls, which he commanded to be undermined. The Besieged on their Part were not idle, for they had erected a new Fortification of equal Height with the old Wall, but that, however, did not come upon the level with the Towers which were planted on the Teras, so that the inward Parts of the Town were exposed to the Enemy's Darts; and to compleat their hard Fate, the Walls were now overthrown by the Mines, and gave the *Macedonians* an Opportunity of entering the City at the Breaches. The King was at the Head of the foremost, and while he carelessly entered the Place, his Leg was hurt with a Stone, notwithstanding which, leaning on his Dart, he fought among the first, tho' his old Wound was not yet heal'd; his Resentment was the greater on the account of his having received two Wounds in this Siege. *Betis* having behav'd himself gallantly, and received

ceiv'd several Wounds, was at last forsaken by his Men, yet this did not hinder him from fighting on, tho' his Arms were grown slippery with his own and the Enemy's Blood; but being attack'd on all Sides, he was taken alive, and being brought before the King, who was overjoy'd that he had him in his Power, insomuch that he that had used to admire Virtue, even in an Enemy, giving way this Time to Revenge, told him, *Thou shalt not Betis, die as thou would'st, but expect to undergo whatever Torments Ingenuity can invent.* At which Threats, *Betis*, without making any reply, gave the King not only an undaunted, but an insolent Look; whereupon *Alexander* said, *Do you take Notice of his Obstinate Silence? Has he either offered to kneel down, or made the least Submission? However, I'll overcome his Taciturnity, if by no other Means, at least by Groans.* This said, his Anger turn'd to Rage, his Fortune having already corrupted his Manners, so that he order'd Cords to be run through *Betis's* Heels, and tyed to the hinder part of a Cart, and in that Manner to be dragged alive round the City, valuing himself for having imitated *Achilles* (from whom he descended) in punishing his Enemy.

In this Action there perished about ten Thousand *Persians* and *Arabians*, neither was it a Bloodless Victory to the *Macedonians*. However, the Siege was not so considerable on the Score of the Character of the Town, as for the two Wounds the King received therein. After this the King (making the best of his Way to *Egypt*) dispatched *Amyntas* with ten Gallies to *Macedonia* to raise Recruits; for even his successful Battles diminished his Army, and he had not the same Confidence in Foreign Soldiers as in those of his own Country.

C H A P. VII.

Alexander's Journey to the Oracle of Jupiter Hammon. The several Questions he asked the Oracle.

THE *Egyptians*, who had for a long Time been Enemies to the *Persian*

Grandeur, on account of their Avarice and Pride, upon the Report of *Alexander's* coming thither, began to hold up their Heads, which was not strange, considering they had received, with open Arms, *Amyntas* the perfidious Defserter. A great Multitude of the People therefore flock'd to *Pelusium*, thinking the King would enter that Way, and he arrived in *Egypt* at a Place still called *Alexander's Camp*, on the seventh Day after he left *Gaza*. Here he gave Orders to the Foot to repair to *Pelusium* by Land, while he with some chosen Troops was carried along the River *Nilus*. The *Persians* being terrified at the Resolution, did not dare to wait his coming. He was by this Time come within a little way of *Memphis* he continued his Course along the said River, and penetrated into the more inward Parts of *Egypt*, and having settled the Affairs of the Nation, so as to change none of their Ancient Customs, he resolved to visit the famous Oracle of *Jupiter Hammon*. The way thither was hardly practicable, even to a small Number, without any Incumbrance. There is a scarcity of Water from Heaven as well as Earth, and nothing to be seen but barren Sands, which when thoroughly heated by the Sun, burn the Soals of the Feet: In fine, the Heat is intolerable; but here is not only the heat of the Sun, and the drought of the Country to be struggled with, but also with a tenacious kind of Gravel, which lies very deep, and sinking under the Feet which makes it very difficult to move. All these Inconveniences were magnify'd by the *Egyptians*: However, *Alexander* was resolv'd to gratifie the ardent Desire he had to visit *Jupiter*, whom he either believ'd really to be his Father (not being satisfy'd with his mortal Grandure) or had a Mind the World should think so: He embarked therefore with those he design'd should accompany him, and sailed down the River to the Meer called *Mareosis*. While he was here, Ambassadors came to him from the *Cyrenenses* with Presents, desiring Peace, and that he would visit their Towns; but the King having accepted their Presents, and assured

assured them of his Friendship, pursued his intended Journey. The first and second Days fatigue seem'd tolerable, for they were not yet come to the vast naked Solitudes, tho' the Ground here was barren, and as it was, dead; but when those unbounded Plains appeared that are covered over with deep Sands, they were at as great a Loss to discover Land, as if they had been Sailing on the Deep. There was not so much as a Tree to be seen, nor the least Token of a cultivated Soil; and they now wanted Water, that which they carried with them upon Camels being spent, and there was none to be had in those dry Grounds and burning Sands. Besides, the Sun had parched up every Thing, all was scorched and burnt. They were in this distressed Condition, when, on the sudden, the Sky was overcast with thick Clouds, which intercepted the Sun, whether it were by Accident, or ordained as a Present from the Gods to relieve their pressing Calamities; it's certain, it was a seasonable Comfort to them (who were perishing with Heat) even tho' they wanted Water: But when the Storm broke out into a large and copious Rain, every one laid in his Provision thereof; some of them unable any longer to bear their Thirst, received it with open Mouth as it fell. They had already spent four Days in this vast Solitude, and were now far off the Seat of the Oracle, when a great flock of Crows came towards them, and flew gently before their Van, and sometimes settled to give them Time to come up; and then taking Wing again, preceeded them, shewing them the Way, and as it were discharging the Office of a Guide; at last they reached the Place which was Consecrated to the Gods. It seems to surpass Belief, that being situate in so wild a Solitude, it should be encompassed with Trees, that grew so thick, as to skreen it on all Sides from the piercing Rays of the Sun; being at the same Time water'd with so many gentle Streams, as were abundantly sufficient for the Nourishment of these Groves; and, to encrease the Miracle, the Air is here so temperate, that it resembles the Spring, and is equally salubrious

throughout all the Seasons of the Year. The People that inhabit the Neighbourhood of this Place are, on the East, those that Border on the *Ethiopians*; and on the South, those that Face the *Arabians*, call'd *Troglodytes*, whose Territory extends itself as far as the Red Sea; to the Westward it has other *Ethiopians*, called *Scenite*; to the Northward are the *Nasamones*, who are a People situate near the Flats, and enrich themselves by Piracy, lying in wait upon the Coast, ever ready to make a Prey on those Ships that are Stranded, being well acquainted with all the Fords. The Inhabitants of the Wood, who are called *Hammonians*, live in Cottages scattered up and down; the middle of the Wood serves them for a Citadel, being surrounded by a triple Wall; within the first stands the antient Palace of their Kings; in the second they keep their Wives and Children, as also their Concubines; here likewise is the Deity's Oracle; and in the last are the Archers and Guards of the Prince. There is another Wood also belonging to *Hammon*, in the middle of which is a Fountain, that they call the Water of the Sun: About Break of Day this Water is luke-warm; in the middle of the Day, when the Heat of the Sun is greatest, the same is very cold; towards the Evening it grows warm again, and in the middle of the Night it is scalding hot: And the nearer the Night draws on to Day, its nocturnal Heat decreases, till about Break of Day it is luke-warm, as before. The God which is adored in this Temple, has not the same Figure which is commonly given by the Painters and Sculptors to other Deities, it is made of Emeralds and other precious Stones, and from the Head to the Navel resembles a *Ram*. When he is to be consulted, the Priests carry him in a gilt Ship adorned with several Silver Cups hanging on the Sides of it; then follow Troops of Women and Girls singing a kind of rude Songs, after the Manner of the Country, by which they believe they shall make *Jupiter* propitious to them, and give them clear and certain Answers.

As the King advanced towards the Oracle the Senior Priest, saluted him with the Title of Son, assuring him, *That Jupiter his Father bestowed it on him.* To which he reply'd, *That he both accepted it and acknowledged it,* for he had now forgot his human Condition. Then he asked whether his Father did design him the Empire of the whole World? And the Priest, who was equally disposed to flatter him, told him, *He should be universal Monarch of the whole Earth.* Then he put another Quære, viz. *Whether all those who were concerned in his Father's Murder were punished?* To this the Priest made Answer, *That it was not in the Power of any Mortal to injure his Father, but all that had a Hand in Philip's Death had suffered Condign Punishment.* He moreover added, *That he should continue invincible till he took his Place among the Gods.* After this, he offered Sacrifice, and made Presents to the Priests and to the God; after which his Friends were likewise permitted to consult the Oracle, but they only desired to know, *Whether Jupiter approved of their paying divine Honours to their King?* The Priest reply'd, *That Jupiter was very well pleased they should pay divine Worship to their victorious King.* Now whoever would judge sagely of the Sincerity and Credit of the Oracle, might easily have perceiv'd it was all imposture by its Answer; but when once Fortune has prevailed with Men to commit themselves entirely to her, she generally makes them more greedy of Power than capable of it.

Alexander therefore not only suffer'd himself to be called Jupiter's Son, but also commanded it; and while he thought by this Means to cast more Splendour on his great Actions, he lessened them. And notwithstanding the *Macedonians* were accustomed to Kingly Government, yet as they retained still the Shadow of a greater Liberty than other Nations, they more obstinately opposed his affected Immortality than was expedient either to themselves or the King; but of these Things we shall speak in their proper Places, and at present pursue the rest of his Actions.

The City of Alexandria built in Egypt. Several Expeditions of Alexander.

ALEXANDER, at his Return from the Temple of Jupiter Hammon, being arrived at the *Palus Mareotis*, which is not far distant from the Island *Pharos*, having considered the Nature of the Place; he designed at first to build a City in the Island itself; but upon Reflection that the Island was too small for such a Purpose, he pitched upon that Place where *Alexandria* now stands, contracting its Name from its Founder: He took in all that Space of Ground that lies between the Meer and the Sea, allotting fourscore Furlongs for the Compass of the Walls; and having appointed proper Persons to supervise the building of the City, he went to *Memphis*.

He was seiz'd with a Desire (no wise to be blamed indeed had it been but well timed) to visit not only the inward Parts of *Egypt*, but also *Aethiopia*, the celebrated Palace of *Memnon* and *Tithonus* was like to draw him (who was naturally greedy of the Knowledge of Antiquity) even beyond the Bounds of the Sun; but the War he had upon his Hands, of which the most difficult part still remained, would not allow him time for those idle Journeys; he therefore appointed *Aschylus* the *Rhodian*, and *Pencestes* the *Macedonian*, Governors of *Egypt*, leaving with them four Thousand Men for the Guard of the Country, and allotted thirty Gallies, to *Polemon* to defend the Mouths of the *Nile*; then he constituted *Appollonius* Governor of that Part of *Africk* that joins to *Egypt*, and made *Cleomenes* Receiver of all the Tributes arising from *Africa* and *Egypt*; and having commanded the Inhabitants of the Neighbouring Towns to transplant themselves to *Alexandria*, he presently filled it with a great Multitude of People. It is said, *That when the King was marking out the Walls of the Town with a sort of Paste made of Barley Flower, according to the Macedonian Custom, the Birds came in Flocks to devour it; and as that was by several*

veral interpreted as protending Evil to the City in Hand, the Soothsayers on the contrary said it was a lucky Omen, and that it indicated, that the City would be very much resorted to by Strangers, and that she would afford Subsistence to several Countries.

The King after this, was going down the River Nile, and Hector Parmenio's Son (who was in the Flower of his Age, and in great favour with Alexander) being eager to follow him, entered into a little Boat which had more People in it than it could carry, insomuch that it sunk with all those that were on Board it. However, Hector struggled a long Time with the Water, tho' his Cloaths being thoroughly wet, and his Shoes being closely ty'd to his Feet, hinder'd him from swimming, and made a shift at last to get to the Shoar half dead; but as soon as he endeavoured to recover his Breath, which Fear and the Danger had for some Time suppress'd, there being Nobody at hand to assist him (for the rest had saved themselves on the other Side) he expired. The King was mightily afflicted at this Accident, and therefore buried his Corpse after a very magnificent Manner.

This Misfortune was aggravated by the Account the King received of the Death of Andromachus, his Governor of Syria, whom the Samaritans had burnt alive. The King therefore marched with the utmost Expedition to revenge his Death; but at his Arrival they delivered him up the Authors of so barbarous a Crime, all whom he put to Death, and then substituted Menon in his Place. He also put the Tyrants into the Hands of the People they had oppressed, and among those of the Methymnians, Aristonicus and Chrysolas, whom they first tortur'd in revenge of their Insolence, and then executed, flinging them in Contempt over the Walls of the City. Then he gave Audience to the Ambassadors of the Athenians, the Rhodians and the Cbiotes; the Athenians congratulated him on his Victories, and desired that the Greek Captives might be restored to their respective Cities: The Rhodians and the Cbiotes complain'd of the Garrisons; and as all their

Requests seem'd too just, he gratify'd them. To those of Mitylene he restored their Securities, in Consideration of their Fidelity, and the Money they had advanced for the Service of the War, adding a large Tract of Ground to their Territories. He also honoured the King of Cyprus, according to the Merit of his Services, who had revolted from Darius to him, and had supply'd him with a Fleet when he besieged Tyre. He afterwards sent Amphoterus, his Admiral, to deliver Creet from the Oppression of the Persians and Pyrates, but he enjoined him above all Things to clear the Sea from the Pyrates; for the two Kings being intent upon the War, the Seas were over-run with these Plunderers. Having settled these Matters he dedicated to Hercules of Tyre, a large Bowl and thirty Cups of Gold, then bending his Thoughts altogether on Darius, he gave Orders for the Army to march towards the Euphrates.

C H A P. IX.

Darius arrives at Arbela; and cannot prevent Alexander's passing the Euphrates and the Tigris.

DARIUS hearing that his Enemy was marched into Africa, was in doubt whether he should remain in the Neighbourhood of Mesopotamia, or go in Person to the Provinces that were in the most remote Parts of his Kingdom, by his Presence to encourage those distant People to come into the War, who were very little to be influenced by his Lieutenants; but on the other Hand being credibly informed that Alexander was determined to follow him with his whole Army, into whatsoever Country he went, as he was not ignorant of the indefatigable Bravery of his Adversary, he sent Orders to those remote Nations, to send him all the Succour they could to Babylon. The Bactrians, Scythians, and Indians, accordingly repaired thither with the Troops of the other Nations; his Army being as numerous again as it was in Cilicia, a great many of those that composed it wanted Arms, which,

which were getting ready for them with the utmost Diligence. The Horses as well as the Riders were provided with Armour of Iron. They who before had only Darts had now Swords and Bucklers given them. And that his present Army might be much stronger in Horse than his former was, he distributed a great many Horses to the Foot to be broke,

There were besides two Hundred Chariots arm'd with Scythes, which the Nations look upon to be their chief Strength; and very terrible to the Enemy; at the End of the Pole were fixed two Pikes arm'd with Iron Spikes, the Spokes of the Wheels were compass'd round with several Darts which pointed forward; and the Fellies were armed with Scythes so disposed that they cut to Pieces whatever stood in their Way.

Having thus provided and fitted out his Army he set forwards from *Babylon*; he had the *Tigris* on his Right Hand, a noble River, and his Left was covered with the *Euphrates*. His Army was so numerous that it filled all the Plains of *Mesopotamia*; having therefore passed the River *Tigris*, and understanding the Enemy was not far off, he sent *Satropates* before with a Thousand Horse, and then detached *Mazeus* with six Thousand more to hinder *Alexander* from passing the *Euphrates*; he was also commanded to destroy and burn all the Country that would be first exposed to the Enemy; for he imagined that not having any other Provisions for his Army than what he got by Pillage, he might be overcome by mere want, whilst his own was plentifully supply'd with all Necessaries both by Land and by the *Tigris*. *Darius* was by this Time come to *Arbela*, which he was destined to make glorious by his own memorable Defeat; leaving here the greatest Part of his Baggage and Provisions, he laid a Bridge over the *Lycus*, and passed his Army over it in five Days, as he had done before over the *Euphrates*; then advancing about fourscore Furlongs farther, he came to another River called *Bumado*, where he encamped. This Country was very convenient for his numerous Army,

being a plain open Ground, and very commodious for the Horse, as being cover'd neither with Bushes nor Shrubs, so that the Eye had an uninterrupted Prospect to discover Things at the remotest Distance; and where it seemed to swell into any Thing of an Eminence, he ordered it to be laid level with the rest. They that were sent by *Alexander* to take a View of the Enemy's Army, and who made an Estimate of it by the great Tract of Ground it covered, could hardly convince him of the Truth of their Report; for he thought it impossible that after so great a Loss he should now be stronger than he was at first. However, as he despised all Danger in general, and particularly that from a Superiority of Number, he came in eleven Days to the *Euphrates*, and having laid a Bridge over it, he first passed his Horse, and after them his *Phalanx*; *Mazeus* who had been sent to oppose his Passage, not daring to make trial of his Fortune against him. Here having granted the Soldiers a few Days, not so much to rest their Bodies as to confirm their Minds, he eagerly pursued *Darius*, for he was afraid he might retire to the remotest Parts of his Dominions, and that then he should be obliged to follow him thro' vast Wilds and Deserts that were destitute of all Necessaries. On the fourth Day therefore he passed by *Arbela* and came to the *Tigris*. All the Country beyond the River was yet smoaking; for *Mazeus* set every Thing on Fire, as if he had been himself an Enemy: And as the Smoke had caused a great Darkness, the King suspecting some Ambuscade, halted for some Time, till being informed by his Scouts that there was no Danger, he ordered some Horsemen to try the Depth of the Ford of the River; at first it took the Horses up to the Belly, and in the Middle it reach'd their Necks.

In all the Eastern Parts there is not any River that runs with so great a Rapidity, many Torrents falling into it, so that it carries even great Stones along with its Stream: From the Swiftness of its Current it bore the Name of the *Tigris*; because an Arrow in the *Persian* Language is so called.

The Foot being divided into two Bodies, and encompassed with the Horse, carried their Arms over their Head, and in that Order passed without much difficulty, till they came where the River was deepest. The King passed over among the Foot, and was the first that gained the other Side; from whence he made Signs to the Soldiers with his Hand, because his Voice could not be heard, where the Ford was shallowest; but they had much to do to keep their Legs, sometimes the slippery Stones deceiving their Steps, and sometimes the Violence of the Water tripping up their Heels. But they that were loaded were hardest put to it, for as they were hindered from governing themselves, they were carry'd away by the Rapidity of the Whirlpools: And as every one endeavoured to recover what he had lost, they struggled more among themselves than with the Stream: Besides the Bundles that floated on the Water bore down a great many of them. Hereupon the King cry'd out to them, only to take Care of their Arms, and that he would make good their other Losses. But they neither harkened to his Counsel, nor obeyed his Commands, for Fear, besides their own mutual Glamour, made them incapable of doing either. At last they got where the Current flows after a gentler Manner, and so gained the Shore, without any other Damage than the Loss of a little Lumber.

Here the Army might have been totally destroyed, had any Body but dared to conquer; but the King's constant good Fortune kept the Enemy at a Distance. Thus he passed the *Grenicus* in the Sight of so many Thousand Horse and Foot that were drawn up on the other Side of the River: Thus the Straights of *Gilicia* served him to vanquish so vast a Multitude of his Enemies. And notwithstanding he might seem bold to excess, yet he cannot well be censured for it, because his continual Success never afforded an Opportunity to conclude him rash.

Mazeus, who if he had come upon them while they were passing the River, might without doubt have destroyed them in that

Disorder, never appeared till they had gained the Shore and stood to their Arms. He had sent only a Thousand Horse before him, which *Alexander* perceiving, he despised the insignificant Number, and presently commanded *Ariston*, who was Captain of the *Peonian* Horse, to charge them briskly. In this Action the *Peonians* behaved gallantly, but particularly *Ariston*, who with his Spear run *Satropates*, the *Persian* Commander, into the Throat, and pursuing him through the midst of the Enemy, threw him off his Horse, and notwithstanding his Resistance, cut off his Head, which he brought and laid down at the King's Feet, who applauded his Resolution and Bravery.

CHAP. X.

Alexander's Soldiers are much astonished and troubled on Account of an Eclipse of the Moon, but he set them to rights again by the help of the Egyptian Diviners. He puts the Persians to Flight, who spoil every Thing on all Sides as they pass. The Wife of Darius dies of Grief in her Prison, Alexander weeps for her. The suspicious Mourning and Vows of Darius.

THE King having been encamped two Days, ordered his Army to be ready to march the next: But about the first Watch of the Night the Sky being clear and serene, the Moon first lost her Light, and afterwards appeared sullied, and as it seemed tinged with Blood; and this happening just at the Point of so great a Battle, the Event of which had already given them but too many Apprehensions, his Army were all struck with a superstitious Fear, and cried out, that *The Heavens shew'd the Signs of their Wrath, and that they were brought into those remote Countries against the Will of the Gods, that the Rivers had opposed their Passage, the Planets refused them their accustomed Light; and that they could behold nothing but Wilds and Deserts; that for one Man's Ambition it was not fit that*

so.

so many Thousands should shed their Blood, and that too for a Man who disdained his own Country, disowned his Father, and pretended to be a God. These Murmurs were almost come to an open Sedition, when *Alexander*, who never suffered himself to be surprized at any Thing, sent for all the Chiefs and Officers of the Army into his Tent; where he commanded the *Egyptian* Diviners, whom he looked upon to be best acquainted with the Course of the Heavens and the Planets, to declare their Opinion concerning the present Phenomenon. These, who knew very well the Revolutions and Motions of the Cælestial Bodies, and that an Eclipse of the Moon is occasioned by the Shadow of the Earth passing over it, without explaining the Secrets of their Art, which they always kept concealed from the Vulgar, contented themselves by letting them know, *That the Sun was the Greek Planet, and the Moon that of the Persians;* and that whenever this was eclipsed, it portended Destruction and Ruin to that Nation. And for Proof hereof, they related several Instances of the *Persian* Kings, who were warned by the Eclipse of the Moon, that they fought against the Will of the Gods.

There is nothing has so great an Influence over the Minds of the Vulgar, as Superstition; tho' it be otherwise violent, furious and inconstant, let it but be seized with a vain Religion, and it shall more readily obey the Priests than their Governors.

The Answer of the *Egyptians* therefore being communicated to the Multitude, revived their drooping Hopes, and animated them with fresh Assurance. The King thinking it best to make use of their present Disposition, decamped at the third Watch; he had the *Tigris* on his Right, and the *Gordian* Mountains on his Left. As he was marching this Way, his Scouts came to him about Break of Day, to let him know that *Darius* was advancing towards him. Hereupon he drew up his Army in order of Battle, being himself at the Head, and so continued his March; but it proved to be only about a Thousand Horse, who were sent out to reconnoitre the Enemy, which the Scouts

had taken for the whole Army: This usually happens in Matters of the like sort, where, when the Truth is not discovered, Fear working on Men's Minds, makes them believe what is not so. The King understanding how the Case stood, took with him a small Number of Men and pursued the Enemy, who presently fled back to their main Body; however he killed some, and took others Prisoners; and then dispatched a Detachment of Horse to get Intelligence of the Enemy, and to put out the Fires the *Barbarians* had kindled up and down in order to destroy the Villages: For before they took to their Heels they set Fire to the Roofs of the Houses and to the Stacks of Corn, so that the Flames being diverted in the upper Parts had not yet forced its Way to the lower. The Fires being thus put out, they found great Quantities of Corn and began also to have Plenty of other Necessaries. This encouraged the Soldiers to pursue the Enemy, who burnt and laid the Country waste; it being necessary for the *Macedonians* to make what haste they could after them to prevent every Thing being consumed. Thus Necessity supplied the Place of Reason; for *Mazeus*, who before destroyed every thing at leisure, was at present contented to fly, and left a great deal behind him entire and untouched.

Alexander was now informed that *Darius* was come within a Hundred and Fifty Furlongs of him: Hereupon, having with him Plenty of Provisions, he staid in this Camp four Days. While he remained here some Letters were intercepted that came from *Darius*, whereby the *Greeks* were solicited to kill or betray the King: *Alexander* was for some Time doubtful whether he should read them to the whole Army or not, because he was pretty well assured of the Good-Will and Fidelity of the *Greeks*: But *Parmenio* put him off of it, by telling him, that it was not convenient to communicate such Things to Soldiers, since the King lay exposed thereby to any one of them that would be a Traitor: Besides Avarice thought nothing a Crime. The King following this Advice, decamped. Upon the March,

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one of the Captive Eunuchs, that attended *Darius's* Queen, brought him Word, that the Queen had fainted and drew her Breath with Difficulty. The great Fatigue of the Journey, and Grief of Mind, had so wrought upon her, that she swooned away between her Mother-in-Law and her two Daughters, and so died; which was immediately notify'd to him by another Messenger. This surprizing Accident so touched the King, that he could not have shewn more Concern had he received Advice of the Death of his own Mother. He sigh'd, and even wept as *Darius* himself would have done, and immediately repaired to the Tent where *Sisygambis* was sitting by the Corpse of the Deceased. Here the King's Grief renewed when he beheld her extended on the Ground, and by this fresh Evil, put in Mind of her past Misfortunes. The Daughters of *Darius*, young Ladies in the Flower of their Age, lay with their Heads in her Bosom, partaking her Affliction, but in vain expecting any Consolation from her. The young Prince, her Grandson, stood before her, and was so much the more to be pity'd as he was not yet sensible of the Calamity, though his Share of it was the greatest. Any one would have thought that *Alexander* had been lamenting some of his own Relations; and instead of giving Comfort, stood in need of it himself. He abstained from eating and ordered the Funeral to be performed after the *Persian* Manner; and seem'd then to deserve the Reward he has since had for his good Nature and Continency. He had never seen her but once, which was the Day she was taken Prisoner, and even then it was *Darius's* Mother he went to visit. He was so far from receiving any Impression of Lust from her excellent Beauty, that it only serv'd to excite him to Glory and Honour. While Grief fill'd all the Place, one of the Eunuchs, named *Tyriotes*, got out at a Back-Door, which was less minded than the rest, and fled to the *Persian* Camp; and being taken up by the Guard, was brought before *Darius*, lamenting and tearing his Cloaths. As soon as *Darius* saw him in this

Condition he was disturb'd with Variety of Thoughts, and hardly knew what chiefly to fear: *Thy Looks*, said he; *bespeak some great Misfortune; but whatever it be, be sure to conceal nothing from me, for by my repeated Calamities, I have learned to be unhappy; and sometimes even to know ones Misery is a Comfort: Say then, dost thou bring me (which is what I most suspect and dread to utter) an Account of the Violation of my Family's Honour, which to me, and I suppose to them, would be more afflicting than the greatest Torments?* To which *Tyriotes* reply'd, Sir, *there is nothing, I assure you, of what you fear; for whatever Honours are paid by Subjects to Queens, are duly paid to yours by the Conqueror; but your Royal Consort is dead.* At these Words the whole Camp was fill'd with Cries and Lamentations: And *Darius* no longer doubted but she had been killed for refusing to yeild up her Honour; and distract'd with Grief, he broke out in these Exclamations, *What Crime have I committed, Alexander; which of your Relations have I put to Death, that you should punish my Cruelty after this Manner? You hate me without Provocation; but admitting your War to be just, ought you for that to wreak your Revenge on Women?* Hereupon *Tyriotes* swore by the Tutelar Gods of the Country, that no ill Usage had been offered her, but on the contrary that *Alexander* express'd no less Grief for her Death, than he himself could do, who was her Husband. These Words increased his Anxiety, and gave him greater Suspicion that this Tenderness proceeded from the familiar Conversation he had with her; dismissing therefore all that were present, except *Tyriotes*, he now no longer wept, but sighing said, *Look thee, Tyriotes, thou must not think to put me off with Lies; for Torments presently shall express the Truth from thee: But I conjure thee by the Gods not to keep me so long in Suspense; if thou hast any Veneration for thy King, tell me what I desire to know, and am ashamed to utter, did not the youthful Conqueror offer Violence to her? Then Tyriotes offered to suffer*

for the Rack, and called the Gods to Witness, that the Queen had been used with all the Respect the strictest Virtue could require. At last Darius being convinced of the Truth of what the Eunuch said, he covered his Head, and wept a long Time; and the Tears still flowing from his Eyes, he uncovered his Face, and holding up his Hands to Heaven, he said, *Oe Tutelar Gods of my Dominions, my first request is, that you would vouchsafe to confirm my Kingdom to myself; but if my Ruin be determined, I beg no other may be admitted King of Asia, than this just Enemy, this merciful Conqueror.*

CHAP. XI.

Darius desires Peace the third Time, but does not obtain it: On the contrary, Alexander requires him to submit, or come to a Battle.

NOTwithstanding Darius had twice asked for Peace in vain and therefore turned his Thoughts wholly on War; yet vanquished, as it were, by the Virtue of his Enemy, he made Choice of Ten of the Chief of his Relations to make fresh Overtures; whom Alexander admitted, having summon'd his Council to attend on that Occasion. Then the eldest of the Ambassadors told him, *That Darius did now a third Time desire Peace of him, not that he was compell'd to it by any Force or Necessity, but moved thereto by his Justice and Contineny; that such was his generous Behaviour to his Mother, his Wife and Children, that he should hardly think them to be Captives, but because they were not with himself. You shew a fartherly Care of those that are yet living, and honour them with the Title of Queens; leaving them to all the Splendour of their former Fortunes. I can read as much Concern in your Looks, as there was in Darius's when we left him, and yet he bewails the Loss of a Wife, and you only that of an Enemy: And were it not for you pious Care of her Funeral, you would now have been at the Head of your Army drawn*

up in order of Battle; now where is the great wonder, if being overcome by so much Bounty, and Friendly Usage, he desires Peace of you? What Occasion is there for Arms where there is no Hatred? Heretofore he offered to you the River Halys, that terminates Lydia, for the Bounds of your Empire. Now he proffers you all the Countries that lie between the Hellespont and the Euphrates, as a Portion with his Daughter, whom he freely gives you in Marriage. He moreover offers to leave with you his Son Ochus, as a Pledge of the Peace, and his Integrity. He only requires you will restore him his Mother and Virgin Daughters, for which you shall receive Thirty Thousand Talents of Gold. Were I not already convinced of your Moderation, I would remind you, that at this juncture, it were your Interest not only to grant Peace, but readily to accept of it. Do but look back on the vast Countries you leave behind you, and take a View in thought, of what still remains to Conquer. An overgrown unweildy Empire is always in Danger, and it is a difficult Thing to hold fast what you cannot grasp. We see those Ships that are of an unweildy Bulk, are not easily governed. And I cannot tell therefore but Darius lost so much, because too much Wealth furnishes Opportunities for great Losses. There are some Things much easier to acquire than to keep. With how much more ease do our Hands snatch Things away, than hold them afterwards? Even the Death of Darius's Queen, may make you sensible that you have not now so much room left you to shew your merciful Temper as before.

The Ambassador having finished his Speech, Alexander ordered them to withdraw, and required those of his Council to speak their Opinions. They all remained silent for some Time, not daring to declare their Sentiments, by Reason they were uncertain how the King himself was disposed: At last Parmenio spoke to this Effect. *I was of Opinion heretofore, Sir, that the Prisoners should have been restored to those that would have redeemed them at Damascus, by which Means a considerable*
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Sum of Money might have been raised; whereas, while you detain them, they only deprive you of the Service of a great many brave Hands; and I cannot but think it adviseable to make an exchange of an old Woman and two young Girls (which like a troublesome Luggage, only retard your Marches) for thirty Thousand Talents of Gold. Besides, here is a noble Kingdom to be had by Agreement, without so much as running the Risk of an uncertain War, none before you ever having possessed all that vast Tract of Land that lies between the Tigris and the Euphrates. Turn therefore your Thoughts, Sir, upon Macedonia rather than Bactra or the Indies. The King was very much displeased at this Speech; and therefore as soon as he concluded it, he said, *And I also would prefer Money to Glory, if I was Parmenio: But as I am Alexander, I am secure from Poverty; and I consider that I am no Merchant; but a King. I don't pretend to sell any Thing, neither will I sell my Reputation: If it be adviseable to restore the Captives, it is more honourable to deliver them up gratis, than for a Sum of Money.* Then calling in the Ambassadors, he made them this Answer: *Tell Darius (for Ceremony of Thanks is superfluous between Enemies) That the Acts of Clemency and Generosity that I have done, were not intended to procure his Friendship, but were the real Effects of my own good Nature: For I do not pretend to shew Hostilities to those in Affliction; my Arms are designed for an armed Enemy. If he sincerely sued for Peace, perhaps I might deliberate whether I should give it or not. But since he has not only solicited my Soldiers to revolt, but also endeavoured to corrupt my Friends with Money to destroy me, I think myself obliged to pursue him to Destruction, not as a just Enemy, but as a Ruffian and a Murderer. As for the Conditions he offers me, they are such, that to receive them, were to acknowledge him Conqueror. He professes me all behind the Euphrates; does he shew his Liberality in that? Where am I at this instant you address to me? Am I not*

got beyond the Euphrates? It is plain then, that I am already encamped beyond the Bounds he offers me with his Daughter. Drive me then from thence, that I may be sensible that what you yield to me is your own. He shews his Liberality much after the same rate, when he offers me his Daughter: Would he not otherwise marry her to some of his Servants? It's a mighty Favour he does me to prefer me to Mazæus. Go therefore and tell your King, that what he has already lost, and what he has still to lose, is all to be the Reward of War and Victory. That this must determine the Bounds of both Empires, and each shall be content with what Fortune shall allot him To-morrow. If he would be contented with the second Rank, and not insist on being upon an Equality with me, maybe I might grant him what he asks; for I did not come into Asia to receive, but to give, Tell him then, that as the Celestial World cannot be governed by two Suns, so it is inconsistent with the Welfare of the Terrestrial one, to be ruled by two powerful Kingdoms. Let him therefore resolve to surrender himself to Day, or prepare for Battle To-morrow: Let him not flatter himself with the Hopes of better Fortune than what he has already experienced.

To this the Ambassadors answered; *That since he was bent upon War, it was candidly done of him not to amuse them with the Hopes of a Peace. They therefore desired, they might forthwith repair to their Prince, since it was necessary he should likewise prepare himself for Battle. And being accordingly dismissed, they acquainted Darius, that he was on the Point of an Engagement.*

CHAP. XII.

The Macedonians are seized with a panick Fear, whilst the Persian Army is preparing for Battle; but coming again to themselves, they recover their Arms with great Alacrity.

AS soon as Darius learns this, he dispatched Mazæus with three Thousand Horse,

Horse, to take Possession of the Passes; and *Alexander* having performed the Funeral of *Darius's* Queen, left the heavy Baggage, and whatever could retard his March, within the Camp, appointing a small Guard for its Security, and then advanced towards the Enemy. He divided his Foot into two Bodies, and posted the Cavalry on the Right and Left of it. The Carriages followed in the Rear. Then he sent *Menidas* with a Party of Horse to discover where *Darius* was. But he not daring to advance very far, because *Mazeus* lay in his Way, returned and told *Alexander* that there was nothing to be heard but the Noise of Men, and the Neighing of Horses; on the other Side, *Mazeus* perceiving the *Macedonians* Scouts at a Distance, returned to the Camp, and acquainted *Darius* with the approach of the Enemy; and as he was desirous of deciding the Matter in the open Plains, he commanded his Soldiers to take to their Arms, and drew them up in order of Battle. In the left Wing were the *Bactrian* Horse to the Number of a Thousand; there were as many *Dabe* with four Thousand *Arachosians* and *Susians*. These were followed by Fifty Chariots armed with Scythes; next to them was *Bessus*, with eight Thousand *Bactrian* Horse, and two Thousand *Massagete*: Then came the Foot of several Nations, not mixed, but in a distinct Order, each of their respective Corps. Then followed *Ariobrasanes* and *Orobates*, who led up the *Persians*, and had also with them the *Mardians* and *Sogdians*. These two Generals had their particular Commands, but *Orsines* commanded this Part of the Army in chief. He was descended from some of the seven *Persians*, and even derived himself from *Cyrus*. These were succeeded by other Nations hardly known to their Associates. After these came *Phradates*, with the *Caspian* Forces, and Fifty Chariots of War: Behind these were the *Indians*, and the other Nations that inhabit along the Coast of the Red-Sea, rather mere Names than Auxiliaries. This Body was followed by Fifty other armed Chariots, which

were joined by the Foreigners: After these came the *Armenians*, distinguished by the Title of the *Lesser*. The *Babylonians* followed these and both were closed by the *Betlie*, and those who inhabit the *Cossaan* Hills. After these marched the *Gortuans*, *Aebeans* originally, and had formerly followed the *Medians*, but were now degenerated, and wholly ignorant of the Customs of their Country. The *Phrygians* and *Cathonians*, and then the *Parthians* who formerly came out of *Scythia*, brought up the Rear. This was the Order of the left Wing. The Right was formed by the Troops of the greater *Armenia*, the *Cadusians*, *Cappadocians*, *Syrians*, and *Medians*; these had likewise with them Fifty armed Chariots. The Total of the Army amounted to forty five Thousand Horse, and two Hundred Thousand Foot. Being drawn up after this Manner, they advanced ten Furlongs, and then were commanded to halt, and expect the Enemy under their Arms.

At this very Juncture a sudden Fear, of which no Cause could be assigned, seized *Alexander's* Army, every one was amazed, and a secret Dread spread itself over all their Hearts. The Brightness from the Clouds, it being Summer, at a Distance appeared to them like so many flaming Fires round about them, which they took for those of *Darius's* Camp, so that they were afraid they had inconsiderately advanced amongst the Enemy's Guards. Had but *Mazeus* fallen upon them, while they were still possessed with this Fear, he might have given them a great Blow. But he remain'd idle on the Eminence he had taken Possession of, very well pleased that he was not attack'd himself.

Alexander being informed of the Fright his Army was in, ordered the Signal to be given for a Halt, and then commanded them to lay down their Arms, and rest their Bodies; giving them to understand, *That there was no Cause at all for their Fear the Enemy being yet at a good Distance.* At last they recovered their Spirits and resumed their Arms: However *Alexander* thought it the best way to remain in that

very Place where he then was, and fortify his Camp.

The next Day *Mazeus*, who had posted himself, (as we said) on an Eminence from whence he could discover the *Macedonians* Camp; whether it were because he had no other Orders than barely to take a View of the Enemy, repaired to *Darius*. Hereupon the *Macedonians* presently took Possession of his Post, for it was safer than the Plain, and they could from thence take a Prospect of the *Persian* Army. For notwithstanding the moist Hills sent up such a Mist as hindered them from taking a distinct View of their several Divisions and their Order of Battle, yet it did not hinder them from a general Survey. The Multitude overspread the Plains like an Inundation, and the Noise of so many Thousands, even at that Distance, filled their Ears.

The King began now to waver in his Mind, and tho' it was too late, would sometimes weigh his own Resolution, and sometimes *Parmenio's* Advice; for he was advanced so far, that he could not retire with any Manner of Safety, without he was victorious. He was alarmed at the vast Multitude of his Enemies, in Comparison of his own small Number: But then again he recalled to Mind the many great Actions he had achieved with that little Army, and the many Nations he had conquered with it. So that Hope having got the better of Fear, and concluding that Delays were dangerous, since thereby Despair might gain Ground on the Minds of his Men, he dissembled his Thoughts, and commanded the mercenary *Peonian* Horse to advance. And having divided his *Phalanx*, as was said before, into two Bodies, he placed his Cavalry on each Wing. By this Time the Mist was cleared up, so that *Darius's* Army was plainly to be seen: And the *Macedonians*, whether out of Alacrity, or being tired with the Tedioufness of any longer Delay, gave a great Shout, after the Manner of Armies before they engage; and the *Persians* returned the same, filling the neighbouring Woods and Vallies with a dreadful Sound. And notwithstanding the *Macedo-*

nians could hardly be hindered from rushing furiously on the Enemy, yet *Alexander* thought it still more advisable to fortify his Camp on the Hill, and accordingly ordered a Trench to be cast up round it; and the Work being speedily performed, he repaired to his Tent, from whence he could behold the Enemies whole Army.

CHAP. XIII.

Alexander disapproves of the Advice of Parmenio and Polypercon, who were of Opinion that they ought to fight that Night: And after taking a little Sleep, he animates his Men to give the Enemy Battle.

HE now saw before his Eyes the perfect Image of the Danger he was to engage in, the Generals going about among the Ranks from Place to Place, to give their Orders, the Noise of the Men and Horses, the Glittering of the Arms that flashed like Lightning, and the Sound of the Trumpets, which Things tho' vain in themselves, had so shaken his Mind, already full of Trouble and Care for the Event of so great a Day, that he knew not on what to resolve, and being willing to Sound his People, he assembled his Council to consult on what was best to done. *Parmenio*, the best skilled of any in the Art of War, was of Opinion, that a Surprize would be better than an open Fight; That a Multitude composed of so many different Nations, and different Languages and Manners, would be more easily defeated in the Dark, and while Sleep had overtaken them, and as they would be attacked at an unaware, and therefore not able to rally in such a Confusion, especially in the Night. Whereas in the broad Day-light, the frightful Aspects of the *Scythians* and *Bactrians* with their rough Visages and long Hair, and the monstrous Size of their vast Bodies, might strike a dread in the Soldiers, who are more liable to receive Impressions from Trifles, than from Realities. Moreover, their small Number would
be

be in Danger of being surrounded by so great a Multitude; for they had not now the Streights of Cilicia and narrow Passes to fight in, but the Plains and open Fields. They were almost all of Parmenio's Opinion; and Polypercon did not scruple to declare, That the Victory depended on the Execution of it. The King therefore looking at Polypercon (for as he had lately been severer with Parmenio than he wished, he could not find in his Heart to reprove him again) said, This subtle Wisdom you advise me to, belongs to Thieves and Robbers; for their chief Aim is to deceive. But I shall not always suffer either Darius's Absence, or the Straitness of the Place, or a Surprise in the Night, to rob me of my Glory. I am determined to attack him openly, and had rather have occasion to blame my Fortune, than be ashamed of my Victory. Besides I am well assured, that the Persians keep strict Guards and stand to their Arms, so that it were impossible to fall upon them at unawares. Wherefore prepare yourselves for Battle.

Having thus encouraged them, he dismissed them to refresh themselves. Now Darius imagining the Enemy would have done as Parmenio proposed, had ordered, *That the Horses should stand ready Bridled all the Night, and a great Part of the Army to be under their Arms, and the Watches to be stricter kept than usually.* His whole Camp was illuminated with Fires; and he himself with his Generals and Relations rid about the Divisions that were upon Duty. Then invoking the Sun that they call *Mithres*, and the sacred and eternal Fires, to inspire his Army with a Courage worthy their ancient Glory and the Acts of their Predecessors, and declared, that if it was possible for the Minds of Men to guess at Tokens of Divine Assistance, it was plain, that the Gods were on their Side. It was they who struck the *Macedonians* lately with a sudden Fear; they being still in great Confusion, as appeared by their running about and flinging down their Arms: That the Time was now at hand that the Tutelar Gods of *Persia*, had pitched upon to punish

these Mad Men, and that their General was no wiser than the rest. For after the Manner of wild Beasts, he looked so greedily upon his Prey, as like them, to fall into Snares which were set before it.

The *Macedonians* were in the same Solitude, and passed that Night, in as much Fear, as if the Battle had been to be then fought. *Alexander* himself was more terrified than ever he had been before, and called for *Aristander* to offer up Vows and Prayers. He therefore being clothed in white, and carrying sacred Herbs in his Hand, with his Head covered, prayed with the King who implored the Protection of *Jupiter*, *Minerva*, and *Victory*. Afterwards having offered Sacrifice, according to their Rites, he returned to his Tent to take his Rest the Remainder of the Night. But he could neither Sleep nor compose the Disturbance of his Mind. One while he resolved to charge the *Persians* right Wing first, sometimes he thought it best to attack their main Body, and then again he doubted whether it might not be more advisable to fall upon their left Wing. At last his Body being tired with the Anxiety of his Mind, he fell into a profound Sleep. As soon, as it was light, the Officers repaired to his Tent to receive Orders, and were much surprized at the unusual Silence they found there. For he used to send for them, and sometimes reprimand their Laziness, they therefore wondered, that being on the very Brink of Danger, he was not yet stirring; some where of Opinion he did not rest, but shrunk out of Fear: At the same Time none of the Guards dared to enter the Tent, and yet the Time of Action drew nigh, and the Soldiers did not dare take to their Arms, or form their Ranks without their Generals Orders. *Parmenio* therefore having waited a considerable Time, commanded them to refresh themselves; and there being a Necessity now for the drawing up of the Army, he went into the Tent, and not being able to wake the King by calling upon him, he touched him with his Hand, and said to him, *It is broad Day, and the Enemy advancing towards us in order of Battle.*

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while your Soldiers for want of Orders, are still without their Arms. What is become, Sir, of your wonted Vigor? You used to prevent the most early. To this Alexander replied, Do you think it was possible to compose myself to Rest, till I had calmed the Anxiety of my Thoughts? This said, he commanded him to give the Signal for Battel. But as Parmenio persisted in his Admiration how he could Sleep so securely; he told him, there was no Reason to wonder at it, for while Darius was burning the Country, destroying the Towns and Villages, and spoiling the Provisions, it was impossible for him to be easy; but now that he prepares himself to give me Battel, what should I fear? He has now granted me all I desire. However, I shall satisfy you farther hereafter as to this Matter, in the mean time every one of you repair to your respective Commands, and I will be with you presently, and then I will tell you what you are to do.

He very rarely harkened to the Admonitions of his Friends when Danger was at Hand, however, now having put on his Armour, he came to the Army. The Soldiers had never seen him so cheerful before, and they conjectured from his undaunted Countenance, that the Day was their own.

The King first of all; ordered them to level the Works and then drew up the Army after this Manner. In the Right Wing were those Horse which they call *Agema*, commanded by *Clitus*, to whom he joined *Philotas's* Troops, and the Cavalry of several other Commanders; the last Regiment was that of *Meleager*, which was next to the *Phalanx*. After the *Phalanx* were the *Argyraspides*; these were commanded by *Nicanor*, *Parmenio's* Son. *Cenias* with his Troops, were a Body of Reserve; after him were *Orestes* and *Lyncstes*, and next to these *Polypercon*, who commanded the Foreigners; *Amynas* had the chief Command of this Division. *Philogus* led the *Balacri*, who were lately took into the Alliance. This was the Disposition of the Right Wing. In the left was *Craterus* with the *Peloponnesian* Horse, and with him were

also the *Abians*, *Locrensiens* and *Maleans*: These were closed by the *Thessalian* Horse, commanded by *Philip*. The Foot were covered by the Horse. This was the Order of the left Wing. Now that he might not be surrounded by the Multitude, he had posted a strong Body of Reserve in the Rear, and had on the Wings Troops in readiness to relieve in such a Case; not fronting as the rest of the Army did, but on the Flanks, that in case the Enemy endeavoured to surround them, they might be ready to engage them. Here were posted the *Agrianians*, commanded by *Attalus*, as also the *Cretan* Archers. The Ranks in the Rear, were to front outwardly, that the Army might be secure every Way. Here were the *Illyrians*, with the Mercenaries, and the Light-armed *Thracians*. In fine, he had so disposed his Army, that it fronted every Way, and was ready to engage on all Sides, if attempted to be encompassed: Thus the Front was not better secured than the Flanks, nor the Flanks better provided for than the Rear.

He ordered them, that in case the *Barbarians* let loose their armed Chariots with Shouts among them, to open to the Right and Left, and let them silently pass by, being well assured that they would do no Mischief if they were not opposed in their Passage. But if they sent them without shouting, that then they should terrify them with their Conclamations, and stick the affrighted Horses with their Darts. They that commanded the Wings, were ordered to extend them as much as they could, without leaving the Center too thin, that they might not by too close an order be in Danger of being surrounded. The Baggage and the Prisoners, among whom were *Darius's* Mother and Children, were placed on a rising Ground not far from the Army, with a moderate Guard. The Left was commanded by *Parmenio*, as it used to be, and the King himself commanded the Right. The Armies were not come within the cast of their Darts, when *Bion*, a Deserter came riding on full speed to the King, and acquainted him, that *Darius* had planted Iron Cal-

trops

trops all over that Ground where he expected the *Macedonian* Horse, and by a certain Sign, shewed him the Place, that his Men might avoid it. *Alexander* having ordered the Deserter to be secured, called together his Generals and imparted the Information to them, requiring them to decline that Place, and to acquaint their Men of the Danger. However, it was impossible for the whole Army to hear this, the Noise of both Armies taking away the Use of the Ears, so that *Alexander*, riding about, spoke to the Captains, and those that were next him, representing to them.

C H A P. XIV.

Alexander's Speech to the Greeks, and Darius's to the Persians, before the Battle.

THAT after having marched through so many Countries and so many Dangers, in hopes of the Victory, for which they were now going to fight, they had but one Danger more to Encounter. That if the River *Granicus*, and the Mountains of *Cilicia*, *Syria* and *Egypt* rose but for a Moment in their Minds, they would be great Spurs to their Glory, and sufficient Pledges of their Success. That the Persians were Fugitives, rally'd together in their Flight, and would only fight now, because they could not fly any farther. That this was the third Day they had laid under their Arms, trembling and almost dead with Fear, without daring to make the least Motion. That there could not be a greater Demonstration of their Despair, than their burning their Towns and Country; by that very Procedure acknowledging all to be the Enemies that they could not destroy. That the empty Names of unknown Nations, ought not in the least to terrify them, for it was of no Moment to the War, who they called *Scythians* or *Caducians*: It being plain from their being unknown, that they were insignificant People; since it is impossible brave Men should lie buried in Obscurity and Oblivion; whereas Cowards, when forced from their lurking Retreats, bring into the Field nothing but

a barbarous Title. As for the *Macedonians*, they have so signalized themselves, that there is not, said he, the least Corner of the Earth that is ignorant of their Glory. Do but behold the uncouth Appearance of the Barbarians, how sordidly they are armed; some of them have only a Dart, others a Sling to cast Stones, while very few of them have proper Arms. Therefore notwithstanding the Enemy be superior in Number of Men, yet you have the Advantage of Soldiers. Moreover, he did not require them to exert their Bravery, unless he encouraged them by his own Example. He assured them, He would fight in Person before the Colours, and that he should esteem the Wounds he there received, as so many Ornaments to his Body. That they knew very well themselves, that all partook of the Booty, except himself. That he made no other Use of the Rewards of his Victories, than to adorn and honour them with them. This was what he thought fit to say to the Gallant and Brave. But if there were any amongst them of a different Disposition, he must acquaint them, that they were now advanced so far, that it was impossible to fly: That having behind them such vast Countries, so many Rivers and Mountains to oppose them, there was no Passage open to their own Homes, but what they should make themselves Sword in Hand.

It was thus he encouraged the Captains and Soldiers that were near him.

Darius on the other Side, being on the Left Wing of his Army, encompassed by his Nobles, and all the Flower of his Horse and Foot, made a Jest of the small Number of the Enemy; judging, that by their extending their Wings to the utmost, their main Body must needs stand very thin, Being therefore seated aloft in his Chariot, he addressed himself both by Looks and Gestures, to the Troops that were about him on the Right and Left; saying to them, We who were a little while since, Lords of all the Countries between the Ocean and the *Hellaspent*, are now reduced to fight, not for Glory, but for Safety; nay, for what we even prefer to our Safety, our Liberty. This Day

Day will either restore, or put an End to the largest Empire the World has seen. At the River Granicus we engaged the Enemy with an inconsiderable Part of our Forces: When we were overcome in Cilicia, we had Syria to repair to, and the Tigris and Euphrates were as Bulwarks to our Dominions. Now we are got where there is no room left for Flight, every thing behind our Backs being exhausted by the continuance of the War. The Towns are dispeopled, and there are not Hands to cultivate the Earth; our Wives and Children also follow the Army, and will certainly fall a Prey to the Enemy, if we are backward in exposing our Lives for those dear Pledges. As for what depended on me, I have taken Care to have such an Army as the largest Plains are hardly able to contain. I have furnished it with Horses and Arms, and have taken Care to supply it with Provisions, and have chosen such a Place to fight in, where all our Forces may be displayed. The rest depends on yourselves, do but dare to Conquer and the Work is done. Renown and Fame are but weak Arms against brave Men, therefore do not regard them in the Enemy. For it is his Rashness you have hitherto feared, and mistaken for Courage; which when its first Fury is spent, becomes languid and dull, like those Animals that have lost their Stings. These spacious Fields discover the small Number of the Enemy, which the Cilician Mountains hid. You see how thin their Ranks are, how their Wings are stretched out, their Center is in a Manner vacant; as for the Rear, they seem by their facing outwards to be ready to run away, they may be trod to death by the Horses, tho' I were barely to send my armed Chariots among them. If we gain the Battle it puts an End to the War, for they have no Place to escape to; they are inclosed between the Tigris and the Euphrates: What before was advantageous to them, is now become a Nuisance. Our Army is light and ready on all Occasions, theirs is loaded with Booty. They are, as it were, entangled in our Spoils, so that we may kill them with ease. The same Things shall be both

the Cause of our Victory and its Reward. If any of you are startled at the Renown of the Nation, think with yourselves, that only their Arms are there, and not their Persons; for a great deal of Blood has been spilt on both Sides, and in a small Number the Loss is soonest felt. As for Alexander, how great soever he may appear to the Cowardly and the Fearful, he is still but one Individual; and, in my Opinion, both rash and foolish. Now nothing can be lasting that is not supported by Reason, and though he seems to be successful, yet at long run he'll pay for his Temerity. Besides, the Turns and Revolutions of Things are of short Duration, there is no such Thing as an unmixed Felicity. Perhaps it is the Will of the Gods, that the Persian Empire, which, by a Series of Success, for these two hundred and thirty Years, has raised it self to the highest Pitch of Grandeur, should receive this violent Shock without being overthrown, to put us in mind of human Frailty, of which we are too forgetful in Prosperity. A little while ago we ourselves carried the War into Greece, and now we are forced to drive it from our own Country. Thus we are tossed by the Mutability of Fortune, one Nation is not capable of the Empire we both affect; but admitting we were destitute of Hopes, yet Necessity ought to animate us, our Case is so deplorable. My Mother, Daughters, and Son Ochus (who was born with a Right to succeed in the Empire) together with several Princes descended from Royal Blood, and your Generals, who were like so many Kings, all wear his Chains; nay, I myself am more than half a Captive, unless you exert yourselves: Free my Bowels from their Bondage, restore to me those dear Pledges, (for which I am willing myself to die) my Mother and Children, for I have lost my Wife in that Prison. Think with yourselves how they all reach out their Hands to you, implore the Assistance of the Gods, beg your Help, Pity and Fidelity, to deliver them from Servitude, Fetters, and a precarious way of Living. Can you believe they are easy under those they would hardly vouchsafe to command? But I perceive the

Enemy

Enemy approaches, and the nearer the Danger draws, the less I am satisfied with what I have said. I conjure you then by the Tutelar Gods of Persia, by the eternal Fire that is carryed before us on Altars, by the Splendour of the Sun that rises within the Limits of my Empire, by the everlasting Memory of Cyrus, who transferred the Empire from the Medes and Lydians to the Persians, to free our Name and Nation from the utmost Disgrace. Fall on cheerfully, and full of Hopes, that you may transmit to Posterity the Glory you have received from your Predecessors. You carry in your Right-Hand your Liberty, Relief, and all our future Hopes: Whoever despises Death is least liable to it, the Fearful only fall a Prey to it. I ride in a Chariot, not only to comply with the Custom of my Country; but also that I may be better seen by all; and I am not against your imitating of me according as I give you an Example either of Fortitude or Cowardice.

CHAP. XV.

A Description of the bloody Battle fought near Arbela. Alexander, having obtained the Victory, pursues Darius, and defeats him.

ALEXANDER, to avoid the Places where Bion had shewed him the Ambuscade was laid, and to meet Darius, who brought up the Left-Wing of his Army, kept always towards the Right. Darius also marching towards him, commanded Bessus to charge Alexander's Left-Wing with the Massagetan Cavalry. He had before him the armed Chariots, which upon the Signal given, broke in furiously amongst the Enemy, and were driven with a loose Rein, that by the Suddenness of the Surprize they might do the greater Execution; some were destroyed by the Pikes that stuck out at the End of the Poles, and others were cut to Pieces by the Scythes placed on each Side.

The Macedonians did not give way gradually, but taking to their Heels confounded their Ranks, and Mazæus perceiving

their Disorder, that he might strike the greater Fear into them, sent a Thousand Horse to Plunder their Baggage, thinking that the Captives that were guarded with it would at the Approach of their Friends, break loose and make their Escape. Parmenio, who was in the Left-Wing, was not insensible of what was doing, he therefore immediately dispatched Polydammus to the King, to acquaint him with the Danger, and know his Pleasure upon this Occasion. The King having heard Polydammus, made this Answer, Tell, Parmenio, that if we get the Day, we shall not only recover our own, but also be Masters of all the Enemy has, and therefore let him not weaken the Army on that Account; but continue fighting Manfully; and after mine, and my Father Philip's Example, despise the Loss of the Baggage.

In the mean Time the Barbarians were pillaging the Camp, and having killed a great many of those that guarded it, the Prisoners broke their Chains, and arming themselves with what came next to their Hands, they joined the Horse, and fell also upon the Macedonians, who were now in a doubtful Condition: Some of the Prisoners ran for Joy to Sisigambis, and told her Darius had got the Victory; that a mighty Slaughter had been made of the Enemies, who were at last stripp'd of all their Baggage and Booty; for they concluded the Persians had every where the same Fortune, and were now as Conquerors running about for Plunder. And notwithstanding they would fain have prevailed with Sisigambis to moderate her Grief, yet she remained in the same State as before, without speaking one Word, or changing her Countenance, but sat as if she were immovable, and seemed afraid by too early a Joy to provoke Fortune, insomuch that the Standards-by could not make any Judgment of her Inclinations.

While these Things were doing, Amyntas, one of Alexander's Colonels of Horse, came to the Assistance of those that guarded the Baggage, whether of his own Motion, or by the King's Orders is uncertain; but

but he was soon obliged to retire to *Alexander*, not being able to sustain the shock of the *Cadufians* and *Scythians*, having been rather a Witness of the Loss of the Baggage than a Rescuer of it. *Alexander* upon this was so transported with Grief, that he knew not what to resolve upon, he began to fear, and not without a Cause, lest the Concern for the Loss of their Booty might draw the Soldiers from the Fight; he therefore sent *Arctes* with the Pikemen called *Saristophori*, against the *Scythians*. By this Time the Chariots having put the first Ranks into Confusion, were drove against the *Phalang*, the *Macedonians* were so far from being disheartened at this, that they opened to the Right and Left, according to their former Instructions, and made a Lane for them to pass through; and standing in close order like a Bulwark, stuck the Horses with their Pikes as they went at Random, and then surrounded the Chariots, brought headlong down those that defended them; here was so great a Slaughter made of Horses and their Drivers, that it quite filled and choaked up that Space: The Drivers could now no longer guide the affrighted Cattle, and the Horses, by their kicking and flinging, had not only broke their Traces, but also overturned the Chariots, and being Wounded, dragged after them the Men that were slain, neither being able to stand still for their fright, nor to advance, being faint, with the loss of Blood. However, a few of these Chariots pierced clear through to the Rear, and mangled the Bodies of those they fell amongst, after a most deplorable Manner, the Ground was strewed with their dissected Limbs; and as they were heated, and their Wounds fresh, they were not sensible of much Pain, so that notwithstanding their maim'd and weak Condition, they did not let their Arms drop, till by excessive bleeding they fell down dead. In the mean Time *Arctes* having killed the Captain of the *Scythians* that were pillaging the Baggage, pressed hard upon them, but the *Bactrians* coming seasonably to their Assistance, turned the Fortune of the Fight again: A great many

Macedonians were trampled under Foot in the very first Charge, the rest fled back to *Alexander*; hereupon the *Persians* gave such a Shout as Victors are used to give, and rushed furiously on the Enemy, as if their Defeat had been universal.

Alexander therefore checked those that were frightened, and encouraged them, and renewed himself the Fight, that began to grow languid. Thus having inspired them with fresh Vigour, he commanded them to charge the Enemy. The *Persians* Right-Wing was very much weakened by the Detachment of *Bactrians* which were sent to seize the Baggage; *Alexander* therefore attacked their loose Ranks and made a great Slaughter of the Enemy, which being perceived by the *Persians* Left-Wing, and thinking they had it in their Power to surround *Alexander*, they fell upon his Rear. Here the King had been in great Danger, as being in the middle of his Enemies, if the *Agrian* Cavalry had not clapt Spurs to their Horses, and charged the *Barbarians* that surrounded him, and by that Means forced them to face about to defend themselves.

The Troops were hard put to it on both Sides, for *Alexander* had the Enemy both before and behind; and those that attacked his Rear, were themselves very much pressed by the *Agrian* Forces: The *Bactrians* also, who were now returned from pillaging the Baggage, could not recover their Post, and several Battalions seperated from the rest, fought with the next of the Enemies that come in their Way. The two Kings, who were now near one another, encouraged their respective Troops; a greater Number of *Persians* were slain, but the Number of the Wounded was almost equal, *Darius* was in a Chariot, and *Alexander* on Horseback; they were both guarded by select Soldiers that had not the least thought of themselves, for if their King fell, they neither would, nor could be safe, and they looked upon it as a noble Thing to die in the Presence of their Sovereign; and those were exposed to the greatest Danger, who exerted themselves most for the Preservation of the King, whom they

they guarded; for every one covered the Honour of killing the Prince of the adverse Party. Now whether it was an Illusion of the Eyes, or a Reality, they who were about *Alexander*, thought they saw an Eagle hovering over the King's Head, no wise terrified either by the Noise of the Arms, or the Groans of the dying Men, and appearing a long Time about *Alexander's* Horse, rather suspended in the Air than flying. It is certain, *Aristander* having put on his white Garment, and carrying a Lawrel in his Hand, shewed this Sight to the Soldiers, who were attentive to the Fight, as an infallible Token of the Victory. They were then animated with fresh Courage and Assurance, who before were drooping, and their Alacrity encreased, when *Darius's* Charioteer was slain; neither did the *Persians* or *Macedonians* doubt but the King himself was killed. Hereupon *Darius's* Relations and Attendants disturb'd the whole Army (which till then fought with most equal Advantage) with mournful Howlings, and barbarous Cries and Lamentations. This caused those on the Left to take to their Heels, and desert the Chariot, which those on the Right received immediately into the Middle of their Division. It is said, *Darius* having drawn his Sword, was unresolv'd, whether he ought not to avoid a shameful Flight by an honourable Death. But perceiving, as he sat aloft in his Chariot, that some Part of his Army still maintained the Fight, he was ashamed to leave them destitute of a Head. While he remained thus between Hope and Despair, the *Persians* gave Way by little and little, and broke their Order. *Alexander* mounting a fresh Horse (for he had already tired several,) continued sticking those that resisted him in the Face, and those that fled from him in the Back: By this Time it was no longer a Fight, but a perfect Massacre, and *Darius* himself turned his Chariot to make the best of his Way. The Victors pursued the routed, but the Clouds of Dust that rose up to the very Skies intercepted their Sight, so that they wandered like Men in the Dark, rallying now and then at the

Sound of a known Voice as at a Signal. It is true the Noise of the Reins with which they struck the Horses that drew *Darius's* Chariot, were sometimes heard by them, which was all the Footsteps they had to pursue him by.

C H A P. XVI.

Alexander is in Danger, and relieved by his great Courage. At length the Macedonians having gained a compleat Victory, force the rest of the Persians to save themselves by Flight, after having lost a great Number of their Men.

BUT in the Left-Wing, commanded by *Parmenio* it went quite otherwise on both Sides; for *Mazeus* with all his Cavalry charged furiously the *Macedonian* Horse, and pressed hard upon them, and as he was much superior in Number, began to surround the Foot: When *Parmenio* dispatched Messengers to the King to let him know the Danger they were in on that Side, and that unless they were speedily succoured, they should of necessity be forced to fly. *Alexander* had pursued the Enemy a considerable Way when this melancholick News was brought him; hereupon he stop'd both Horse and Foot, and in Rage cry'd out, "That the Victory was snatched from his Hands, and that *Darius* was more fortunate in his Flight, than he in his Pursuit." In the mean Time the Account of the King's Defeat had reached *Mazeus*, who thereupon (notwithstanding he was much the stronger) did not press now so violently on the *Macedonians*: *Parmenio* was altogether ignorant why the Fight slackened, however, he laid hold of the Opportunity like an experienced General, and having called to him the *Thessalian* Horse, he said to them, *Do you not see how those who a little while ago bore so furiously down upon us, being suddenly terrified, grow slow in their Attacks; for certain it is our King's Fortune, that also gives us the Victory. The Field is covered with slaughtered Persians; why are you idle? are you not a Match for them*

them even now that you see them ready to fly?

What he said seemed so probable, that they resumed fresh Courage, and clapping Spurs to their Horses, charged the Enemy vigorously, who now no longer gave way by little and little, but retreated so fast, that nothing was wanting to make it a perfect Flight, but that they did not as yet turn their Backs. However, as *Parmenio* was still ignorant how it fared with the King, he kept his Men back; by this Means *Maxus* had Time given him to fly, he therefore repassed the *Tigris*, not the nearest way, but fetching a great Compass, and for that Reason with the greater safety, and came to *Babylon* with the broken Remains of the routed Army. *Darius* made towards the River *Licus*, with a few that accompany'd him in his Flight, and having passed the same, was wavering whether he ought not to cause the Bridge to be broke, for he was informed the Enemy would soon be there. But then again, he considered the many thousands of his Men that were not yet come to the River, and would, if the Bridge were broke, certainly fall a Prey to the Enemy: He therefore left it standing, and declared as he went away, *That he had much rather leave a Passage to them that pursued him, than deprive those of it that fled after him.* And having travelled over a vast Tract of Ground, he reached *Arbela* about Midnight. Who can imagine or comprehend even in Thought the various sporting Turns of Fortune here; the Havock that was made of both Officers and Soldiers; the Flight of the vanquished, the private Slaughters and universal Massacres? Fortune seems in this single Day to have heaped together the Occurrences of a whole Age. Some took the shortest way, while others fled thro' the Woods, and saved themselves by private ways unknown to the Pursuers: There was a confused Mixture of Horse and Foot without Leaders, of the armed with the unarmed, and of the sound with the infirm and wounded.

But at last Fear getting the better of Compassion, those that could not keep pace

with the rest in the Flight, were left behind bewailing their mutual Calamities; the fatigued and wounded were parch'd up with Thirst, to relieve which they flung themselves prostrate on the Banks of every Stream, and swallow'd the Water with insatiable Greediness, which being Muddy, presently swell'd their Entrails, and their Limbs being relaxed and numm'd therewith, the Enemy overtook them, and rous'd them up with fresh Wounds. Some finding the Neighbouring Brooks taken up by others, straggled farther that they might drain every Place of what Water they could find, there was not so out of the Way, or small a Puddle, that could escape the Drought of the thirsty Searchers. The Villages near the Road resounded with the Cries and Lamentations of the old People of both Sexes, who, after their barbarous Manner, still called upon *Darius* as their King.

Alexander having check'd his pursuit, (as we said before) was to come to the River *Licus*, where he found the Bridge loaded with a Multitude of the flying Enemy; a great many whereof finding they were closely pursued, cast themselves into the River, and being encumber'd with their Arms, and tired with the Action and their Flight, were swallowed up by its rapid Stream. In a little Time, not only the Bridge could not contain the Fugitives, but even the River itself was crowded with them, by their indiscreet casting themselves upon one another, for when once Fear had seiz'd their Minds, they valu'd nothing but what caus'd that Fear.

Alexander being entreated by his Followers not to suffer the Enemy to escape with Impunity, alledg'd for Excuse of this Permission; That their Weapons were blunted, their Arms tir'd, and their Bodies spent with so long a Chase, besides all which, Night was coming on. But in reality, he was in Pain for his left Wing, (which he thought was still engaged) and so was resolv'd to return to its Assistance. He had hardly fac'd about, when Messengers came to him from *Parmenio* with the agreeable News, that his Part of the Army was also Victorious.

Victorious. He was never in greater Danger, during the whole Day, than upon his return to the Camp: There was but a small Number with him, and they were not in Order, but careless, transported with the Victory; for they concluded all the Enemy's Army was either fled, or slain: However, contrary to their Expectation, all on the sudden there appear'd a Body of *Persian* Horse, which at first halted; but having discover'd the inconsiderable Number of the *Macedonians*, they charged them vigorously. The King rid at the Head of his Men, rather dissembling than despising the Danger: But here again he was attended by his usual Prosperity; for the *Persian* Commander coming against him with more Fury than Discretion, the King run him through with his Spear, and afterwards dealt the like Usage to several others who came in his Way. His Friends likewise fell upon the Enemy, who was now in Disorder. On the other Side, the *Persians* did not die unrevenge'd; for the whole Armies did not engage more eagerly than these tumultuary Troops; at last, it being duskish, they thought it more advisable to fly, than to continue the Fight, and therefore made their Escape in different Troops.

The King having cleared himself of this imminent Danger, brought his Men safe to the Camp, there fell of the *Persians* this Day, according to what account the Victors could take, Forty Thousand, and of the *Macedonians* less than Three Hundred.

This Victory was owing more to the King's Bravery, than Fortune: Here it was his Courage, and not the Advantage of Ground, that conquer'd. He had drawn up his Army most skilfully, and fought himself most gallantly. He shew'd the highest Wisdom in despising the Loss of the Baggage and Booty, since all depended on the issue of the Battle; and notwithstanding the Event was yet undetermin'd, he even then behav'd himself like a Conqueror. Then having struck a Terror into the Enemy, he afterwards routed them; and which is to be wonder'd at, in so violent a Temper, he pursued them with more Prudence than Eagerness. For had he continued his Pursuit, while one Part of his Army was still engag'd, he had either run the risque of being overcome through his own Fault, or had been indebted to another for the Victory; or had he been dishearten'd at the sudden Appearance of the Body of Horse that fell upon him as he returned to his Camp, he must either, tho' a Conqueror, have shamefully fled, or perished miserably.

Neither ought his Officers to be defrauded of their due Praise, for the Wounds they received were so many Tokens of their Bravery. *Hephestion* was run thro' the Arm with a Spear, *Perdiccas*, *Camus* and *Menidas* were almost kill'd with Arrows: And if we will make a true Judgment of *Macedonians* at that Time, we must own, that the King was worthy of such Subjects, and they of so great a King.

The End of the Second B O O K.

B O O K IV. C H A P. I.

Darius being gone into Media, Alexander makes himself Master of Arbela and Babylon; the Situation of which with its Grandeur, and the Corruption of the Peoples Manners, are described.

SHOULD I relate in due order of Time all that passed in this Interval as well in *Greece*, as in *Illyrium* and *Thrace*, under the Auspices, and by the

Order of *Alexander*, I must be forced to break the Thread of the Affairs of *Asia*, which I think more proper to Represent entirely, with the same Connexion and Order

in my Work, as they hold in Respect to the Time of their Performance, down to the Flight and Death of *Darius*. I shall therefore begin with those Things that happened after the Fight of *Arbela*, where *Darius* arrived about Midnight, as did also great Part of his Friends and Soldiers, whom Fortune had guided thither in their Flight. *Darius* having therefore called them together, told them, that he did not doubt but *Alexander* would repair to those Cities and Countries that were most celebrated for Riches and Plenty of all Things. That he and his Soldiers had now no other Thoughts but of enriching themselves with the noble Spoils that lay exposed to them: That this would be of great Use to himself in his present Circumstances, since he should thereby have time with an unincumber'd Body of Men, to retire to the Desarts; and as the remote Parts of his Dominions were still untouched, he might easily there raise fresh Forces to prosecute the War withal. Let them there rifle my Treasure, said he, which they have so long thirsted after; these will but make them the easier Prey to me for the future, for I have found by Experience, that rich Furniture, and a great Train of Concubines and Eunuchs, are only so many Impediments and Clogs, which, when *Alexander* shall draw after him, he'll be inferior to those he has overcome.

This Speech appeared to all that heard it full of Despair, for they plainly saw thereby that he yielded up the wealthy City of *Babylon*, and that the Conqueror would also take Possession of *Susa*, and the other Ornaments of the Kingdom, which were the Cause of the War. But he continued to represent to them, That in Adversity, fine Speeches were of no Use, but only those that were suitable to the present Exigency of Affairs; that the War was to be made with Iron, and not with Gold; with Men, not with City Houses; and that all Things follow'd those that were arm'd; that his Predecessors had after this Manner recover'd their primitive Grandeur, though they had been unfortunate at first.

Therefore whether he by his Speech gave them fresh Courage, or that they respected his Sovereignty more than they approved his Counsel, he entered the Borders of *Media*: A little while after, *Arbela*, which was full of the Royal Furniture and Treasure, was surrendered to *Alexander*; there were found four Thousand Talents, besides which, the Wealth of the whole Army was lodg'd here.

The King soon decamped from hence, being forced thereto by the Sickness that began to infect his Army, occasioned by the Stench of the dead Bodies that almost covered all the Field.

In this March he had on his Left the plain Country of *Arabia*, so much celebrated for its odoriferous Products. The Lands that lie between the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates*, are said to be so fruitful and rich, that the Inhabitants are forced to check the Cattle in their Pasturage, for fear they should kill themselves by Surfeits. The Cause of this Fertility proceeds from these two Rivers, which communicate their Waters throughout the whole Territory by the hidden Veins in the Earth. Both these Rivers have their Source in the Mountains of *Armenia*, and afterwards dividing themselves, continue their different Courses. Their greatest Distance about the Mountains of *Armenia*, is by those who have measured it, reported to be two Thousand and five Hundred Furlongs. These Rivers when they begin to cut their Way through the Lands of *Media* and *Gordia*, by Degrees, draw Water to one another; and the farther they run, the narrower is the Interval between them. They are nearest each other in those Plains, which are by the Inhabitants called *Mesopotamia*, which lies between them; from whence they continue their Course through the *Babylonian* Borders, and at last empty themselves into the *Red Sea*.

Alexander, in four Days, came to the City called *Memmis*: Here there is a Cave which has in it a Fountain that emits a vast Quantity of bituminous Matter, so that it

it is probable enough, the Walls of *Babylon*, which are a prodigious Work, are cemented with that Matter.

As *Alexander* was continuing his March towards *Babylon*, *Mazeus* (who had fled thither from the Battle) came with his Children that were at the Age of Maturity, and surrendered himself and the Town to the King. His Submission was very acceptable to the King, by reason the Siege of so strong a Place, must of Necessity have been tedious. Besides this, his Quality and Bravery were very considerable, and he had but lately distinguished himself in the last Action, and whose Example would be a great Inducement to others to imitate him. The King therefore received him and his Children very graciously: However he formed his Army which he led in Person into a Square, commanded them to enter the Town in that Order, as if they had been going to an Engagement. The Walls were fill'd with *Babylonians*, who flock'd thither, eager to behold their new Sovereign; but the greatest Part went out to meet him. Among these were *Bagophanes*, Governor of the Castle, and Keeper of the King's Treasure, who was unwilling to be out-done in Zeal by *Mazeus*. The Road was strew'd all over with Flowers and Garlands, and adorned of each Side with Silver Altars, which were filled not only with Frankincense, but all manner of Perfumes. He was follow'd by the Presents he designed the King, viz. Drovers of Cattle and Horses, with Lyons and Leopards in strong Cages for that Purpose. These were followed by the Magi singing Hymns after the Manner of the Country. After these came the *Chaldeans*, and not only the *Babylonian* Prophets, but also the Musicians with their respective Instruments. These are us'd to sing the Prince's Praise; and the *Chaldeans* are addicted to the Considerations of the Motions of the Planets, and declare the Vicissitudes of the Seasons. These were clos'd by the *Babylonian* Cavalry, whose rich Cloathing and Furniture for themselves and their Horses, denote Luxury rather than Magnificence. The King commanded the Multitude of

Town's People to follow in the Rear of his Foot, and being encompass'd by his Guards, enter'd the City in a Chariot, and then repair'd to the Palace. The next Day he took a View of *Darius's* Furniture, and all his Treasure. The Beauty and Antiquity of the Place attracted not only *Alexander's* Eyes, but likewise those of all that beheld it. *Semiramis* founded it, or, as a great many affirm, *Belus*, whose Palace is still to be seen. The Walls are made of Brick, and cemented with Bitumen, and are thirty-two Foot in Breadth; so that two Chariots that met, might safely pass by each other: They were one Hundred Cubits in Height, and the Towers that were at certain Distances were ten Foot higher than the Walls. The Compass of the whole Work took up three Hundred sixty-eight Furlongs: It is said that each Furlong was finish'd in a single Day. The Buildings are not contiguous to the Walls, but at the Distance of an Acre from them; nay the City is not wholly taken up with Houses, but only ninety Furlongs thereof, nor do all the Houses join to one another; as I suppose, because it was judg'd safer to have them scatter'd up and down in several Places. The rest is sow'd and plough'd, that in case of a Siege, the Inhabitants may be supply'd with Corn within themselves. The *Euphrates* runs through the City, and is kept in on both Sides by very strong Banks, which are themselves a prodigious Work: But these have behind them large and deep Caves, to receive the rapid Streams, which otherwise, when they rise above the Banks, would be apt to bear down the Houses, if it were not for these Subterraneous Receptacles. These Caves are also lin'd with Brick, and cemented with Bitumen. The two Parts of the Town have a Communication with each other by a Stone-Bridge, built over the River, which too is rank'd amongst the Wonders of the East. For as the *Euphrates* carries with it a very deep Mud, which makes it very difficult to clear its Channel so perfectly as to find a firm Foundation. Moreover the great Heaps of Sand that gather about the Pillars that support the Bridge, stop

stop the Course of the Water, which, being by that Confinement check'd, beats more furiously against it than it would do it it had a free Passage. The Castle is twenty Furlongs in Circumference, the Towers are thirty Foot deep within the Ground, and eighty Foot in Height above it. On the Top of the Castle are the Pensile Gardens, so much celebrated by the *Greek* Poets; they are of equal Height with the Walls of the Town, and are mighty pleasant, both on Account of their shady Groves, and the Tallness of the Trees that grow there: This bulky Work is supported by Pillars, over which there runs a Pavement of square Stone, able to bear the Earth, which is laid upon it to a great Depth, and the Water with which it is irrigated,

This file carries Trees of so large a Dimension, that their Boles are eight Cubits about, and fifty Foot in Height, and altogether as fruitful as if they grew in their natural Soil. Now, notwithstanding, Time preys by little and little, not only on artificial Works, but even upon Nature herself; yet this huge Pile, which is pestered with the Roots of so many Trees, and loaded with the Weight of so large a Grove, remains still entire. It is supported by twenty large Walls, distant eleven Foot from one another; so that they who behold these Groves at a Distance, would take them to be so many Woods growing upon their Mountains. It is reported, that a King of *Syria* reigning in *Babylon*, contrived this mighty Work to gratify his Queen, who being wonderfully delighted with Woods and Forests in the open Fields, persuaded her Husband to intimate the Beauties of Nature in this Work.

The King resided longer here than he had done any where, nor could there be any Place more destructive of military Discipline. Nothing can be more corrupt than the Manners of this City, nor better provided with all the Requisites, to stir up and promote all Sorts of Debauchery and Lewdness; for Parents and Husbands, suffer their Children and Wives to prostitute themselves to their Guests, if they are but paid

for the Crime. The Kings and Noblemen of *Persia* take great Delight in Licentious Entertainments: And the *Babylonians* are very much addicted to Wine, and the Consequences of Drunkenness. The Women in the Beginning of their Feasts are modestly clad; then after some Time, they lay aside their upper Garment, and violate their Modesty by degrees: At last (without Offence be it spoken) they sling away even their lower Apparel; nor is this the infamous Practice of the Courtizans only, but likewise of the Matrons and their Daughters, who look upon this vile Prostitution of their Bodies as an Act of Complaisance. It is reasonable to think that that victorious Army, which had conquer'd *Asia* having wallow'd thirty-four Days in all kind of Lewdness and Debauchery, would have found itself much weaken'd, for any following Engagements, if an Enemy had presented itself: But that the Damage might be less sensible, it was from Time to Time as it were renew'd with fresh Recruits: For *Amyntas* the Son of *Andromenus*, brought from *Antipater* six Thousand *Macedonian* Foot, and five Hundred Horse of the same Nation, and with these six Hundred *Thracian* Horse, and three Thousand five Hundred of that Country's Foot. There came also from *Peloponnesus* four Thousand mercenary Foot, and three Hundred and Eighty Horse. The said *Amyntas* likewise brought him Fifty young Gentlemen of the Nobility of *Macedonia* to serve as Guards of his Person. Their Office is to serve the King at Table, and attend him with Horses when he goes upon Action; to accompany him a Hunting, and to do Duty by turns at his Chamber Door: It is here they learn the first Rudiments of War, and lay as it were the Foundation of their future Preferment to be Generals in the Army, or Governors of Provinces.

The King having appointed *Agathon* Governor of the Castle of *Babylon*, assigning him seven Hundred *Macedonians* and three Hundred Mercenaries for that Purpose, left the Government of the Territory and City to *Menetes* and *Apollodorus*, allotting them

a Garrison of two Thousand Foot and one Thousand Talents, commanding both to make new Levies to recruit the Army. He gave to *Mazeus*, who came over to him, the Superintendency of *Babylon*; and ordered *Bagophanes* who had surrendered the Castle to him to follow him. He gave the Government of *Armenia* to *Mithrenes* who had yielded up *Sardis*. Out of the Money found in *Babylon* he order'd every *Macedonian* Trooper six Hundred Denarii, and five Hundred to every Foreign Trooper, and to every Foot Soldier two Hundred.

C H A P. II.

Alexander proposes Prizes to his Soldiers to oblige them to avoid Idleness. He takes the City of Susa, with the Treasures of the Kings of Persia, and comforts Sisymbis.

ALLEXANDER having settled Things after this Manner march'd into the Country, called *Sitacene*; the Soil whereof being fruitful, and affording Plenty of all kinds of Provisions, he stay'd here the longer: And that Illness might not impair the Courage of his Soldiers, he appointed Judges, and proposed Prizes to those that should distinguish themselves in military Exercises. Those eight that should be judg'd the bravest were each to be made Colonels of a Thousand Men, were called *Chiliarchæ*. This was the first Institution of Regiments of this Number, for they before consisted but of five Hundred and did not use to be the Reward of Bravery. A great Number of Soldiers flock'd thither to behold the noble Spectacle, and at the same Time were so many Judges of the Behaviour of each Contender, and also of the Justice of the Sentence of the Judges themselves; since it was Impossible to conceal whether the Honour was bestow'd on the Account of Merit, or out of Favour. The first Prize was adjudg'd to *Adarchias* the Elder, who had been chiefly instrumental in renewing the Fight at *Halicarnassus*, where the young Soldiers gave Ground:

The next was given to *Antigones*: *Philotas* *Angenus* had the Third; and *Amyntas* obtained the Fourth: After these *Antigones* was thought worthy, and next to him *Lyncestes* *Amyntas*: The seventh Place was awarded to *Theodotus*, and the last to *Hellanicus*.

He also made several useful Alterations in military Discipline, from what had been practis'd by his Predecessors: For whereas before, the Horse were divided into Corps, according to their respective Nations, he took away this Distinction, and appointed them Colonels of his own chusing, without having any regard to their Nations.

It was usual upon a Decampment to give the Signal by Sound of Trumpet, but as very often that was not sufficiently heard, being drown'd by the Noise of the Soldiers in their Hurry: He therefore order'd that a long Pole for the future should be set over his Tent, from whence the Signal might be observed by all, which was Fire in the Night and Smoak in the Day.

As the King was on his March to *Susa*, *Abulites*, who was Governor of that Province, sent his Son to meet him on the Road, and assure him he was ready to Surrender the Town. It is uncertain whether he did this of his own Accord, or by *Darius's* Order, thereby to amuse *Alexander* with the Booty: However the King received the Youth very graciously and was conducted by him to the River *Choaspe*, whose Waters are reported to be very sweet and soft. Here *Abulites* met the King with Presents of regal Magnificence: Amongst other Things there were *Dromadaries* of an extraordinary swiftness; twelve *Elephants* brought from *India* by *Darius's* Order; but were not now a Terror to the *Macedonians*, as they were intended, but a Help: Fortune having transferr'd the Riches of the vanquish'd to the Victor. Having enter'd the Town he took out of the Treasury a prodigious Sum viz. Fifty Thousand Talents of Silver, not coin'd, but in the Wedge and Bar. Several Kings had been a long Time heaping up these vast Treasures as they thought for their Children; and Posterity, but one single Hour

Hour put them all into the Hands of a foreign Prince.

He then seated himself in the Regal Throne, which, being much too high for his Stature, his Feet could not reach the Ground, one of his Pages therefore brought a Table and set it under his Feet. Hereupon one of *Darius's* Eunuchs wept, which the King observing, enquired into the Cause of his Grief. Then the Eunuch told him, that *Darius* was used to eat upon that Table, and that he could not behold, without shedding Tears, the Table which was consecrated to his Master's Use, applied in a Manner so insulting and contemptuous. At these Words the King was seized with a modest Shame, for having violated the Household Gods, and commanded it to be taken away: But *Philotas* intreated him by no Means to do so, but on the contrary to take it as a good Omen, that that Table off of which his Enemy us'd to eat, was now become his Footstool.

Alexander designing now to pass into *Persia*, gave the Government of *Suza* to *Archelaus*, leaving him a Garrison of three Thousand Men; *Xenophilus* had the Charge of the Castle, having with him for Garrison the superannuated *Macedonians*. The Care of the Treasury was committed to *Callistartes*, and the Lieutenantcy of the Province of *Suza* was restored to *Abulites*. *Darius's* Mother and Children were likewise left here.

The King received about this Time several Garments, and a great Quantity of Purple from *Macedonia*, which was sent him as a Present, with the Workers of them; he order'd them immediately, to be carry'd to *Sisygambis*, for he shew'd her all Manner of Respect, and even paid her the Duty of a Son. He charg'd the Messengers at the same Time to tell her, that if the Cloaths pleased her she should let her Grand Children learn to Work them, and make Presents of them. At these Words she fell a weeping, and thereby sufficiently declared how unacceptable the Present was to her, for there is nothing the *Persian* Ladies have more in contempt than even to let their Hands touch

Wool. They who carry'd the Present acquainted him, that *Sisygambis* seemed afflicted. The King hereupon thought himself obliged to go and Comfort her, and excuse himself for his Oversight; which accordingly he did, and said to her, *Mother, the Cloathes I now have on, were not only a Present from my Sisters, but also their Work. Our different Customs led me into my Error: I desire therefore you would not misinterpret my Ignorance. I hope I have hitherto carefully enough observ'd those of your Customs that come to my Knowledge. When I understood it was not the Practice of Persia for Sons to sit in their Mother's Presence without their Leave first obtain'd, every time I came to Visit you, I kept standing, till you signify'd to me I might sit: And when ever you offer'd to fall down in Honour of me I never would suffer it. In fine, as a Token of the perfect Veneration I have for you, I give you always that Title which is only due to my dear Mother Olympias.*

CHAP. III.

Alexander after having conquered the Country of the *Uxians*, set *Madates*, who had been Governor of it, at Liberty, with all those who had yielded to him; he releas'd all Prisoners, and exempted the People from all Sorts of Tribute. He endeavour'd to enter *Persia*; but *Ariobarzanes* oblig'd him to retire.

THE King having relieved her Uneasiness after this Manner, came in four Encampments to a River, called by the Inhabitants, *Pastigris*. It has its rise in the Mountains of the *Uxians*, and continues its Course in a furious Manner among the Rocks, for the space of Fifty Furlongs, between its grovey Banks, after which it runs through the Plains in a smoother Channel, and is Navigable; and having passed thro' a fruitful Soil, for the space of six Hundred Furlongs, with a gentle Stream, it empties itself into the *Persian* Sea.

Alexander having passed this River with nine Thousand Foot, the *Agrians*, Mercenary Greeks,

Greeks, and three Thousand *Thracians*, came into the Country of the *Uxians*; it borders upon the Territory of *Susa*, and extends itself as far as the Frontiers of *Persia*, leaving but a narrow Passage between it and the *Susians*. *Madates* had the Government of this Country, who was no Time-Server, but was resolved to run all Hazards for the sake of his Allegiance. However, those that were acquainted with the Roads, informed *Alexander*, that there was a bye-Way through the Mountains, that led to the Back side of the City, and therefore if he sent a few light-armed Men that Way, they might make themselves Masters of a higher Ground than that of the Enemy's.

The King liking the Advice, pitch'd upon those that gave it to serve as Guides to his Men, and ordered *Tauron*, with fifteen Hundred Mercenaries, and about a Thousand *Agrians*, to execute it, and set out after the Sun was down. As for himself he decamped at the third Watch, and about break of Day had passed the Streights, and having cut down Timber to make Hurdles, and other necessary Engines, to cover those that should advance to the Towers, began the Siege of the Place; here was nothing to be seen but craggy Rocks and Precipices, the Soldiers were therefore repulsed, as not having the Enemy only to encounter with, but also the Difficulties of the Place, notwithstanding which they advanced; for the King was among the first, and would sometimes ask them, if having reduced so many strong Towns, they were not ashamed to be baffled in the Siege of a small insignificant Castle? The King was now attacked at a Distance, and not being to be prevailed upon to withdraw, the Soldiers form'd a Tortoise with their Bucklers to protect him from the Arrows, Darts and Stones that were levell'd at him from the Walls. At length *Tauron* appear'd with his Detachment above the Castle, at whose Sight the Enemy's Courage began to flag, and the *Macedonians* fought with more Vigour. The Townsmen were now attack'd both before and behind, and nothing could stop the Fury

of the Enemy; some few were dying resolutely, but more were inclined to fly, and a great Number retired into the Castle. From hence they deputed thirty Ambassadors to implore his Mercy, but they receiv'd for Answer, *That there was no room for Pardon. Being therefore seiz'd with the dread of future Torments, they dispatch'd Deputies to Sisymbis, Darius's Mother, by a private Way unknown to the Enemy, to intreat her to use her Interest with the King in their behalf, for they were not ignorant that he loved and honoured her as a Parent.* They were the more encouraged to this, because *Madates* had marry'd her Sister's Daughter, and was nearly related to *Darius*. *Sisymbis* refused to comply with their Request for a long Time, telling them, *That it did not suit with her present Circumstances to turn Intercessor for others, and that she had Reason to fear tiring the Clemency of the Conqueror; besides that, she oftener reflected on her being at present a Captive, than of her having been a Queen.* However, at last being overcome by their Importunity, she writ a Letter to *Alexander*, wherein she begged his Pardon for the Liberty she took to intercede for the Besieged, for whom she implored his Mercy; and hop'd he would at least forgive her, for soliciting his Indulgence in the behalf of a Friend and Relation, who was now no longer an Enemy, but an humble Suppliant for his Life.

Here now is a remarkable Instance of the King's Moderation and Goodness, at this Time, for he not only at her Request pardon'd *Madates*, but granted to all their Liberty, as well to those that were Captives, as those who surrendered themselves, confirming their Immunities: He likewise left the Place untouch'd, and permitted them to cultivate their Lands, Tax free: She could not have obtained more of *Darius*, tho' her Son, had he been Conqueror. He afterwards united the *Uxian* Nation to the Government of *Susa*; then having divided his Army with *Parmenio*, he commanded him to march thro' the flat Country, while he

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with

with the light-arm'd Forces took his Way along the Mountains, which run in a continued Ridge into *Persia*.

Having ravaged all this Country, he Arrived the third Day on the Borders of *Persia*, and on the fifth he enter'd the Streights which they call *Pyle Supda*. *Ariobarzanes*, with twenty-five Thousand Foot, had taken Possession of these Rocks, which were on all Sides steep and craggy, on the Tops whereof the *Barbarians* kept themselves, being there out of the cast of the Darts. Here they remained quiet on purpose, and seem'd to be afraid till the Army was advanced within the narrowest part of the Streights; but when they perceiv'd them to continue their March as it were in contempt of them, they rowl'd down Stones of a prodigious Bigness upon them, which rebounding often from the lower Rocks fell with the greater force, and not only crush'd single Persons but even whole Companies. They likewise ply'd their Slings and Bows from all Parts; even this did not seem a hardship to these brave Men, but only that they were forc'd to Perish unreveng'd like Beasts taken in a Pit-fall: Upon this their Anger was turned into Rage, they caught hold of the Rocks, and helping one another up, did all they could to get to the Enemy; but the Parts they laid hold on giving way to the strength of so many Hands, fell upon those that loosend them. In these sad Circumstances they could neither stand still nor go forward, nor protect themselves with their Bucklers, by reason of the great Size of the Stones the *Barbarians* push'd upon them. The King was not only griev'd, but ashamed he had so rashly brought his Army into these Streights. Till this Day he had been invincible, having never attempted any Thing in vain. He entered the Streights of *Gilicia* without Damage, and had open'd himself a new Way by Sea into *Pamphylia*, but here that Happiness which had always attended him, seem'd to be at a Stand, and there was no other Remedy but to return the same Way he came. Having therefore given the Signal for a Retreat, he commanded the Soldiers to March in close Or-

der, and to join their Bucklers over their Heads, and so retire out of the Streights, after they had advanced thirty Furlongs within them.

C H A P. IV.

A Prisoner having shewn him a Way, that was known to very few People, Alexander defeats the Persian Army, and Ariobarzanes himself is killed in the Battle.

ALEXANDER finding himself at Liberty, was not contented with calling together his Council, and deliberating on what was to be done, but he also consulted the *Augurs*, so much was he inclined to Superstition: But what could be foretold, at such a Time, by *Aristander*, who was looked upon as the greatest Master of his Art? Laying aside therefore the unseasonable Sacrifices, he gave Orders to bring to him such Men as were well acquainted with the Country; these Men told him of a Way thro' *Media*, which was safe and open, but the King was ashamed to leave his Soldiers unburied, for there was no Custom more religiously observed amongst the *Macedonians*, than that of burying the Dead: He therefore commanded the Prisoners he had lately taken, to be brought before him; among these there was one who was skilled in both the *Greek* and *Persian* Languages; this Man told him, it was in vain for him to think of leading his Army into *Persia*, over the Tops of the Mountains; that the narrow Ways lay all among Woods, and were hardly passible to single Persons, all the Country being cover'd with Woods, which were in a Manner united by the Intermixture of their Branches. For *Persia* on one Side is hemm'd in by a continual Ridge of Mountains, that extend themselves sixteen Hundred Furlongs in Length, and one Hundred and Seventy in Breadth, beginning at Mount *Caucasus*, and then reaching as far as the Red Sea, which serves for another Fence where the Mountains fail. At the Foot of the Hills is a spacious Plain very fertile, and thick set with

with Towns and Villages. The River *Araxes* runs thro' these Plains into the *Medus*, carrying along with it the Rivers of several Torrents: The *Medus*, which is a less River than that it receives, empties itself into the Sea to the Southward. No River can contribute more to the Production of Grass than this, for whatever Land it waters, it clothes it with Flowers and Herbage. Its Banks are also cover'd on both Sides with Palme Trees and Poplars, so that those who behold it at a Distance, the Woods upon the Banks seem to be contiguous to those upon the Mountains, because the shaded River glides along in a low Channel; and the little Hills that border upon it are well cloth'd with Wood, this fruitful Water penetrating through the Earth to the Roots of the Trees.

There is not a Country in all *Asia* more healthful than this, the Air is temperate, and on one side the long Ridge of Mountains, with their shady Groves alleviate the excessive Heat of the Sun, and on the other the adjoining Sea cherishes the Ground with its moderate Warmth.

The Prisoner having given this Account, the King ask'd him, whether he had what he said by the Relation of others, or by his own Inspection? He made Answer, *That he had been a Shepherd, and knew all those Bye-Ways perfectly well; and that he had been twice taken Prisoner; once by the Persians in Lycia, and now by himself.* This Answer put the King in Mind of the Oracle that had told him, a *Lycian* should be his Guide into *Persia*; having therefore made him large Promises suitable to the present Necessity, and the Prisoner's Condition, he ordered him to be arm'd after the *Macedonian* Manner, and in the Name of Fortune to lead the Way, which (notwithstanding its seeming Impracticableness) he did not doubt to pass thro' with a small Number, unless he imagin'd that *Alexander* could not do that for the sake of Glory and Honour, that he had done on the Account of his Flock. Hereupon the Prisoner persisted to urge the difficulty of the Undertaking, especially for Men in Arms. To which the

King reply'd, *Take my Word for it, none of them that are to follow, will refuse to go wherever you lead them.* Then having committed the Guard of the Camp to *Craterus*, with the Foot he commanded, and the Forces under *Malcager*, and a Thousand Horse Archers, he order'd him to observe the same Form of Encampment, and to keep a great many Fires, that the *Barbarians* might by that think the King was there in Person, but if he found *Ariobarzanes* got Intelligence of his March thro' the winding narrow Ways, and thereupon made Detachments to oppose his Passage; that then *Craterus* should use his utmost Efforts to terrifie him, and oblige him to keep his Troops together to oppose the present Danger; but if he (the King) deceived the Enemy, and gain'd the Wood, that then, upon the Alarm among the Enemies endeavouring to pursue the King, he should boldly enter the Streights they had been repuls'd in the Day before, since he might be sure they were undefended, and the Enemy turned upon himself.

At the third Watch he broke up in great Silence, without so much as the Signal from the Trumpet, and followed his Guide towards the narrow Way. Every light-arm'd Soldier had Orders to carry with him three Days Provision. But besides the steepness of the Rocks, and the slipperiness of the Stones that often deceived their Feet, the driven Snow very much incommoded them; for it sometimes swallow'd them up as if they had fallen into Pits; and when they were helped up by their Companions, they rather drew them after them, than got them out. Moreover the Night, and an unknown Country, besides the uncertainty whether the Guide was faithful or not, very much increas'd their Fear: For if he deceived the Guards, and made his Escape, they were liable to be taken like wild Beasts. So that the King's and their Safety, depended on the Fidelity and Life of one Man. At length they gained the Top of the Mountain. The Way to *Ariobarzanes* lay on the Right-Hand: Here he detach'd *Philotas* and *Cenus*, as also *Amynias* and *Polypercon*, with a

Body of the lightest-arm'd with Instructions, that by reason there was Horse intermixed with the Foot, they should march leisurely through that Part of the Country where the Soil was fruitful, and afforded Plenty of Forage. He also appointed some of the Prisoners for their Guides. As for himself, taking with him his Guards, and those Troops called *Agema*, he marched with a great deal of Difficulty through a Bye-Path, remote from the Enemy's Out-Guard. It was now the Middle of the Day, and his Men being tired, it was necessary to give them some Rest; for they had still as far to go, as they were already come, tho' it was not so steep and craggy.

Having therefore refresh'd his Men both with Food and Sleep, at the second Watch he continu'd his March, without any great Difficulty. However, by reason of the Declivity of the Mountains towards the Plain, there was a great Gulph (occasioned by the meeting of several Torrents that had wore away the Earth) which stopped their further Progress. Besides the Branches of the Trees were so entangl'd one within the other, and join'd so close, that it oppos'd their Passage like a thick Hedge. This cast them into the utmost Dispair, and they had much ado to retain their Fears; the Darkness of the Night also increas'd their Terror, for if any Stars appeared, they were intercepted by the close Contexture of the Boughs. The very use of their Ears was also taken away; for the Wind was high and blew so violently among the Trees, that the Noise of the interfering Branches was still greater. At last the long expected Light lessen'd the Terrors which the Night had enhaunc'd, for by fetching a small Compass, they declined the Gulph; and now every one began to be a Guide to himself. Having therefore gain'd the Top of a Hill, from whence they could discover the Enemy's Out-Guards, they resolutely shew'd themselves at the back of the Enemy, who mistrusted no such Thing. Those few who dar'd engage, were kill'd; and the Groans of those that were dying, together with the dismal Appearance of those that fled to

their main Body, struck such a Terror amongst them, that they took to their Heels without so much as trying their Fortune.

The Noise having reach'd *Craterus's* Camp, he presently advanced to take Possession of those Streights where they had been baff'd the Day before. At the same Time *Philotas* with *Polypercon* *Amyntas*, and *Cenus*, who had been order'd to march another Way, was a fresh Surprize to the *Barbarians*, who were now surrounded on all Sides by the *Macedonians*, notwithstanding which, they behav'd themselves gallantly; which makes me believe that Necessity emboldens the most Cowardly, and that oftentimes Despair is the cause of Hope: For Naked as they were, they clos'd in with those that were armed, and by the Bulk of their Bodies, brought them down to the Ground, and then stuck several of them with their own Weapons. However, *Arriorbarzanes* with forty Horse, and about five Thousand Foot, broke thro' the *Macedonian* Army (a great many falling on both Sides) and endeavour'd to Possess himself of *Persepolis* the chief City of the Country. But being deny'd Entrance by the Garrison, and the Enemy pursuing him closely, he renew'd the Fight and was slain with all his Men. By this Time *Craterus* marching with the utmost Expedition, also joined the King.

C H A P. V.

Alexander in going to Persepolis sets four Thousand Greek Prisoners at Liberty.

THE King encamped in the same Place he had defeated the *Barbarians*: For notwithstanding he had gain'd a compleat Victory, yet the large and deep Ditches in many Places, retarded his March, and so he thought it more advisable to proceed leisurely; not suspecting so much any Attempt from the *Barbarians*, as the Treachery of the Ground.

In his March he received Letters from *Tiridates* (Keeper of the Royal Treasure) wherein he notified to him, that upon Advice of his Approach, the Inhabitants would

would have rif'd the Treasury; wherefore he desired him to hasten his March, and come and take Possession of it: That the Way was safe, altho' the River *Araxes* run across. I cannot applaud any military Virtue of *Alexander's* so much as his Expedition in all Actions. Leaving therefore his Foot behind, he marched all Night with his Cavalry, notwithstanding their late Fatigues, and arrived by break of Day, at the *Araxes*. There were several Villages in the Neighbourhood, which having pillaged and demolish'd, he made a Bridge of the Materials. The King was not far from the Town when so sad a Spectacle presented itself to his Eyes, as can hardly be parallell'd in History. It consisted of four Thousand Greek Captives, whom the *Persians* had mangl'd after a miserable Manner. For some had their Feet cut off, others their Hands and Ears, and all their Bodies were burnt with barbarous Characters, and thus reserved for the cruel Diversion of their inhuman Enemies; who now finding themselves under Foreign Subjection, did not oppose their Desire to go out and meet *Alexander*. They resembled some strange Figures more than Men, being only distinguishable as such by their Voice. They drew more Tears from their Spectators than they shed themselves, for in so great a Variety of Calamities, notwithstanding they were all Sufferers, yet their Punishment was so diversify'd, that it was a difficult Matter to determine which of them was most miserable. But when they cried out, that at last *Jupiter* the Revenger of *Greece*, had open'd his Eyes, all the Beholders were so mov'd with Compassion, that they thought their Sufferings their own. *Alexander* having dry'd his Eyes (for he could not forbear weeping at so sad an Object) bid them have a good heart, and assured them, they should see their native Country and their Wives again, and then encamp'd at two Furlongs distance from the Town.

These *Greeks* in the mean Time, withdrew themselves to deliberate concerning what they should desire the King to do for them. Some were for asking a Settlement

in *Asia*, others were for returning home, when *Euthymen*, the *Cynaon*, spoke to them after the following Manner: They who a little while ago were ashamed to come out of their dark Dungeons to implore Relief, are now for exposing their hideous Sufferings to all *Greece*, as if it were an agreeable Spectacle, when at the same Time, it is hard to determine, whether we ourselves are more ashamed or griev'd at our Misfortunes. Those bear their Afflictions best, who hide them. There is no Country so suitable to the Wretched, as Solitude and an Oblivion of their former State. For they who rely much on the Compassion of their Friends, are ignorant that Tears are soon dry'd up. No-body can love sincerely those they loath; for as Calamity is full of Complaints, Prosperity is disdainful: Every one considers his own Circumstances when he deliberates concerning those of others; and were we not equally miserable, we had long ago loathed each other. Is it a Wonder, that the Happy delight in one another? Let us therefore, I beseech you (since we may be said to be long since dead) seek for a Place where we may bury the Remains of our 'mangled Carcasses, and conceal our Deformities in a Foreign Country. We should be very agreeable Objects to those Wives we marry'd in our Youth! Can you imagine our Children (who are now in the Flower of their Age and Prosperity) will own us? Or will our Brothers be better natur'd to the Refuse of Jails? Besides, how many is there amongst us who can travel so far? It is a likely Matter, that at this distance from *Europe*, banished to the remotest Parts of the East, loaded with Years and Infirmities, having lost the greatest of ourselves, we should be able to undergo those Fatigues that have tir'd even the victorious Army. Then what will become of our present Wives (that Chance and Necessity forc'd us to take as the only Comfort in our Misery) and small Children? Shall we drag them along with us, or leave them behind us? If we take them with us, No-body will own us. Shall we then leave these present Comforts, when it is altogether uncertain

tain whether we shall live to see those we go to? Let us therefore resolve to hide ourselves among those who began to know us in our State of Misery.

This was *Euthymen's* Sentiment. But *Thetetus*, the *Athenian*, oppos'd thus. There is no Person of any religious Principles, who values his Friends by the outward Figure of his Circumstances, especially when it is the Inhumanity of an Enemy, and not Nature, that is the Cause of their Calamity. He deserves all kind of Evil, who is ashamed of accidental Misfortunes. He can have no other Motive to think so hardly of the rest of Mankind, and to despair of Pity, but because he would refuse it to another. The Gods now offer'd them what they could never have hoped for, viz. The Blessing of returning to their native Country, their Wives and Children, and whatever Men value Life for, or despise Death to preserve. Why do we not then break out of this Prison? Our native Air is quite different from this, the Light itself seems another thing: The *Greeks* Manners, Religion, and Language are in Request with the *Barbarians*, and shall we, whose Birth-right they are, voluntarily forsake them? When at the same Time our greatest Misery is to be depriv'd of these Blessings. As for my Part, I am resolv'd to return home to my Native Country, and to lay hold of the King's Extraordinary Bounty. If any amongst us are so fond of those Wives and Children that Servitude has forc'd upon them, they may continue here; however, they ought to be no hindrance to those to whom nothing is dearer than their native Country.

Some few were of this Opinion; the rest were overcome by a long Habit, which is stronger than Nature; they agreed therefore to desire the King to assign them some Place for their Habitation; and chose a Hundred out of their Body, to prefer their Petition. *Alexander* thinking they would ask, what he himself intended for them, told them, he had order'd every one of them a Horse and a Thousand Denarij; and that when they should come to *Greece*, he would

so provide for them, that (except the Calamities they had experienced in their Captivity) none should be happier than they. At these Words, they fell a Weeping, and being dejected, could neither look up nor speak; which made the King enquire into the Cause of their Sadness. Then *Euthymen* made an Answer suitable to what he had said to his Companions. Hereupon the King mov'd with their Misfortune and Resolution, order'd three Thousand Denarij to be distributed to every one of them, besides Ten Suits of Cloaths, with Cattle, Sheep, and such a Quantity of Corn, as was sufficient to cultivate the Land that was assign'd them.

C H A P. VI.

After having Plunder'd Persopolis a very rich City. Alexander advances into Persia, and subdues the Mardians.

THE next Day, having call'd together his Generals, he represented to them, That no City had been more mischievous to the *Greeks*, than this Seat of the Ancient Kings of *Persia*: From hence came all those vast Armies: From hence *Darius* first, and then *Xerxes*, made their impious Wars upon *Europe*: It was therefore necessary to raze it, to appease the Manes of their Ancestors. The Inhabitants had abandon'd it, and were fled some one Way, and some another; so that the King led the Phalanx into it, without farther delay. He had before this made himself Master of many Towns of Regal Wealth and Magnificence, some by Force, and some by Composition, but the Riches of this exceeded all the rest: Hither the *Persians* had brought all their Substance; Gold and Silver here lay in Heaps: Cloaths there was a prodigious Quantity: The Furniture of the Houses seem'd not only design'd for use, but for Luxury and Ostentation. This gave Occasion to the Conquerors to Fight among themselves, each taking for an Enemy, his Companion that had got the richest Spoils; and as they could not carry off all they found

found, they were now no longer employed in taking, but in picking and chusing. They tore the Royal Garments, every one being willing to have his Share of them: With Axes they cut in Pieces Vessels of exquisite Art: In fine, nothing was left untouched, nor carry'd away entire; the Images of Gold and Silver were broke in Pieces, according as every one could lay hold of them. *Avarice* did not only rage here, but *Cruelty* likewise; for being loaded with Gold and Silver, they would not be troubled to guard their Prisoners, but inhumanly kill'd them, and now barbarously murder'd those they had at first shewn Mercy to in hopes of Gain. This occasioned a great many to prevent the Enemy, by a voluntary Death, so that putting on the richest Apparel, they cast themselves headlong from the Walls, with their Wives and Children: Some set Fire to their Houses, (which the Enemy design'd to do) and perish'd, with their Families in the Flames. At last the King gave Orders, not to injure the Persons of the Women, nor meddle with their Apparel,

The immense Treasures taken here exceeded all Belief: But we must either doubt of all the rest, or believe, that in the Exchequer of this Place was found a Hundred and Twenty Thousand Talents; which the King designing for the Use of the War, caused Horses and Camels to be brought from *Susa* to *Babylon*, to carry it off for that Purpose. This Sum was afterwards increased, by the taking of *Persepolis*; wherein were found six Thousand Talents. *Cyrus* had built this City; and *Gobares*, who was Governor thereof, surrendered it to *Alexander*.

The King made *Nicarchides* Governor of the Castle of *Persepolis*, having with him a Garrison of three Thousand *Macedonians*: He also continued *Tyridates* (who had delivered up the Treasure) in the same Honours he had enjoyed under *Darius*.

Alexander left here the greatest Part of his Army, with the Baggage, under the Command of *Parmenio* and *Craterus*; and taking with him a Thousand Horse, and

Part of the light-arm'd Foot, penetrated farther into the Country of *Persepolis*, under the *Pleiades*, about the beginning of Winter. On his Way, he was very much incommoded with Storms of Rain, and Tempests that seemed intolerable, notwithstanding which, he pursued his intended Progress. He was now got into a Country covered over with Snow and Ice: The sad View of the Place, and the impassable Waters and Solitudes, struck the tir'd Soldiers with Horror, who now began to think he was got to the End of the World. They beheld with Astonishment the frightful Solitudes, which had not the least Signs of Human Culture; they therefore requir'd him to return, before the very Light and Heavens failed them. The King forbore chastising them in the Amazement they were in, but leaping from his Horse, marched on Foot before them through the Snow and Ice. They were ashamed not to follow him; therefore first his Friends, then the Captains, and at last the Soldiers marched after him.

The King was the first that with a Pick-Axe broke the Ice, and made himself a Passage; then the rest imitated his Example. At length having made their Way through Woods almost impassable, they began to discover here and there some Tokens that the Place was inhabited, as also Flocks of Sheep wandering up and down. The Inhabitants live in Cottages, and thought themselves sufficiently secur'd by the impracticableness of the Country. At the Sight of the Enemy they presently killed those who could not follow them, and fled to the remotest Mountains, which were cover'd with Snow; but, after some Conferences with the Prisoners, their Fright abated, and they surrendered themselves to the King, who was no Way severe to them.

Alexander, having ravaged the Country of *Persepolis*, and reduced several Towns under his Obedience, came at last into the Country of the *Mardians*, who are a war-like Nation, and very different from the rest of the *Persians* in their Manner of living. They dig themselves Caves in the Mountains, where they dwell with their Wives and

and Children, feeding on their Flocks, or wild Beasts. The Women are not of a softer Nature than the Men; they have bushy Hair, and their Garments hardly reach the Knees. They bind their Forehead with a Sling, which serves them both for Ornament and Weapon. However the same Torrent of Fortune bore down this Nation, as it had done the rest, so that on the thirtieth Day after he departed from *Persepolis*, he return'd thither again.

Then he made Presents to his Friends, and to the rest according to their respective Merit, distributing amongst them almost all that had been taken in the Town.

CHAP. VII

Alexander orders the Palace of the King's of Persia to be burnt, at the Desire of Thais, and other Courtizans who followed the Camp; and afterwards takes a Resolution to pursue Darius.

BUT the excellent Endowments of his Mind, that noble Disposition whereby he surpassed all the Kings, his Predecessors, that manly Constancy in surmounting Dangers, that unparallel'd Celerity in undertaking and executing the greatest Designs, his inviolable Faith to those who submitted to him, and his wonderful Clemency towards his Prisoners, were all sully'd by his excessive Love of Wine: For notwithstanding his Enemy and Rival for the Empire, was at this Time making the greatest Preparations to renew the War, and the late conquered Nations were yet uneasy under his new Government, yet he would spend the Day-time in Revelling and Feasting; to which Entertainments the Women were also admitted; not such whom it was a Crime to violate, but such as were common, and whose Conversation was a Disgrace to a Man in Arms. One of these whose Name was *Thais*, being heated with Wine, told him, he could not do any Thing that would more oblige all the *Greeks*, than if he burnt the Palace of the Kings of *Persia*: That

they expected this by Way of Reprisal for those Towns of theirs the *Barbarians* had destroyed. This drunken Harlot had no sooner spoken her Opinion in a Matter of so great a Consequence, but presently some of the Company (who were also loaded with Wine) applauded the Proposal; and the King not only heard it with Patience, but eager to put it in Execution, said, why do we not Revenge *Greece*, and burn *Persepolis*? Why do we delay setting Fire to the Town? They were all heated with Wine, and in that drunken Condition immediately rise to burn that City they had spared in their Anger. The King shewed them the Example, and was the first that set Fire to the Palace, after which his Guests, Servants, and Concubines did the same. There being a great deal of Cedar in this noble Structure, it presently took Fire, and communicated the Flames. The Army which was encamped not far from the Town, no sooner perceived the Conflagration, but imagining it to be casual, they ran to help to quench it: But being come to the Entrance of the Palace, and seeing the King himself carrying fresh Flambeaux to increase the Fire, they flung down the Water they had brought, and fed the Flames with dry Materials.

This was the End of the noblest City of the East, from whence so many Nations received their Laws; which had been the Birth-place of so many Kings; formerly the chief Terror of *Greece*; had fitted out a Fleet of a thousand Sail of Ships, and sent out Armies that, like an Inundation, almost covered all *Europe*; had laid Bridges over the Sea, and hollowed Mountains to make the Sea a Passage; and, in so long a Time, as has elapsed, since its Destruction, never was rebuilt; for the *Macedonian* Kings made Choice of other Towns for their Residence, which are now in the Possession of the *Parthians*. The Ruin of this City was so compleat, that, was it not for the River *Araxes*, we should hardly know where it stood; this River run at no great Distance from the Walls of this Town, which (as the neighbouring Inhabitants rather conjecture, than certainly know) was situate about twenty Furlongs from it.

The

The *Macedonians* were ashamed so famous a City should be destroyed by their King, in a drunken Humour: They therefore made a serious Matter of it, and persuaded themselves it was expedient it should be consumed this Way: But, as for *Alexander*, as soon as Rest had restored him to himself, it is certain he repented of what he had done; and he said, The *Persians* would have made more ample Satisfaction to *Greece*, had they been necessitated to behold him sitting in *Xerxes's* Throne, in his Royal City.

The next Day he order'd thirty Talents to be given to the *Lycian*, who had been his Guide into *Persia*. From hence he pass'd into the Country of *Media*, where he was met by new Recruits from *Cilicia*. They consisted of five Thousand Foot, and one Thousand Horse, both the one and the other were under the Command of *Plato* the *Athenian*. Having received this Reinforcement, he resolv'd to pursue *Darius*.

C H A P. VIII.

Darius's, Speech exhorting his People to Battle.

THIS Prince was by this Time got to *Ecbatana*, which is the Capital of *Media*. The *Parthians* are now in Possession of this Town; it is the Royal Seat during the Summer. *Darius* intended from hence to go into *Bactra*; but fearing to be prevented by *Alexander's* Celerity, he alter'd his Mind, and shaped his Course another way. *Alexander* was fifteen Hundred Furlongs distance from him, but now he thought no Distance remote enough, against his Expedition. He therefore rather prepared himself to fight, than to fly. He was followed by thirty Thousand Foot, amongst whom were four Thousand *Greeks* of an invincible Fidelity to the last towards the King. He had also four Thousand Slingers and Archers, besides three Thousand three Hundred Horse which consisted chiefly of *Bactrians*. They were commanded by *Bessus*, who was Governor of the

City as well as the Country of *Bactriana*. *Darius* with these Forces march'd at some distance from the Highway, commanding those, who guarded the Baggage, to go before. Then having called a Council, he spoke to this effect: *If Fortune had link'd me with Cowards, who prefer'd any kind of Life to any honourable Death, I would rather chuse to hold my Tongue, than waste my Breath in Speeches to no Purpose, but I have had greater Experience than I could wish, both of your Courage and Fidelity, so that I ought rather to endeavour to shew myself worthy of such Friends, than in the least doubt of your being like yourselves. Out of so many Thousand that were under my Command, you only have faithfully adhered to me, tho' twice conquer'd, and twice forc'd to fly. Your Fidelity and Constancy makes me believe I am still a King: It is true the Traitors and Deserters at present reign in my Towns; but it is not because they are thought worthy of that high Station, but only to try by their Rewards, to shake your Loyalty. Notwithstanding which you have chose rather to share my Fortune than that of the Conqueror, and thereby shew'd yourselves worthy to be recompenc'd by the Gods, if it should not be in my Power. There can be no Posterity so deaf, no Fame so ungreatful, as not with due Praises to extol you to the Skies. Therefore notwithstanding I had some thoughts of flying, contrary, Heaven knows, to my own Disposition; yet replying on your Bravery, I am willing to meet the Enemy: For how long must I be an Exile in my own Kingdom? How long must I in my own Dominions fly before a Foreigner and strange King, when I have it in my Power to try the Fortune of War once more, and either recover what I have lost, or at least die an honourable Death; unless it should be thought better to lie at the Conqueror's Mercy, and after the Example of *Mazæus* and *Mithrenes*, receive perhaps the precarious Sovereignty of a single Nation. But I hope the Gods will never suffer any Body to take the Diadem from my Head, or bestow it on me; neither will I while alive, resign my Empire, my*

Reign and Life shall end together. If you are thus disposed, if this be a fixed Resolution among you, none of you need to doubt of his Liberty; none of you shall be Subject to the disdainful Haughtiness of the Macedonians. Your Right-Hand shall either revenge your Sufferings, or put an end to them. I am myself an Instance of the Mutability of Fortune, and I have Reason to hope for better Resolutions: But, if the Gods have no Regard to just and religious Wars, it will still be in the Power of the Brave to die honourably, I therefore conjure you by the glorious Actions of our Ancestors, who have held the Government of all the Eastern Kingdoms with so much Praise; by those great Men, to whom the Macedonians formerly paid Tribute; by the vast Fleets that have been sent into Greece; by the Trophies of so many Kings, I once more beg and beseech you to arm yourselves with a Courage worthy your noble Extraction and Nation, and that you will bear with the same Constancy you have hitherto shewn, whatever Fortune shall for the future allot you. As for my own Part, I am resolved to signalize myself for ever, either by a glorious Victory, or a brave Engagement.

CHAP. IX.

*The different Opinions of the Grandees.
A Tumult on Account of Nabarzanes,
who was in a treasonable Conspiracy with
Bessus.*

WHILE Darius was saying these Things, the Appearance of the present Danger was so frightful to them, that the Minds and Hearts of them all were seized with Horror; none of them knew either what to think or say. At last Artabazus, the oldest of his Friends, and who, as we said before, had formerly resided with Philip, declared himself to this purpose: We are ready, Sir, to follow you into the Field in our richest Apparel and brightest Armour, with this Disposition, that we neither despair of Victory, nor fear our Fate: The rest seemed to be of the same Mind.

But Nabarzanes, who had entered into an abominable, and before that Time, unheard of Conspiracy with Bessus to seize the King, by the Help of those Troops they each commanded, with this Design that if Alexander pursued them, to deliver him alive into his Hands, and thereby ingratiate themselves with him, since he could not but be mighty well pleased to have his Enemy in his Power; but if they found they could make their Escapes, then to kill Darius, and seizing the Kingdom, renew the War again. As they had for sometime been hatching this Treason, Nabarzanes laid hold of this Occasion to pave the Way to his wicked Purpose, and said, I am sensible, Sir, that what I am going to say, will not at first be grateful to you. But we see Physicians cure desperate Diseases with rough Medicines; and the Masters of Ships, when they fear a Shipwreck, fling a great Part of their Goods over-board to save the rest. However I do not offer to persuade you to sustain any Loss. But on the contrary, by salutary Measures to preserve both yourself and Kingdom. The Gods seem to be against us in the War we make, and Fortune is obstinate in her Persecution of the Persians. We must therefore begin anew, with better Omens. Resign your Empire and the Management of Affairs for a while to another, who shall be no longer King than till the Enemy withdraws from Asia, and then the Conqueror shall restore the sacred Depositum into your Hands again. Reason seems to promise this would not be long in doing. *Bactra* is yet entire; the *Indians* and the *Sage* are still at your Devotion: There are so many Nations, so many Armies, so many Thousands of Horse and Foot to renew the War with, that there is still more left to carry it on, than has been lost. Why should we then, after the manner of Brutes run headlong to Destruction? It is the Business of brave Men to despise Death rather than hate Life. Cowards are sometimes by continual Hardships, brought to have a mean Opinion of themselves and despair; whereas true Courage leaves nothing untried. Death therefore is the last

Rewedy

Remedy, which then to embrace chearfully, is sufficient. Let us then repair to *Bactra*, which will be a safe Retreat, and let *Bessus* who is Governor of that Country, be constituted King for a Time, and when the present Troubles shall be happily settled, he shall restore to you, as to his lawful Sovereign, the Empire which he only received in Trust.

It is no Wonder *Darius* was transported at this Discourse, altho' he was yet Ignorant of the impious Designs it was intended to promote. Thou vile Slave, said he, hast thou found a proper Time to disclose thy Parricide? And having drawn his Sword, he seemed disposed to kill him; but *Bessus* and the *Bactrians*, with dejected look interposed, tho' they intended at the same Time to have bound him if he had persisted.

In the mean Time *Nabarzanes* made his Escape, and *Bessus* follow'd him, and they both immediately drew off their Troops from the rest of the Army, in order to take private Measures. After their Departure *Artabazus* made a Speech suitable to the present juncture of Affairs, and endeavoured to appease *Darius's* Anger. He entreated him to bear patiently the Folly or Error of those who were devoted to his Service, and to consider, that *Alexander* was approaching, who would be found a heavy Burthen, tho' they were all ready and united: What would he then be, if any of those who had follow'd him in his Flight, should be alienated from his Interest? *Darius* was in this persuaded by him, and notwithstanding he would have decamp'd, yet in the present Confusion of Affairs, he resolv'd to contrinue in the same Place: But being oppress'd with Grief and Despair, he shut himself up in his Tent. The Army being now under no one's particular Command, were variously dispos'd, and they did not now as heretofore, deliberate in common; which *Patron*, who was Captain of the *Greeks* perceiving, he ordered his Men to take to their Arms, and be ready on all Occasions. The *Persians* had withdrawn themselves, and *Bessus* was with the *Bactri-*

ans, and labour'd to bring the *Persians* over to him. He represented to them the Wealth of *Bactriana*, which was still unouch'd, and at the same time reminded them of the Risques they would unavoidably run, if they stay'd where they were: But the *Persians* were all of one Mind, and said, it were a Crime to desert the King.

While these Things were doing, *Artabazus* discharged the Duty of a General: He went about the *Persians* Tents, exhorting them sometimes apart, and sometimes all together, and did not leave them till he was pretty well assur'd of their Obedience. Then returning to *Darius*, he met with much difficulty, but at last prevail'd with him to eat, and demean himself like a King.

CHAP. X.

The cruel Resolution of Bessus and Nabarzanes to betray or kill Darius, which they keep concealed by most extraordinary Hypocrisy.

BUT *Bessus* and *Nabarzanes* were bent upon the Execution of their execrable Design, being inflamed with an impotent Desire of Reigning. At the same Time it was impossible for them to compass that Authority while *Darius* was living; for amongst these People the Majesty of King is held in the greatest Veneration; at the very Name they assemble together from all Parts, and constantly pay him the same Adoration in Adversity, which he us'd to receive from them in his Prosperity. The Countries these impious Wretches were Governors of, served to swell their ambitious Minds; for it was as large in extent, and as powerful in Men and Arms, as any of those Nations whatever, making almost the third Part of *Asia*. The Number of young Men was sufficient to make good the vast Armies *Darius* had lost. This made them not only despise *Darius*, but even *Alexander* himself, and imagine, that if they could but make themselves Masters of those Countries, they might be able to restore the *Persian* Empire.

After a long Consultation, they resolv'd to seize the King by the *Bactrian* Soldiers, who were intirely at their Devotion, and then send a Messenger to *Alexander* to let him know they were ready to deliver him into his Hands alive. If (which was what they fear'd) he should detect their Treason, then they design'd to kill *Darius*, and repair with their Forces to *Bactra*. But it was impossible for them to seize *Darius* openly, there being so many Thousand *Persians* ready to assist him; besides, which they were also afraid of the Fidelity of the *Greeks*. They therefore resolv'd to compass by Stragatam what they could not effect by Force, and counterfeited a Repentance of their fault in withdrawing themselves from the Army, and likewise to excuse their Consternation to the King.

In the mean Time, they dispatch'd Emisaries to sollicite the *Persians* to a Revolt, and try to shake their Constancy, by Hopes on the one Side, and Fear on the other: They insinuated to them, that they expos'd themselves to manifest Ruin, and inevitable Destruction: That *Bactriana* was ready to receive them, and bestow on them Presents and Riches as much as ever their Desires could conceive:

While these Things were in Agitation, *Artabazus* came to them, either by the King's Order, or of his own Motion, and assured them, *Darius's* Anger was appeased, and that he was ready to shew them the same Favour as before. Hereupon they wept, and excused their Fault, and begg'd of *Artabazus* to intercede in their Behalf, and implore the King's Mercy. The Night being pass'd after this manner, *Nabarzanes* repaired to the Entry of the King's Tent with the *Bactrian* Soldiers, covering his secret Treachery, with a specious Pretext of solemn Duty.

Darius having given the Signal to March, seated himself in his Chariot, according to Custom, and *Nabarzanes* with the other Parricides, flung themselves upon the Ground, and hypocritically worship'd him: they design'd suddenly to have in their Custody as a Prisoner, shedding at the same Time Tears, the usual Marks of Repentance;

so false is the Heart of a Man, and so practis'd in Dissimulation.

Darius, who was himself naturally sincere, and of a mild Disposition, was mov'd by their Prayers and submissive Behaviour, and not only believed what they said, but even wept himself. But this itself had no Influence over the Hearts of these Wretches, to make them repent of their villainous Designs, tho' their Eyes were Witnesses how worthy a Person they deceived, both as a Man, and as a King. As for his Part, not dreaming of the Danger that was at hand, he made all the haste he could to escape falling into the Hands of *Alexander*, whom he only dreaded.

CHAP. XI.

The Designs of the Traitors are discovered to Darius. He refuses the Assistance of the Greeks, and declares himself ready to die for the Sake of his People.

PATRON who commanded the *Greeks*, ordered his Men to put on their Armour, which us'd to be carry'd with the Baggage, and to be ready on all Occasions, to execute his Orders. He follow'd the King's Chariot, watching for an Opportunity to speak to him; for he had penetrated into *Bessus* his Design; which *Bessus* mistrusting, would not depart from the Chariot, but followed it close, rather like one who guarded *Darius* as a Prisoner, than as an Attendant of the King. *Patron* therefore having waited a considerable Time, often suppressing what his Tongue was just going to utter, (as hesitating betwixt Fidelity and Fear) kept his Eyes fixt on the King, who at last (perceiving it) sent *Bubaces* one of his Eunuchs to him, to enquire, if he had any Thing to say to him. *Patron* made answer, Yes, but without a Witness. Being hereupon commanded to draw near, without any Interpreter; for *Darius* understood *Greek* very well. He told the King; Sir, of Fifty Thousand *Greeks* that we were in your Service, there is now but a small Number of us left, who have accompany'd you in all your Variety of Fortune; and are the same towards

towards you in your present Condition, as we were in your most prosperous State. Whatever Place you shall repair to, we shall consider as our own Houses and native Country: Your Prosperity and Adversity, have link'd us to you. I therefore beg and beseech you by this our invincible Fidelity, to pitch your Tent amongst us, and suffer us to be the Guards of your sacred Person. We have lost *Greece*, and have no *Bactriana* to repair to. All our Hope is in yourself, and I wish we had no reason to distrust others. It is needless to say more. As I am a Foreigner and Stranger, I should not ask to have the Guard of your Royal Person, if I thought it could be safe with any other.

Notwithstanding *Bessus* was ignorant of the *Greek* Tongue, yet his guilty Conscience made him believe *Patron* had discover'd him, but he was put out of his Pain by one that understood the *Greek* Language, and heard what was said. *Darius* no way frightened, as could be perceived by his Countenance, ask'd him the Cause of his Advice. Whereupon, thinking it dangerous to delay it any longer, he reply'd, Sir, *Bessus* and *Nabarzanes* have conspir'd against you; your Fortune and Life are in the utmost Peril. This Day will be either yours, or the Parricides last. Had the King heeded this Information, *Patron* had had the Glory of preserving his Life. Now let them turn this to a Jest that will, who hold that human Affairs are guided by a blind Chance; for my Part I believe they depend upon an eternal Decree, and on a Chain of hidden Causes, and that every one performs his Race, under the Direction of an immutable Law, which has long since determined its Period. *Darius's* Answer was, That although the Fidelity of the *Greek* Soldiers was sufficiently known to him, yet he was resolv'd never to withdraw himself from his Native Subjects. That it was more vexatious to him to distrust than to be deceived. That he would rather suffer whatever Fortune had decreed, than seek for Safety among Strangers, and that he had already liv'd too long if his own Soldiers plotted his Destruction. *Patron* therefore despairing of the King's Welfare,

returned to his Post, ready to run any Hazard for his Preservation.

C H A P. XII.

Bessus takes Darius after having deceived him by false Tears and dissembling Speeches, and having bound him in Chains of Gold, carried him off in a vile Cart covered with Skins.

BESSUS had in a Manner resolved upon killing the King forthwith, but apprehending he should not ingratiate himself with *Alexander*, unless he delivered him up alive, he defer'd his intended Villany to the next Night. In the mean Time he came to *Darius*, and gave him Thanks that he had so prudently declin'd the Treachery of a perfidious Man, who began already to have an Eye on *Alexander's* Riches, for most certainly he design'd to have made him a Present of the King's Head; but it was no Wonder that a Mercenary Man made a Traffick of every Thing, since he had neither Pledge nor Home, and was in a Manner banished out of the World; a false Friend and a doubtful Enemy, and always ready to serve those who bid most. After this he began to justify himself, and called the Tutelar Gods of the Country to Witness his Innocence and Fidelity. *Darius*, by his Countenance seem'd to believe him, tho' he no way doubted of the *Greeks* Information, but in the present Juncture it was equally dangerous to distrust his Subjects, or to be betrayed by them. There were thirty Thousand of them whose Inclination to Villany was to be suspected, and there were but four Thousand *Greeks* under *Patron*, to whom if he should commit the Care of his Person; distrusting his own Subjects, he saw they would make that the Excuse of their Parricide, and therefore he chose rather to perish undeservedly, than to give them a Pretext for their Crime. However, he made Answer to *Bessus*, That *Alexander's* Justice was not less known to him than his Valour: That they were deceiv'd who expected from him a Reward for their Treason; since there could not be a
more

more rigid Chastiser of Infidelity. The Night drawing on, the *Persians* according to Custom laid by their Arms, went to the next Villages to supply themselves with Necessaries; but the *Bactrians*, by *Bessus's* Order, stood to their Arms. In the mean Time *Darius* sent to *Artabazus* to come to him, and having related what *Patron* had told him, *Artabazus* was for his passing immediately in the *Greeks* Camp, assuring him, that the *Persians* would not fail to join him as soon as they understood his Danger; but being doom'd to his Lot, he was no longer capable of wholesome Advice, so that embracing *Artabazus* for the last Time (who was the only Comfort he had in his present Circumstances) they both wept bitterly, and the King was forced at last to order him to be taken from him; he being unwilling to leave him. *Darius* covered his Head that he might not see him depart in so much Affliction, and then flung himself upon the Ground. At the same Time his Guards, whose Duty it was to defend the King's Person at their own Perils, fled from their Post, not thinking themselves a Match for the Conspirators whom they expected every Minute. The King was now in a Manner left alone, there remaining with him only a few Eunuchs, who did not know where to go. In this solitary Condition he ruminated on several Things, till tir'd with Lonesomeness which he had had recourse to, to ease his Mind, he ordered *Bubaces* to be called to him, who being come, he said, get you gone likewise, and take care of yourselves; you have, according to your Duty, adher'd firmly to your Prince's Interest to the very last. For my Part, I'll here expect my Doom. Perhaps you may wonder I do not with my own Hand end my Days? But I had rather perish thro' another's Crime than by my own.

At these Words the Eunuchs not only fill'd the Tent, but the whole Camp with mournful Cries and Lamentations; then several others enter'd also, and tearing their Clothes, bewail'd the deplorable Condition of their King. At last these Howlings

reach'd the *Persians* Quarters, who seiz'd with Terror, did neither dare to take to their Arms for fear of the *Bactrians*, nor keep themselves quiet, lest they should be thought shamefully to desert their Sovereign.

A various dissonant Clamour run through the Camp, which was now without a Head or Director; they who belong'd to *Narbarzanes*, and *Bessus*, grounding upon these doleful Lamentations, told them, the King had laid violent Hands upon himself. They therefore flew to the Tent with those who were to be the Executioners of their abominable Villany; and understanding at their Arrival there, that the King was living, these Wretches order'd him to be seiz'd and bound.

Thus he who a little while ago was carry'd in a magnificent Chariot, and honour'd by his Subjects, as if he had been a God, was now (without the Concurrence of foreign Power) made a Prisoner by his own Slaves, and put into a sorry Cart, cover'd over with Skins. The King's Money and Furniture, is rifled and plunder'd, as if it had been done by the Laws of War; and having after this Manner loaded themselves with Booty, the Wages of the vilest Impiety, they fled.

Artabazus, with those under his Command, and the *Greek* Troops, marched towards *Parthia*, thinking themselves to be safer any where than in the Society of *Parricides*; as for the *Persians* (*Bessus* having made them vast Promises, but chiefly because they had no Body else to follow) they joined the *Bactrians*. However that it might not be said they did not Honour their King, they bestowed Golden Fetters upon *Darius*, Fortune seeming industrious to find out new Ways to Insult this Prince. Now that he might not be known by his Apparel, they cover'd the Cart, as we said before, with sordid Skins, and caused it to be drawn by Strangers, that he might not be discovered to any that should enquire after him, the Guards following at distance:

C H A P. XIII.

Alexander hearing of the Extremity to which Darius is reduced, marches against the Army of the Persians; but Bessus and the other Parricides dreading the Arms and Presence of the Conqueror, leave Darius's Body pierced through with many Wounds, and endeavour to save themselves by Flight.

ALEXANDER being informed that Darius had left *Ecbatana* quitted the Road that led to *Melia*, and resolved to follow him with the utmost Diligence. While he was at *Tabas*, which is a Town situated in the extreme Parts of the *Paracene*, certain Deserters acquainted him, that Darius was making all the haste he could to get into *Bactriana*. Afterwards he was more certainly informed, by *Bagusthenes* the *Babylonian*, that the King was not as yet in Chains, but was in the greatest Danger, either of losing his Life or being made a Prisoner.

The King having therefore called a Council, told them, we have still to execute a Matter of the greatest Consequence, but the Labour will be very short, for Darius is not far from hence, either defeated or slain by his own Men. Our Victory depends on our making ourselves Master of his Person, and this mighty Thing is to be compass'd by Expedition. To which they all reply'd, that they were ready to follow him wherever he pleas'd, and desir'd him neither to spare their Labour or their Lives. Hereupon he led the Army with such Expedition that it resembled more a Race than a March, he did not so much as let them rest in the Night. After this manner, he march'd five Hundred Furlongs, and was now come to the Place where Bessus had seiz'd Darius. Here *Melon*, Darius's Interpreter, is taken Prisoner, for being Sick, he had not been able to follow the Army, so that finding himself surpriz'd by Alexander's Expedition he feign'd himself a Deserter. By this Man he was inform'd of every Thing, but it was now requisite to give his Army rest, he

therefore made choice of Six Thousand Horse, to whom he added Three Hundred of those they call *Dimache*, these were heavy arm'd Horse, but if Occasion and the Place required it, they serv'd also on Foot.

While Alexander was thus employ'd *Orsillos* and *Mythrænus*, who detested Bessus's Parricide, surrendered themselves to him, and acquainted him that the Persians were five Hundred Furlongs off, but they would shew him a nearer Way. The King receiv'd them graciously, and in the beginning of the Night taking them for his Guides, he set forwards with the light Horse, commanding the *Phalanx* to follow as fast as they could. He march'd in a square Body, and so moderated his speed as not to leave any of his Men behind him; they had already march'd three Hundred Furlongs, when *Brucubelus*, *Mazeus's* Son, (who had been heretofore Governor of *Syria*, but was now also come over to Alexander) inform'd him, that Bessus was but two Hundred Furlongs off; and that his Army (which mistrusted nothing) observ'd no Manner of Order in their March; that they seem'd to make towards *Hircania*, and if he hasten'd his March, he might come suddenly upon them as they were dispers'd up and down. He told him also, that Darius was still a live.

This Account made him still more eager to overtake him, so that clapping Spurs to their Horses they made all the haste they could: After sometime they came within the noise of the Enemy, but the Clouds of Dust intercepted the sight of them; he therefore now abated his Speed to give the Dust time to settle again upon the Ground. In a little time they were discovered by the Barbarians, whose flying Army they likewise perceived; and, in all Probability, would have had the worst of it, if Bessus had been as resolute to Fight, as he had shewn himself to commit the Parricide; for the Barbarians were much superior in Number and Strength, besides, they were fresh, whereas Alexander's Army was fatigu'd. But the very Name of Alexander, and his Fame, which are in great Moment in

in War, made them take to their Heels. *Bessus*, and the rest of his Associates, came now to *Darius*, and desired him to get on Horseback, and make his Escape from the Enemy; but he refused it, and told them, that the avenging Gods were at hand: And invoking *Alexander's* Justice, said he would not follow any longer Parricides. This so inflam'd their Anger, that they cast their Darts at him, and having given him several Wounds they left him; they also wounded the Horses that drew him, that they might not be able to go any farther, killing likewise the two Servants that attended on the King.

After the Commission of this Villany they took different Courses in their Flight, *Nabarzanes* made towards *Hircania* and *Bessus* towards *Bactriana*, being accompany'd with only a small Number of Horsemen. The *Barbarians* being forsaken by their Leaders, dispers'd themselves here and there according as they were directed by Fear or Hope. about five Hundred Horse had got together, and seemed unresolv'd, whether they should defend themselves or fly.

Alexander understanding the Enemies Consternation, detach'd *Nicanor* with part of his Cavalry to stop the Enemies Flight, and followed himself with the remainder. About three Thousand of those who made Resistance were kill'd, and the rest were driven like Sheep or Cattle, without any farther Mischief, the King having given Orders to abstain from shedding any more Blood. None of the Prisoners could give any Account of *Darius*; every one examined strictly whoever he could lay his Hands on, and yet they could not make any Discovery of him.

Alexander made such violent haste that he had hardly three Thousand Horse with him, but several Bodies of the Fugitives fell into the Hands of those that follow'd him. It is almost incredible, that there should be more Prisoners than there was Men to take them, Fear had so robbed them of all manner of Sense, that they could not so much as reflect either on the inconsiderable Number of the Enemy, or their own Multitude.

In the mean time, the Cattle that drew *Darius* having no body to govern them, were got out of the Highway, and having wander'd about four Furlongs stopp'd in a certain Valley, being faint both by their Wounds and the Heat. There was a Spring not far off, which some of the Country had shew'd to *Polystratus*, a *Macedonian*, who was almost perishing with Thirst. While he was here drinking Water out of his Helmet, he observed the Darts that stuck in the Bodies of the Wounded Cattle; and wondering they were not rather taken away than killed, he perceiving at the same Time the Voice of a Man half dead, out of a natural Curiosity could not help looking into the Waggon to discover what might be hid there, and so removing the Skins which cover'd it, he found *Darius* there wounded in several Parts of his Body. *Darius* understood something of the *Greek* Language, and upon this occasion said, that at least it was a Comfort to him in his present Calamity, that he had the Opportunity of speaking to one that understood him, and so should not utter his dying Words in vain; he order'd him therefore to tell *Alexander*, that tho' he had never deserved any Thing at his Hands, yet it was his Lot to die very much indebted to him for his good Offices. That he gave him a great many Thanks for the Civilities he had shewn his Mother, Wife and Children, to whom he had not only granted Life, but maintained also according to their former Rank and Dignity; whereas he was deprived of all these Blessings by his own Kinsmen and Friends, to whom he had given both Life and Kingdoms. That he therefore, out of Gratitude begg'd of the Gods, that they would bless his Arms and make him Conqueror of the whole World. That he hoped he would not Neglect revenging the base Usage he had receiv'd from Traitors, not only on his private Account, but for Example Sake, and the good of all Kings, since it would be no less Glorious to him than Beneficial. He was now faint, and call'd for some Water, which being brought to him by *Polystratus*, he drank, and then said to him, whoever thou

thou art, it adds to all my other Misfortunes, that I have not wherewith to acknowledge this great Kindness; but *Alexander* will do it for me, and the Gods will reward him for his extraordinary Humanity and Clemency towards my Family; thou shalt give him therefore my Hand as the only Pledge I have of the Sincerity of my Wishes.

Having utter'd these Words, and taken

Polystratus by the Hand he expir'd; when *Alexander* was inform'd of it he came to the Place, and reflecting how unworthy that Death was of his high Rank, he wept, and taking off his Cloak spread it over the dead Body; afterwards he caus'd it to be dress'd in Royal Apparell, and sent it to *Sysgambis* to be bury'd after the manner of the Kings of *Persia*, among the Royal Tombs of his Ancestors.

The End of the Fifth B O O K.

B O O K VI. C H A P. I.

A Description of the Battle between the Lacedemonians and Macedonians. Alexander being victorious, gives Peace to the Grecians, who had revolted in his Absence.

WHILE these Things passed in *Asia*, *Greece* and *Macedonia*, were not without Disturbances. *Agis*, the Son of *Archidamus*, who was slain as he assisted the *Tarentins*; on the same Day that *Philip* overcame the *Athenians*, near *Charonea*. This Prince, out of an Emulation to *Alexander's* Courage and Virtue, solicited his Citizens not to suffer *Greece* to be any longer oppress'd by the *Macedonians*; for if a Remedy were not apply'd in Time, they would not fail to be enslav'd after the same Manner; it was necessary therefore, he said, to exert themselves while the *Persians* were still able to make some Resistance; that if they staid till they were quite reduc'd, it would be to no Purpose then to assert their antient Freedom against so mighty a Power. The *Lacedemonians* being stir'd up by this Speech, only waited for a favourable Opportunity to begin the War; and being encourag'd by *Memnon's* Success, they began to join their Counsels to his, and notwithstanding he was taken off in the beginning of his prosperous Career, they still pursu'd their Measures with the same Vigour. *Agis* went to *Pharnabazus* and *Autophradates*,

and obtain'd from them Thirty Talents and Ten Gallies, which he sent to his Brother *Agessilaus*, to enable him to pass into *Greece*, whose Inhabitants were divided in their Affections to the *Lacedemonians* and *Macedonians*. Ambassadors were also sent to *Darius* to solicit for a large Sum of Money, and a greater Number of Ships; and altho' the *Persians* had been lately defeated near *Iffus*, it was so far from being a hinderance to their obtaining their Demands, that it made them more readily comply therewith; for as *Alexander* was intent on his Pursuit after *Darius*, who led him still farther into the Country, a great Number of the hir'd Troops, after this Battle, fled into *Greece*; so that *Agis*, by the Means of the *Persian* Money, took eight Thousand of them into his Service, and by their Assistance retook the greatest Part of the *Gretan* Towns: But when *Memnon*, whom *Alexander* had sent into *Thrace*, had stir'd up the *Barbarians* to revolt, and *Antipater* was march'd with an Army from *Macedonia* to compose those Troubles, the *Lacedemonians* laying hold of that Opportunity brought almost all *Peloponnesus* (except a few Towns) over to their Interest, and having rais'd an Army

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of twenty Thousand Foot, and two Thousand Horse, gave the Command of it to *Agis*. *Antipater* being informed hereof, settled the Affairs of *Thrace* as well as he could, return'd to *Greece* with all possible Diligence, and there gathered what Forces he could from the Friends and Cities that were in Alliance with *Alexander*; so that in a little Time he found himself at the Head of forty Thousand effective Men. There came to him also a strong Body from *Peloponnesus*, but as he had some distrust of them, he dissembled his Suspicion, and thanked them for shewing themselves so ready to defend *Alexander's* Dignity against the *Lacedemonians*, and assur'd them, he would not fail to acquaint the King therewith, who in Time would also thank them himself; but at the present he did not want any farther Reinforcement; that therefore they might return home, having sufficiently discharged the Obligations of their Alliance.

Then he dispatch'd Expresses to *Alexander* to acquaint him with the Commotions in *Greece*, who overtook him at *Bactra*. In the mean Time *Antipater* obtained a compleat Victory in *Arcadia*, *Agis* being killed in the Battle.

However, *Alexander* (being informed before of these Disturbances in *Greece*) had taken all the proper Measures against them, which the Distance of the Place could allow; for he had ordered *Amphoterus* to sail to *Peloponnesus* with the *Cyprian*, and *Phenician* Ships, and had also directed *Menetus* to convoy three Thousand Talents to the Sea-Side, that he might be near at Hand, to supply *Antipater* with what Money he should know he wanted. He knew very well of what Moment the Issue of these Troubles might prove to all his other Affairs, and yet when he was inform'd of the Victory obtain'd by *Antipater* comparing the Action with his own Achievements, he in Derision call'd it, *The Battle of the Mice*; yet in the beginning of this War the *Lacedemonians* were not unsuccessful, for encountering with *Antipater's* Forces, near *Corrbagus*, a Castle in *Macedonia*, they had

the Advantage, the Report of which Success drew over to their Party, those whose Minds were in suspense, till they saw which Way Fortune would incline: There was but one Town among the *Eleans* and *Acbeans*, viz. *Pellene*, that did not enter into their Alliance; in *Arcadia*, *Megalopolis* also remained faithful to the *Macedonians*, out of respect to *Philip's* Memory, from whom they had received Favours; but at the same Time it was closely besieg'd, and could not have held out long had not *Antipater* come seasonably to its Relief; who having pitch'd his Camp not far from that of the Enemy's, and finding himself upon a Comparison of his and their Strength, not only superior to them in Number of Men, but also in all Military Provisions, he resolv'd to come to an Engagement as soon as ever he could. On the other Side, the *Lacedemonians* did not decline coming to an Engagement, so that a Battle was fought that very much afflicted the *Spartan* Affairs; for confiding in the straitness of the Place, where they fought (which rendered the Enemy's Advantage in Number almost of no use to them) they behaved themselves gallantly for a while, nor did the *Macedonians* shew less Vigour in their Resistance, which occasion'd a great deal of Blood to be spilt on both Sides; but *Antipater* sending seasonably fresh Succours to that Part of his Army that laboured most, the *Lacedemonians* were obliged at last to give Ground. *Agis* no sooner perceived this, but with the Royal Regiment (which was compos'd of the stoutest Men) he flung himself where the Fight was sharpest, and killing those who were most forward to resist, he drove a great Part of the Enemies before him. They who were before victorious, now began to fly, till they drew their too eager Pursuers into the open Plain; a great many were killed in the Flight, but the *Macedonians* had no sooner gain'd Ground, where they could rally and recover their Order, but they renewed the Fight, which was for a while continued with equal Bravery on both Sides. Of all the *Lacedemonians* the King distinguished himself most, he was not only remarkable

markable by his Arms and Person, but also by his Greatness of Soul, in which alone he was invincible. He was attack'd on all Sides, both at a Distance and near at Hand, yet he maintained the Fight a considerable Time, receiving some of the Darts in his Buckler, and declining others by his extraordinary Agility, till being at last run thro' both his Thighs with a Spear, and having lost a great Quantity of Blood, his Strength failed him. Then his Attendants took him upon his Buckler, and carried him in haste to the Camp, tho' the violent Motion was very painful to him by reason of his Wounds. The *Lacedemonians* did not for this leave off Fighting, but as soon as ever the Ground was more favourable to them than the Enemy, they clos'd their Ranks, and gallantly received their furious Charges. It is believed, there never was a more desperate Fight than this, wherein were engag'd the Armies of the two most warlike Nations in the World, and for a considerable Time with equal Advantages. The *Lacedemonians* reflected on their former Glory, and the *Macedonians* were animated by their present Grandeur; those fought for Liberty, and these for Sovereignty. The *Lacedemonians* wanted a Head, and the *Macedonians* were straitened for room. The various Charges and Accidents of this Day, were such as sometimes encreas'd the Hope, and sometimes the Fear of both Parties, as if Fortune had on purpose equally dispens'd her Favours to these brave Men. But the straitness of the Place where the Fight was still obstinate, and the Victory wavering, would not permit the whole Forces to engage, so that there were more Spectators than Combatants, and those on each Side who were out of the cast of the Darts, encourag'd their Companions by their Acclamations. However, the *Lacedemonians* began now to faint and could hardly hold their Arms, that were slippery with Blood and Sweat, so that the Enemy still pressing upon them, they at first gave way, and at last were put to an open Flight. The Conqueror pursued the scatter'd Forces, and having pass'd over all the Ground the *Lace-*

demonian Army at first took up, was in Pursuit of *Agis* himself: But he no sooner beheld his Men flying, and the Enemy drawing near him, than he commanded those who carry'd him to set him down, and then try'd whether his Limbs were able to second his Resolution; but finding they were not, he placed himself on his Knees, and having put on his Helmet, and cover'd his Body with his Buckler, he with his Right Hand shak'd his Spear, and challeng'd any of the Enemies to come and take away his Spoils. Not one of them dared to come near him, but a great many cast their Darts at him afar off, which he returned again upon the Enemy, till at last one of them lodged itself in his naked Breast. The same was no sooner pulled out of his Wound but he grew faint, and gently lean'd his Head on his Buckler, and soon after resigning his Spirit with his Blood, he fell dead upon his Arms.

There were slain of the *Lacedemonians* five Thousand three Hundred and Sixty, and of the *Macedonians* three Hundred; but there hardly return'd to the Camp a single Person that was not wounded. This Victory did not only quell the *Spartans* and their Confederates, but disappointed all those who depended on their Success. *Antipater* was not unsensible that the Hearts of those that congratulated his Victory did not agree with their outward Appearance, but as he desired to put an End to the War, it was necessary for him to be deceived; and notwithstanding he was pleas'd with his Success, yet he was afraid of Envy, because what he had done exceeded his Station; for tho' *Alexander* was very desirous to have his Enemies overcome, yet he could not easily brook that *Antipater* should be the Conqueror, for he look'd upon that Honour that was granted to another, to be a Derogation to his own. This was the reason why *Antipater* (who knew his Disposition perfectly) did not dare to conclude any Thing upon the Victory, but had recourse to the Council of *Greece* to determine what was fit to be done. The *Lacedemonians* desired nothing more of it than that they

might be allowed to send Ambassadors to the King, which being granted, he readily pardoned them all, except the Authors of the Rebellion. The *Megalopolitans*, whose City was besieged after the Defection, were ordered to pay to the *Acbeans* and *Aetolians* one Hundred and Twenty Talents. Thus ended this War, which being kindled on the sudden, was nevertheless finished before *Alexander* defeated *Darius* at *Arbela*.

CHAP. II.

Alexander, invincible in Battle, suffers himself to be overcome by Sloath and Luxury. A Rumour spread in the Camp rouses him from his Lethargic Wantonness.

ALLEXANDER, whose Genius was better qualified for the Toils of War, than for Ease and Quiet, no sooner found himself delivered from Military Cares, but he presently gave himself up to all manner of Voluptuousness; and he that had shewn himself invincible to the Arms of the *Persians*, was easily subdued by Vice. He delighted in unseasonable Entertainments, and would pass whole Nights in Drinking and Revelling, having with him Crowds of Prostitutes, in a Word, he struck into all the Foreign Manners, as if he thought them preferable to those of his own Country, and by that Procedure offended both the Eyes and Minds of his own People to such a degree, as to be look'd upon by the Major-part of them as an Enemy; for he in a Manner forced the *Macedonians* (who were tenacious of their own frugal Discipline, and were accustomed to relieve the Wants of Nature with a cheap Diet, and such as was easily procur'd) to indulge the Foreign Vices of the conquer'd Nations. This occasioned several Conspiracies against him, the Soldiers mutiny'd and in the height of their Grief would speak their Minds freely; hence proceeded groundless Suspicions, his indiscreet Fears, and other Evils of the like Nature, which we shall hereafter give an Account of.

As *Alexander* therefore passed the Night as well as Days in unseasonable Feasting, he relieved the Satiety of these Entertainments with Plays and Musick, and was not contented with such Performers as he had from *Greece*, but ordered also the Women that were Prisoners to sing after their Manner, whose uncouth and barbarous Songs were altogether disagreeable to the *Macedonians*, who were Strangers to it. Among these Women he observed one to be more dejected than the rest, and seemed modestly to resist those who would introduce her for that purpose; she was a perfect Beauty, and her becoming Modesty made her Charms still more conspicuous. Her cast-down Eyes, and the Care she took, to hide her Face as much as she could, gave the King some Reason to suspect she was of too high Rank to be expos'd at those ludicrous Entertainments; he therefore ask'd her, who she was? She answer'd, she was Grand-Daughter to *Ochus*, who not long ago had been King of *Persia*, and whose Son was her Father; and that she was married to *Histaspes*, who was himself a Relation of *Darius*, and had had the Command of a considerable Army. The King retained yet some small Remains of his former Virtues, respecting therefore in her Adversity, the Royal Extraction, and so celebrated a Name as was that of *Ochus*; he not only commanded her to be set at Liberty, but also to be restored to all her Possessions, and gave Orders to have her Husband found out that he might restore her to him.

The next Day after he gave Orders to *Hephestion* to cause all the Captives to be brought before him, and having examined into every one's Extraction, he separated those that were nobly descended from the rest. These were ten in Number, amongst whom was *Oxathres*, *Darius's* Brother, who was not less deserving for his natural Endowments than for his eminent Rank. The last Booty amounted to twenty-six Thousand Talents, of which Sum, twelve Thousand were distributed among the Soldiers by Way of Donative, and the like Sum was embezell'd by those who had the Care thereof.

At

At this Time there was a Nobleman of *Perſia*, whose Name was *Oxydates* still detained in Prison, and was destin'd by *Darius* to suffer capital Punishment; *Alexander* not only set him at Liberty but also conferred upon him the Satrapship of *Media*. As for *Darius's* Brother, he received him into the Band of his Friends, and preserved to him all the Honour due to his illustrious Birth.

From hence he marched into *Parthia* which was then a contemptible Nation, but at this Time is the most considerable of all those that lie behind the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris*, and extends itself as far as the *Red-Sea*. The *Scythians* made themselves Masters of this Champian, fruitful Country, and are troublesome enough to their Neighbours, they have Territories likewise in *Europe* and *Asia*: Those who inhabit above the *Bosphorus* belong to *Asia*, and those that are in *Europe*, enjoy the Countries that lie on the left of *Thrace*, as far as the *Borysthenes* and from thence to the *Tanais*, another River. The *Tanais* runs between *Europe* and *Asia*; and it is no way doubted, but the *Scythians*, from whence the *Parthians* descend, came not from the *Bosphorus*, but out of *Europe*.

There was at this Time a famous City called *Hecatomphylus*, which had been built by the *Greeks*. Here the King remain'd some Time, being supply'd with Provisions from all Parts. While he encamp'd in this Place, a sudden Rumour arose without any other Ground or Author than the wanton Idleness of the Army, that the King being contented with what he had done, design'd to return forthwith to *Macedonia*. The Soldiers hereupon run to their Tents, like mad Men and packed up their Baggage; one would have thought the Signal had already been given to decamp.

The Camp was now all in Confusion, some running up and down to seek their Comrades, and others loading the Waggon; so that it came at last to the King's Ears. This Rumour was strengthened by those *Greeks* whom *Alexander* had dismissed, with Orders to return to their

own Homes, having given six Thousand *Denarij* to each Trooper, and from hence the rest of the Army concluded that the War was at an End.

Alexander who had resolved within himself to pass into *India*, and the remotest Parts of the East, was no less alarmed hereat, than the Consequence of the Thing required; he therefore ordered all the General Officers to repair to his Tent, and there with Tears in his Eyes, complain'd to them, that he was stop'd in the Middle of his glorious Career, and compell'd to return home more like one that was conquer'd, than a Conqueror; and this not thro' the Cowardice of his Army, but the Envy of the Gods, who had on the sudden, infus'd into the Minds of the brave Men that compos'd it, a longing Desire to see their own Country, whither in a little Time he intended to lead them himself, loaded with Honour and Glory. Hereupon every one of them offered afresh their Service to him, and begged to be employ'd in the most difficult Undertakings, assuring him, he need not doubt of the Soldiers ready Obedience, if he would but make them a proper Speech, suitable to the present Occasion; since they were never known to depart from him in the least, dispirited or dejected, whenever he thought fit to diffuse amongst them his own Alacrity, and some Portion of the Vigour of his great and noble Mind. He therefore promised to do as they desired, and ordered them to go and prepare their Ears for his Purpose; and having maturely consider'd with himself all that was requisite on this Occasion, he order'd the Army to be drawn out, and then made the following Speech to them.

C H A P. III.

Alexander's Speech to his Soldiers to exhort them to finish the War which was begun in Asia.

‘IT is not to be wondered at, Soldiers, that when you look back on the many great Things we have done, a Desire of Rest,

Rest, and a Satiety of Glory, should steal upon you. For passing over the *Illyrians*, the *Triballi*, *Beotia*, *Thrace*, *Sparta*, the *Acheans*, and *Peloponnesians*, all whom I have subdued either in Person, or by my Appointment and Directions; we entered upon a War at the *Hellepont*, and delivered the *Ionians* and *Æolia* from the cruel Servitude of the *Barbarians*, and have made ourselves Masters of *Caria*, *Lydia*, *Cappadocia*, *Phrygia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Pamphylia*, *Pisidia*, *Cilicia*, *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Armenia*, *Persia*, *Media*, and *Parthia*. I have conquered more Provinces, than others have taken Towns, and I cannot tell but in this Detail, the great Number may have made me still forget some. If therefore I were certain these Countries we have over-run in so short a Time, would remain firm to us, I would then, even against your Wills, Soldiers, be for returning to my Household Gods, to my Mother, and Sisters, and the rest of my Citizens, that I might there chiefly enjoy with you, the Praise and Glory we have acquir'd; where we can have a full Fruition of the Rewards of our Victories in the joyful Conversation of our Children, Wives, and Parents, in a profound Peace and secure Rest, and an undisturb'd Possession of the Fruits of our Bravery: But as our Empire is yet new, and (if we will speak the Truth) even precarious; since the *Barbarians* bear our Yoke at present but with a stiff Neck, it is Time, Soldiers, that must tame their Minds, and soften their Savage Temper. Do we not see, that the very Fruits of the Earth, require their proper Seasons to ripen in? So great an Influence has Time even over those Things that are void of Sense. Can you Imagine then that so many Nations, enur'd to the Empire and Name of another, disagreeing with us in Religion and Manners, as well as Language, can be perfectly subdu'd the Day they are overcome? No, Soldiers, it is your Arms that restrain them, and not their Wills; And tho' your Presence keeps them in Awe, when once you are absent they will de-

clare themselves your Enemies. We have to do with wild Beasts, which when taken and shut up, are tamed by Length of Time; a Thing not to be hoped for otherwise, from their own fierce Natures. I am talking all this while as if we had wholly subdued all *Darius's* Dominions; but that is a Mistake, for *Nabarzanes* possesses *Hyrkania*, and *Bessus* has not only seized *Bactriana*, but also threatens us; besides the *Sogdians*, the *Dalians*, the *Massagetae*, the *Sacæ*, and the *Indians*, are yet unconquered. All those, as soon as our Backs are turned, will pursue us, for they may be said to be of the same Nation, not Strangers and Foreigners; and it is observable, that all Nations more willingly obey their own Sovereigns, tho' their Government be ever so harsh. We must therefore, Soldiers, either resign what we have with so much Pains acquired; or subdue the rest; for as Physicians leave nothing in the Bodies of their Patients that can endanger a Relapse, so must we lop off whatever can annoy or resist our Empire. A small Spark neglected has often been the Cause of great Conflagrations. Nothing can safely be despised in an Enemy; whomsoever you condemn, becomes more courageous by your Negligence. *Darius* himself did not come to the *Persian* Empire by Right of Hereditary Succession, but got into *Cyrus's* Throne, thro' the Interest of *Bagoas* the Eunuch, that you may not think it so difficult a Task for *Bessus* to take Possession of a vacant Kingdom: But, Soldiers, we have certainly committed a great Crime if we conquered *Darius* to no other Purpose but to deliver up his Dominions to one of his Servants, who with the utmost Audaciousness kept his Sovereign in Chains, at the Time he stood most in Need of Assistance, and to whom, we that had conquered him, had certainly shewn Mercy, and at last barbarously murdered him, to rob us of the Glory of preserving him, Will you after all this, suffer such a Wretch to reign? whom I long to see nailed to a Cross, and by that ignominious

‘ minous Death, make ample Satisfaction
 ‘ to all Kings and Nations, for his execra-
 ‘ ble Treachery: But, if upon our Return
 ‘ Home, you should immediately hear that
 ‘ this Villain was burning the *Greek* Towns
 ‘ and laying Waste the *Hellepont*; how
 ‘ sensibly you’d be grieved, that *Bessus*
 ‘ should run away with the Reward of your
 ‘ Victories! How quickly would you arm!
 ‘ What Haste would you then make to re-
 ‘ cover your Own! But is it not much
 ‘ better to suppress him at once, while he is
 ‘ still full of Apprehension, and hardly
 ‘ knows what to do? We have but four
 ‘ Days March to come at him; we, who
 ‘ have made our Way thro’ so many deep
 ‘ Snows, passed so many Rivers, and
 ‘ climbed over so many Mountains: We
 ‘ shall meet with no Sea to stop our March,
 ‘ neither shall we have the Streights of *Cili-*
 ‘ *cia* to obstruct our Passage, all the Way is
 ‘ plain and open: We may be said to stand
 ‘ at the very Door of Victory; we have only
 ‘ a few Fugitives and Ruffians to reduce.
 ‘ It will be a glorious Work, and deserve to
 ‘ be transmitted to Posterity amongst your
 ‘ most memorable Achievements, that you
 ‘ were so far from suffering your Hatred to
 ‘ *Darius*, who was your Enemy, to conti-
 ‘ nue after his Death, that you even took
 ‘ Satisfaction of his Parricides, not suffering
 ‘ any wicked Person to escape unpunished.
 ‘ This once done, how much more willingly
 ‘ will the *Persians* obey us, when they come
 ‘ to understand that you undertake pious
 ‘ Wars, and that it is *Bessus*’s Crime, and
 ‘ not his Name you are offended at?

C H A P. IV.

A Description of the Zioberis, a wonderful River. Alexander promises to pardon Nabarzanes, who demands an Assurance of it by Letters. Being come, at Length, near the Caspian-Sea, he takes several of Darius’s Generals into Favour.

THIS Speech was received by the Sol-
 diers with all possible Chearfulness, and
 they desired him to lead them wherever he

thought fit. The King therefore laid hold
 of their present Disposition, and passing
 thro’ *Parthia*, he came the third Day to the
 Borders of *Hyrkania*, where he left *Cra-*
terus with the Forces he commanded, and
 those that were under *Amynas*, adding
 thereto six hundred Horse, and as many
 Archers, with Orders to secure *Parthia* from
 the Hands of the *Barbarians*.

He gave to *Erygius* the Care of the Bag-
 gage, appointing him a small Body for that
 Purpose, and commanded him to march
 along the plain Country, while he himself
 with the Phalanx and Cavalry, having
 marched a hundred and fifty Furlongs,
 incamped in a Valley at the Entrance into
Hyrkania. Here there is a Wood, the Trees
 whereof are very tall, and stand thick, so
 that it is very shady, and the Soil of the
 Valley is very fat, being plentifully
 watered by the Streams that descend from
 the Rocks; at the Foot of these Hills the
 River *Zioberis* rises, which for the Space of
 three Furlongs runs entire in one Channel,
 and afterwards is divided by a Rock, and so
 pursues two different Courses, between
 which it dispenses all its Waters: At some
 Distance it unites again, and runs in a rapid
 Stream like a Torrent, and, by Reason of
 the Rocks through which it passes, become
 more violent, and then precipitates itself
 under Ground, pursuing its Subterranean
 Course for the Space of three hundred Fur-
 longs, and then rises again as from a new
 Spring, and cuts itself a new Channel
 much larger than its first, it being thirteen
 Furlongs in Breadth; after which, contract-
 ing itself again, it runs between straiter
 Banks, and at last falls into another River,
 called *Rhidagus*. The Inhabitants affirm,
 That whatever is cast into the Cave nearest
 its Source, and where it first hides itself
 under Ground, comes out at the other
 Mouth, where the River opens itself, when
 it appears again. *Alexander* therefore
 caus’d two Bulls to be cast into it where the
 Waters enter the Earth, whose Bodies were
 afterwards seen, where the River breaks
 out again, by those who were sent to ex-
 mine into that Matter. In this Place *Alex-*
ander

alexander had rested his Army four Days, when he received Letters from *Nabarzanes* (who had conspired with *Bessus* against *Darius*) to this Effect: ' That he had never been ' *Darius's* Enemy; that on the contrary, he ' had always advis'd him to what he thought ' most conducing to his Advantage and ' Interest; for which faithful Counsel he ' had like to have been kill'd by him; that ' *Darius* entertain'd some Thoughts of committing the Guard of his Person to Foreigners, which was not only against all ' Law and Reason, but a great Reflection ' on his own Subjects Fidelity, which they ' had preserved inviolated to their Kings, ' for the Space of two hundred and thirty ' Years; that finding himself in so doubtful and dangerous a Condition, he had ' took that Counsel which the present Necessity of his Circumstances had suggested ' to him; that *Darius* having kill'd *Bagoas*, ' had satisfied his People with no other ' Excuse, than that he had killed him who ' was plotting and contriving his Death; ' there is nothing so dear to wretched Mortals as Life, out of Love to which, he had ' been driven to the last Extremities; but ' however, he had been forced thereto by ' irresistible Necessity, it being far from his ' own Inclination and Choice; that in general Calamities, every one is apt to consult his own Interest and Welfare: However, if he thought fit to command him ' to come to him, he would readily obey ' him without the least Apprehension or ' Fear; for he could not suppose that so ' great a King would violate his Promise, it ' not being usual for the Gods to deceive ' one another; that if he did not think him ' worthy the Honour of his Royal Word ' there were Places enough where he could ' be safe, and that all Countries were alike ' to a brave Man.

Hereupon, *Alexander* made no Difficulty to give him his Royal Security (after the Manner the *Persians* are used to receive the same) that if he came he should not be injured. Notwithstanding which he marched his Army in Order of Battle, sending Scouts before him, to discover the Places he

was to pass thro'. The light-arm'd Troops compos'd the Van, then followed the Phalanx, and the Baggage came in the Rear of that. As they were a warlike Nation, and the Situation of the Country was such, as rendered it of difficult Access, the King thought it proper to be the more circumspect and wary in his March; for the Valley extends itself as far as the *Caspian-Sea*, and seems to stretch itself out in two Arms, the Middle whereof sticks into a Hollow, so that it resembles the Horns of the Moon; before that Planet fills up its Orb. On the Left are the *Cerceta*, the *Mosyni*, and *Chalybes*, and on the other Side are the *Leucosyri*, and the Plains of the *Amazons*; it has those to the Northward and these to the Westward. The *Caspian-Sea* Water not being so brackish as that of others, feeds Serpents of a prodigious Bigness, and Fish of a quite different Colour from those of other Seas: Some call it the *Caspian*, and others the *Hyrcanian-Sea*. Some say, that the *Palus-Maotis* falls into it, and bring that for an Argument why this Sea's Waters are sweeter than those of others. When the North Wind blows, it swells the Sea, and forces it violently on the Shore, carrying its Waves a great Way into the Country, where it stagnates for some Time, till the Heavens changing their Aspect, these Waters return to the Sea again, with the same Impetuousness they first broke their Bounds, and so restore the Land to its own Nature. Some have been of Opinion, that these Waters do not come from the *Caspian-Sea*, but do fall from *India* into *Hyrcania*, whose lofty Situation (as we said before) by Degrees sinks into this perpetual Vale. From whence the King marched twenty Furlongs, by a Way almost impassable, having a Wood, in a Manner, over it; besides which Difficulties, the Torrents and standing Waters obstructed his Passage; but, as no Enemy appeared, he made a Shift to get thro' it; and, at last, marching farther on, he came into a better Country, which, besides other Provisions with which it abounded; there was great Plenty of Apples, and the Soil was very proper for Vines. There is also a Kind

Kind of Tree that is very common here, and very much resembles the Oak, whose Leaves are in the Night laden with Honey, but unless the Inhabitants gather it before the Sun rises, the least Heat thereof consumes it.

The King having marched thirty Furlongs farther, was met by *Phrataphernes*, who surrendered himself to him, and all those who had fled with him, after *Darius's* Death. *Alexander* received him graciously, and afterwards arrived at a Town called *Arvas*. Here *Craterus* and *Erigyus* joined him, bringing along with them *Phradates*, who had the Government of the *Tapurians*. The King also taking him into his Protection, was an Example to a great many others to trust themselves to his Clemency. He afterwards appointed *Menapis*, Governor of *Hyrkania*, who had, in *Ochus's* Reign, taken Refuge with King *Philip*. He likewise restored *Phradates*, the Governor of the *Tapurian* Nation.

CHAP. V.

Alexander having received Artabazus with great Marks of Affection, pardons those Greeks who had assisted Darius; and, after having vanquished the Mardians, satisfies the Request of the Queen of the Amazons.

ALLEXANDER was now come to the utmost Bounds of *Hyrkania*, when *Artabazus* (who, as we before took Notice, had always firmly adhered to *Darius*) came to him, with *Darius's* Relations, his own Children, and a Body of Greek Soldiers. The King immediately offered him his Right Hand, for he had been formerly entertained by *Philip*, when in *Ochus's* Reign he had been forced to fly from his Country: But the chief Cause of his receiving him so kindly, was his firm Adherence to his Prince's Interest to the last: Finding himself therefore, so graciously received, he addressed himself to the King in these Words:

Long may you reign in perpetual Felicity: As for my own Part, I am sufficiently happy on all other Accounts. I have but one Grievance, and that is, That my advanced Age will not permit me to enjoy your Goodness long.

He was in the ninety-fifth Year of his Age, and was accompanied by his nine Sons, which he had all of one Woman: These he also presented to the King, and wished they might live so long, as they might be serviceable to his Majesty.

Alexander, for the most Part, walked on Foot; but then he ordered Horses to be brought for himself and *Artabazus*, lest if he walked himself on Foot, the old Man should be ashamed to ride. Afterwards, having pitched his Camp, he ordered the Greeks who came along with *Artabazus*, to be brought before him. But they made Answer, 'That unless he took the *Lacedemonians* also into his Protection, they would deliberate amongst themselves what Measures they should take.' They were Ambassadors from the *Lacedemonians* to *Darius*, who being overcome, they joined those Greeks that were in the *Persian* Service: But *Alexander*, without giving them any Promise or Security, commanded them to come immediately and submit to what he should allot them. They demurred upon the Matter some Time, being of different Opinions; however, at last they promised to come: But *Democrates*, the *Athenian*, being conscious to himself, that he had always opposed as much as he could, the *Macedonian* Prosperity, despairing of Pardon, run himself thro' with his Sword, the rest, according to their Agreement, surrendered themselves to *Alexander*. They were fifteen hundred Soldiers of them, besides fourscore and ten, who had been sent Ambassadors to *Darius*. The greatest Part of the Soldiers were distributed among the Troops, by Way of Recruit, and the Rest were sent Home. As for the *Lacedemonians*, he commanded them to be kept in Custody.

The *Mardians* are a Nation bordering upon *Hyrkania*, a hardy People, and accustomed

romed to live by thieving; they alone neither sent Ambassadors to *Alexander*; nor gave the least Token to imagine, they would obey his Orders: This raised his Indignation, that a single Nation should hinder him from being thought invincible. Leaving therefore his Baggage under a sufficient Guard, he advanced towards them with his best Troops. He had marched all the Night, and by Break of Day, the Enemy appeared in Sight, but it was rather a tumultuous Alarm, than a Fight, for the *Barbarians* were soon driven from the Eminences they possessed, and put to flight; and the neighbouring Villages, being deserted by the Inhabitants, were plundered by the *Macedonians*; but the Army could not penetrate into the more inward Parts of the Country, without being much harrassed and fatigued. The Tops of the Hills are encompassed with high Woods, and impassable Rocks, and the *Barbarians* had secured by a new Kind of Fortification, what was plain and open. The Trees are set thick on Purpose, that they with their Hands might bend the tender Branches downwards, and having twisted them together, they set them in the Ground again, where taking Root, they put out fresh Branches, which they do not suffer to grow according to the Appointment of Nature, but they so intermix them, that when they are cloathed with Leaves, they, in a Manner, hide the Ground. Thus the Way was perplexed with one continued Hedge, by the Means of these interwoven Boughs, which, like so many Snares, caught hold of those that passed thro' them. In this Case there was no Remedy but cutting down the Wood: But this again was a very laborious Task; for the Boles of the Trees were full of Knots, which made them very hard to cut, and the implicated Boughs, like so many suspended Circles, by their tender Pliantness gave Way, and broke the Force of the Stroke: On the other Side, the Inhabitants are so habituated to run like wild Beasts among these Coverts, that on this Occasion they entered the Wood, and galled the Enemy with their Darts. *Alexander* was therefore obliged

(after the Manner of Hunters) first to find out their Haunts, by which Means he destroyed a great many of them, and at last ordered his Army to surround the Wood, and, if they found any Entrance, to break thro' the same. But as they were altogether ignorant of the Country, they wandered up and down like Men lost, and some of them were taken by the Enemy, and with them the King's Horse *Bucephalus*, which he did not value after the Rate of other Cattle, for he would suffer no Body but *Alexander* to mount him; and whenever he had a Mind to get upon him, he would kneel down and receive him on his Back, as if he was sensible who it was he carried. The King therefore being transported with Anger and Grief, even beyond what was decent, ordered his Horse to be sought after, and gave the *Barbarians* to understand, by an Interpreter, That if they did not restore him, not one of them should escape alive.

This Declaration so terrified them, that they not only restored the Horse, but made him also other Presents. However, this did not appease the King's Anger, so that he commanded the Woods to be cut down, and caused Earth to be brought to fill up the hollow Part of the intricate Covert. The Work was pretty well advanced, when the *Barbarians*, despairing of their being able to defend the Country, surrendered themselves to the King, who receiving Hostages from them, appointed *Pbradates* to be their Governor; and on the fifth Day returned from thence to his Camp, where having conferred on *Artabazus* double the Honour *Darius* had bestowed on him, he sent him Home.

Then he continued his March to the City of *Hyrkania*, where he was no sooner arrived, than *Nabarzanes* yielded himself to the King upon his Parole, making him at the same Time very noble Presents; among the rest was *Bagoas*, an Eunuch, who was in the Flower of his Youth, and had been familiarly used by *Darius* formerly, and was now by *Alexander*; it was chiefly at this Eunuch's intreaty that he pardon'd *Nabarzanes*.

The

The Nation of the *Amazons* (as we said before) borders upon *Hyrkania*, and inhabits the Plains of *Themiseyra*, along the River *Thermodoon*. *Thalestris* was the Name of their Queen, who had in her Subjection all the Country that lies between Mount *Caucasus*, and the River *Phasis*. This Queen was come out of her Dominions, inflam'd with a Desire to see *Alexander*; and being advanced pretty near the Place where he was, she sent Messengers before to acquaint him, that the Queen was coming to have the Satisfaction of seeing and conversing with him: Having obtained Admittance, she commanded the rest of her Followers to stay behind, and taking with her three Hundred of her Female Militants, she advanced. As soon as she came within sight of the King, she leaped from her Horse, holding two Javelins in her Right-Hand. The *Amazons* Apparel does not cover all their Bodies, for their Left Side is naked down to the Stomach, nor do the Skirts of their Garments (which they tie up in a Knot) reach below their Knees. They preserve their Left Breast entire that they may be able to suckle their Female Off-spring, and they cut off and sear their Right, that they may draw their Bows, and likewise cast their Darts with the greater ease. *Thalestris* looked at the King with an undaunted Countenance, and narrowly viewed his Person, which did not come up to the Fame of his great Exploits; for the *Barbarians* have a great Veneration for a Majestical Presence, esteeming them only capable of performing great Actions, whom Nature has favoured with an extraordinary Personage. Being asked by the King, whether she had any Thing to desire of him? She did not boggle to tell him, That her Errand was to have Children by him, she being worthy to bring him Heirs to his Dominions; as for the Female Sex, she would retain that herself, and restore the Male to the Father. Hereupon *Alexander* asked her If she would accompany him in his Wars? To which she excused herself, with her having left no Body to take Care of her Kingdom: Her Passion being greater than

the King's, obliged him to stay here a little while, so that he entertained her thirteen Days to gratify her Desire; after which she returned to her Kingdom, and the King marched into *Parthia*.

C H A P. VI.

The Macedonians are offended at Alexander's Way of Living, but to put a Stop to their Mutiny, he prepares to make War against Bessus. He begins it by a Stratagem. Pursues Satibarzanes the first, because he had quitted his Party. He drives the Barbarians from the Mountains, and takes the City of Artacana.

IT was in this Place he became [a Prey to all his Passions, changing into Pride and Immodesty that Moderation and Continnence he was before admired for; and which are Virtues the most necessary in an exalted Fortune. He now looked upon the Manners, Dress, and wholesome Discipline of the Kings of *Macedon*, as Things beneath his Grandeur, and therefore emulated the *Persian* Pomp which seemed to vie with the Majesty of the Gods themselves. He began to suffer the Conquered of so many Nations to prostrate themselves on the Ground, and worship him, and hoped by Degrees to enure them to servile Offices, and make them like Slaves. He wore about his Head a purple Diadem, intermixed with white, and took the *Persian* Habit, without fearing the Omen of passing out of the Dress and distinguishing Tokens of the Conqueror, into those of the Conquered; nay, he would say himself, That he wore the *Persian* Spoils, but the Misfortune was, that he, at the same Time, imbibed their Manners, for the outward Magnificence of Apparel was followed by an inward Insolence of Mind: And, notwithstanding he still sealed those Letters he sent into *Europe*, with his usual Seal; yet he affixed that of *Darius* to all those he sent into *Asia*; it appearing plainly from thence, that one Mind was not capable of the Fortune of both; He obliged also his Friends,

his Captains and chief Officers of his Army to dress after the *Persian* Manner; and tho' within themselves they despised the same, yet they did not dare to refuse complying, for Fear of incurring his Displeasure. The same Number of Concubines that *Darius* had, viz. three hundred and sixty, filled the Royal Palace, and these were attended by Crowds of Eunuchs, who were themselves accustomed to supply the Place of Women.

The old Soldiers who had served under *Philip*, publicly detested this Luxury, and foreign Excesses, as being altogether Strangers to such Voluptuousness, insomuch that it was the general Talk throughout the Camp, That more was lost by the Victory than gained by the War, since they might properly be said to be conquered themselves, when they were thus enslaved to foreign Customs and Manners; and, in fine, all the Reward they were like to receive for their long Absence from their native Country, was to return Home in Captive Habits: That it was high Time for them to be ashamed of themselves, when they saw their King affect to resemble rather the Conquer'd than the Conquerors, and of King of *Macedonia* become one of *Darius's* Satraps.

As *Alexander* was not ignorant that his Behaviour displeased his chief and best Friends, as well as his Army in general, he endeavoured to recover their Affection by his Liberality and Bounty; but the Rewards of Servitude are always disagreeable to free and noble Souls; that therefore the Discontent might not break out into Sedition, he thought it adviseable to put an End to these Effects of Idleness by the Toils of War.

Bessus had now assumed the Royal Robes, and ordered himself to be called *Artaxerxes*, and was gathering together the *Scythians*, and the other Inhabitants along the *Tanais*. *Satibarzanes* was the Person that gave him this Account, whom he had taken into his Protection, confirming to him the Government he held before: But finding his Army heavy laden with rich Spoils, and other Materials of Luxury, which was a great Hin-

drance to their Expedition in their Movements, he first ordered his own Baggage to be brought into the Middle of the Plain, and then that of all the rest of the Army, excepting only what was absolutely necessary.

The Plain into which the laden Carriages were brought, was very spacious and large: Every one now impatiently expecting what would be his next Command, he ordered the Cattle to be taken away, and then setting Fire to his own Baggage, he commanded the rest to do the like to theirs. It was a great Mortification to set Fire themselves to those Things they had so often rescued from the Flames the Enemy had kindled to destroy them; yet no Body dared to lament the loss of the Reward of his Blood, seeing the King's Furniture underwent the same Fate.

This done, *Alexander* made a short Speech to them, which alleviated their Grief, and they were now pleased to find themselves more fit for the Service of the War, and more ready upon all Occasions; rejoicing, that by the Loss of their Baggage, they had preserved their Discipline. They therefore began their March towards *Bactriana*; but *Nicanor*, *Parmenio's* Son, being snatched away by sudden Death, was a great Affliction to the whole Army. The King was more grieved thereat than any Body, and would fain have stopt there some Time, that he might be present at the Funeral himself, but the Scarcity of Provisions obliged him to hasten his March; leaving therefore *Philotas*, with two Thousand six Hundred Men, to perform the Funeral Rites to his Brother, while he with the rest of the Army advanced towards *Bessus*. As he was upon his March, he received Advice from the Neighbouring *Satraps*, that *Bessus* was advancing towards him with an Army in a hostile Manner; and that *Satibarzanes*, whom he had lately confirmed in his Government over the *Arians*, was also revolted from him.

Hereupon notwithstanding he was intent upon *Bessus*, yet judging it more adviseable to suppress *Satibarzanes* first, he took with him the light-armed Foot, and the Cavalry

ally, and marching with the utmost diligence all the Night, he came unexpectedly upon him. *Satibarzanes* being informed of his Arrival, took along with him two Thousand Horse (for a greater Number could not be got together in the Hurry and Confusion he was in) fled to *Bactriana*, the rest of his Party saved themselves in the neighbouring Mountains: There was a Rock, which, towards the West, was very steep, but to the Eastward was of a more easy and gentle Descent, being covered with Wood, and having a Fountain from whence the Water ran in great Abundance; it was two and thirty Furlongs in Circumference, the Top of it was a green Plain. Here they placed the useless Multitude, while they employed themselves in casting Stocks of Trees and great Stones upon the Enemy. They were about thirteen Thousand Men in Arms.

Alexander having left *Craterus* to continue the Siege of the Rock, made all the Haste he could to overtake *Satibarzanes*, but understanding he had gained too much Ground of him, he returned to the Siege of those who had posted themselves on the Mountains. At his Arrival he commanded the Army to clear that Part of the Way to the Rock, which was anywise practicable, but when this was done, unpassable Rocks, and Precipices presented themselves afresh, so that their Labour seemed to be lost, where Nature itself opposed the Undertaking, as his Mind was framed to struggle with the greatest Difficulties, finding it was impossible to advance, and dangerous to retire back, he applied his Thoughts to all Manner of Contrivances, and he no sooner rejected one, but his Mind suggested him another. As he was still labouring to find out an Expedient for his Purpose, Nature supplied the Deficiency of Reason. The Wind was Westward and blew very fresh, and the Soldiers had cut down a great deal of Wood, thereby to open themselves a Passage thro' the Rocks, and the vehement Heat of the Sun had dried the Wood. *Alexander* therefore caused a great Pile to be made that the Fire might not want Fuel

to nourish it; at last so many Trees were heaped upon one another that they equalled in Height the Top of the Mountain; then he ordered this huge Pile to be set on Fire on all Sides: The Wind carried the Flame into the Enemies Faces, and the Smoke, like a black Cloud, darkened the very Skies; the Woods rung with the Crackling caused by the Flames, which were now no longer confined to the Soldiers Pile, but communicated themselves to the next growing Trees. The *Barbarians*, to avoid the greatest Torments, endeavoured to make their Escape thro' any Part of the Wood, that was not yet on Fire, but where the Flame yet granted them a Passage, the Enemy was ready to receive them, so that there was a horrible Kind of Variety in their Manner of perishing, some cast themselves into the Middle of the Flames, and some flung themselves headlong from the Rocks, while others exposed themselves to the Fury of the Soldiers; a few that were half consumed with Fire were taken Prisoners.

From hence *Alexander* returned to *Craterus*, who was at present besieging *Artacana*, he had prepared every Thing for the King's Arrival, and waited only for his coming to resign to him (as Decency required) the Honour of taking the Town. *Alexander* therefore ordered the Towers to be advanced to the Walls of the Place, at the Sight whereof the *Barbarians* were seized with such a Consternation, that extending their Hands upon the Walls in a suppliant Manner, they intreated him to turn his Anger upon *Satibarzanes*, the Author of the Defection, and grant them his Pardon, who laid themselves at his Mercy. Hereupon the King not only pardoned them, but raised the Siege, and restored to the Inhabitants all that belonged to them. Upon his leaving this Place, he was met by a fresh Supply of Recruits: *Zoilus* brought with him out of *Greece* five hundred Horse, and *Antipater* had sent three Thousand more from *Illyrium*; *Philip* had likewise with him one Hundred and Thirty *Thessalian* Troopers; there came also from *Lydia* two Thou-

Thousand six Hundred Foot and three Hundred Horse of the same Nation. Being reinforced with these Troops he advanced into the Country of the *Dranga*, who are a warlike Nation, and were at this Time under the Government of *Barzaentes* who was concerned with *Bessus* in the Treason against *Darius*. This Traitor, to avoid the Punishment due to his Crime, was fled to *India*

CHAP. VII.

Dymnus discovers to Nichomachus a Conspiracy against Alexander, and Nichomachus discovers it to Alexander by his Brother Cebalinus; which was the Cause of Dymnus's Death, who destroyed himself with his own Hands.

THE Army had been encamped here nine Days, when the King, who could never be conquered by open Force, had like to have fallen by Domestick Treason.

Dymnus was a Man who had none of the greatest Interest at Court, and entertained at this Time an unwarrantable Passion for a discarded Eunuch, called *Nichomachus*, being entirely subdued thereby, thinking he ingrossed him to himself, coming therefore to the Youth at a certain Time like one astonished (as might be perceived by his Countenance) he took him privately into a Temple, and told him, he had Secrets of the greatest Importance to impart to him; and as the Eunuch was very attentive to what he said, *Dymnus* conjured him by their mutual Love, and the Pledges they had given each other thereof, to give him the Sanction of a solemn Oath, that he would never reveal what he should impart to him. *Nichomachus*, thinking he would communicate nothing to him after so religious a Manner that could be Perjury in him to disclose, swore by the Gods there present, that he would not. Upon this Assurance *Dymnus* told him, there was a Conspiracy against the King which would be put in Execution in three Days, and that he himself was concerned therein, with se-

veral other brave Men of the first Rank. The young Man had no sooner heard this than he let him understand, he had not given his Faith to conceal so black a Treason, and that no Religion could bind him to Secrecy in a Crime of that Nature. Hereupon *Dymnus* was in a Manner distracted, between Love and Fear, and taking the Eunuch by the Hand, with Tears in his Eyes, first intreated him to be concerned in the Enterprize; or, if he could not do that, at least, that he would not betray him, of whose Affection, among other Instances, he had this strong Proof, That he entrusted him with his Life.

The Youth persisting in an obstinate Abhorrence of the Design, *Dymnus* threatened to kill him, telling him, the Conspirators would begin their glorious Undertaking with his Death; some Times he called him effeminate Coward, and some Times Betrayer of his Friend. Then he tried to move him by large Promises, even that of a Kingdom, but finding him no Way to be prevailed upon, he drew his Sword and put it some Times to the Eunuch's Throat, and some Times to his own, so that at last, what with Threats, and what with Intreaty, he brought him to promise not only to keep the Secret, but also to be concerned in the Execution thereof: Notwithstanding which, his Mind adhered firmly to its first Resolution, shewing himself thereby worthy to have been virtuous and chaste. However, he feigned himself so enslaved by his Love for *Dymnus*, that he could refuse him nothing, and then desired to know, who were his Partners in this Undertaking, for he said, it was of the greatest Importance, with whom he embarked in a Design of this Nature.

Dymnus, who was infatuated with his Passion and Crime, returned him Thanks, and at the same Time congratulated him, That being himself a brave Youth, he did not scruple to associate himself with *Demetrius*, one of the King's Guards, *Peucolaus* and *Nicanor*; he added to these, *Aphabetus*, *Locus*, *Dioxenus* and *Amynas*. *Nichomachus*, after this, being dismissed by him, imme-

immediately repaired to his Brother *Cebalinus*, and imparted to him what he had heard. It was agreed between them, that the Informer should remain in the Tent, for Fear if he should be seen in the King's Apartment, not being used to have Admittance there, the Conspirators should conclude they were betray'd. *Cebalinus* himself waited without the Porch (not being allowed a nearer Access) expecting the coming in or out of some of those who were familiar with the King, to introduce him to his Majesty. It happened that *Philotas*, *Parmenio's* Son, upon some unknown Account, remained last with the King; *Cebalinus* therefore (at his coming out) with all the outward Marks of Grief and Disturbance, communicated to him what his Brother had told him, and begged of him to acquaint the King therewith, as soon as possible: *Philotas* commending his Fidelity, immediately went back to the King, and having discoursed with him on several other Things, did not so much as mention what *Cebalinus* had informed him of. At Night as *Philotas* was coming out of the Palace, the young Man who waited for him in the Porch, asked him, Whether he had acquitted himself of his Promise, in Reference to what he had intrusted him with? *Philotas* excused himself to him, and told him, that the King was so taken up with other Affairs that he had not an Opportunity to do it.

Cebalinus therefore attended again the next Day, and as *Philotas* was going to the King, he put him in Mind of what he had told him the Day before, and *Philotas* promised him afresh to take care of it; however, he did not then neither acquaint the King therewith. *Cebalinus* hereupon began to distrust him, and thinking it to no Purpo'e to trouble him any farther, he addressed himself to *Metron*, Master of the King's Armory, and imparted to him what he had told *Philotas*. *Metron* immediately hid *Cebalinus* in the Armory, and repaired to the King (who was then bathing himself) and informed him of what he had heard. The King presently sent Guards to seize

Dymnus, and then came into the Armory, whom as soon as *Cebalinus* saw, transported with Joy, he told him, he was glad he had found a Means to save him from the wicked Designs of his Enemies.

Alexander having duly inquired into the whole Matter, asked *Cebalinus*, How long it was since *Nichomachus* had given him this Information? To which he answered, That it was now the third Day. *Alexander* concluding, that he could not conceal it so long without being guilty himself, commanded him to be secured; but *Cebalinus* declaring loudly, That the Moment he heard of it, he had acquainted *Philotas* himself; the King farther inquired, Whether he had pressed *Philotas* to impart it to him? Which *Cebalinus* affirming to have done, *Alexander* lifting his Hand to Heaven, with Tears in his Eyes, complained highly of the Ingratitude of the Person whom he had honoured with the first Place in his Friendship.

In the mean Time *Dymnus*, who was not ignorant on what Account he was sent for by the King, wounded himself grievously with his Sword, but being hindered by the Guards from killing himself outright, they brought him to the Palace, where the King fixing his Eyes upon him, said to him, 'What great Mischief have I done to thee, *Dymnus*, that *Philotas* should seem to thee 'worthier of the Kingdom of *Macedon* 'than myself?' *Dymnus's* Speech now failed him, so that giving a great Groan, and turning his Face from the King, he fell down dead.

The King afterwards sent for *Philotas*, who being come, he said to him, 'That *Cebalinus*, who would deserve the worst of 'Punishments, if he should have concealed 'two Days together the Knowledge of a 'Conspiracy against my Life; casts the 'Blame upon *Philotas*, to whom (he says) 'he immediately gave an Account thereof: 'The easy Access you have to my Person 'makes your Guilt the greater, if you 'winked at it; and, I must own, it would 'have better become *Cebalinus* than you to 'have been so negligent in a Matter of that

Con-

Consequence. You have a favourable Judge, if you can, with Justice, deny what you ought not to have committed. To this *Philotas*, without the least Sign of Fear, as far as could be perceived by his Countenance, replied, 'That it was true *Cebaltes* had acquainted him with the regardless Information of a sorry Catamite, which the Inconsiderableness of the Author made him think not worthy of Credit, since he thought he should by such a Discovery only expose himself to the Laughter of the more Judicious. However, since *Dymnus* had killed himself, how groundless soever the Account might be, he owned it ought not to have been concealed; then, embracing the King, he begged of him to have a greater Regard to his past Life, than to a Fault which consisted only in Silence, and not in any Matter of Fact.' I cannot determine whether the King really credited what he said, or only suppressed his Anger, but it is certain he gave him his Right Hand as a Pledge of his being reconciled to him, and told him, 'He looked upon him rather to have depised the Information than to have concealed it.'

C H A P. VIII.

Philotas, the Son of Parmenio, who was suspected of being the Author of the Conspiracy against Alexander, is taken by the Advice of the King's Friends, and brought to the Palace with his Head covered.

THIS did not however hinder the King from calling a Council of his Friends, to which *Philotas* was not summoned, and *Nichomachus* was brought before them. Here he related all that he had told the King. *Craterus* was of the Number of those the King had the greatest Esteem for, and on that Account, somewhat jealous of *Philotas's* Interest. Moreover, he was not insensible, that *Philotas* had often tired the King's Ears with extravagant Exaggerations of his Behaviour and Service, who, tho' he

did not on that Score, suspect him to be evilly disposed, yet he thought him a little too arrogant. *Craterus* therefore, thinking he could not have a more favourable Opportunity to suppress his Rival, covering his Hatred with the specious Appearance of Zeal and Piety, said, *Would to God, Sir, you had deliberated with us at first, concerning this Affair; we had then endeavoured to persuade you (if you were resolved to pardon Philotas) to have let him remained in Ignorance, how much he was indebted to you, rather than (having brought him in Fear of his Life) force him to make deeper Reflections on his own Danger, than on your Goodness; for he may always have it his Power to conspire against you, tho' you may not always be able to pardon him. Do not therefore imagine, that he who dared to undertake so foul a Crime, can be altered in his Disposition by a Pardon: He knows very well, that they who by unpardonable Faults have exhausted your Mercy, have no Room left to hope for it any more; and admitting he may be altered by Repentance, or overcome by your Clemency; yet I am sure his Father, Parmenio, who has the Command of so great an Army, and is in so confirmed a Credit with the Soldiers, in fine, who in Point of Authority with them, is little inferior to yourself, will not be very well pleased to stand indebted to you for the Life of his Son. There are some Kindnesses which we hate; a Man is always ashamed to confess he had deserved Death. He would therefore rather have the World think you have done him an Injury, than given him his Life. From whence I infer, that you will be forced to contend with them for your Safety. There are still Enemies enow to encounter with; secure therefore your Person against domestick Treasons: These once removed, I fear no foreign Evil.* This was *Craterus's* Sentiment. The rest were of Opinion, He would never have stifled a Discovery of that Moment, unless he were either Principal in the Conspiracy, or an Accomplice: For, (said they) who that had the least Spark of Piety or good Disposition (tho' he were not of the Band of your Friend,

Friends, as he was, but of the Dregs of the People) having heard what he had been told, would not have presently run to the King and acquainted him therewith? But he who was Parmenio's Son, General of the Horse, and privy to the King's most secret Affairs, could not so much as imitate Cebalinus's Example, who the Moment he was informed by his Brother of the Danger, came and declared the same to him; nay he was so far from detecting the Mischief himself, that he pretended the King was not at Leisure, for fear the Informer should address himself to some Body else, and so the Villany might come to light. Nichomachus, notwithstanding his Oath to the Gods, made all the haste he could to discharge his Conscience; but Philotas having passed the best part of the Day in Merriment with the King, could not find in his Heart to add to his other long, and perhaps superfluous Discourses, a few Words of the greatest Moment and Importance to the King's Safety. But admit, (say they) that he did not give Credit to the Report on the Account of the Youth of the Informers, what then made him keep them in Suspence for two Days, as if he had believed it? Certainly he ought to have dismissed Cebalinus, if he Slighted his Information. Every Man in his own private Peril, may rely upon his Bravery and Courage; but where the King's Safety is in Danger, we ought there to be credulous, and not despise even false Discoveries. They all, therefore agreed, he ought to be compelled to declare his Confederates. The King having commanded them not to divulge this Matter, dismissed them. And that he might not give the least Suspicion of his new Measures, he gave publick Notice, that the Army should decamp the next Day. He also invited Philotas to his last Supper, and vouchsafed not only to eat, but also to converse familiarly with him he had already condemned.

At the second Watch, *Hephestion*, *Craterus*, *Canus* and *Erigyus*, of the Band of

his Friends, and *Perdiccas* and *Leonatus* his Esquires, attended by a few others entered the Palace without Lights, and presently gave Orders to the Guards to be armed all the Time they were upon Duty. Soldiers were now planted at all the Avenues, and some Horse were ordered to Guard the Roads, that no Body might escape to *Parmenio*, who was then Governor of *Media*, and had the Command of a great Army. *Attarras*, at this Time entered the Palace with three hundred armed Men, unto whom were appointed ten of those that had the Guard of the King's Person, who were every one followed by ten of those called Men at Arms. These were sent to seize the other Conspirators, and *Attarras* going with three hundred Men to take *Philotas*, made Choice of fifty of the most resolute amongst them, and broke open his Door, having placed the rest round the House, to prevent his making his Escape. But *Philotas* was in a profound Sleep, either from the Consciousness of his Innocency, or from some Fatigue, so that *Attarras* seized him in that Condition. Being now awaked as they were putting him in Chains, he cried out; *The Bitterness of my Enemies Malice, O King, has overcome thy Goodness.* Having uttered these Words, they covered his Head, and brought him to the Palace. The next Day the King commanded the *Macedonians*, to appear at the Palace with their Arms; they amounted to about six thousand Men, besides a Crowd of Rabble and Camp-followers. The Men at Arms concealed *Philotas* among their Body, that he might not be seen publicly, till the King had spoke to the Soldiers; it being an antient Custom with the *Macedonians*, for the Army to judge of Capital Crimes in Time of War, and the People in Time of Peace, so that the King's Power signified nothing unless he first persuaded them of his Opinion. *Dymnus* his Body was first brought before them, the major Part being ignorant what was his Crime, or how he came to be killed.

C H A P. IX.

Alexander's Speech to the Soldiers, wherein he complains of the Treason of Philotas, who being brought before them, prepares to make his Defence.

THIS being done, the King came out to the Army, shewing in his Countenance all the Tokens of an afflicted Mind; the general Sadness of all his Friends at the same Time, gave them no small Expectation of the Event. The King remained some Time with his Eyes fixed on the Ground, as if he was astonished and dismayed: At last, recovering his Spirits, he expressed himself thus: *I had like, Soldiers, to have been snatched from you by the wicked Contrivance of a few Persons. It is by the Providence and Mercy of the Gods, that I am now alive. Your venerable Aspect inflames my Anger still the more, against the execrable Parricides; for the greatest, nay, the only Advantage I propose to myself from Life, is, that I am able to return Thanks to so many gallant Men, who have deserved well of me.* Here he was interrupted by the Soldiers Lamentations, and every Bodies Eyes were now filled with Tears. Then continuing his Speech, he said, *If what I have already told you raises such Emotions in you, how much greater shall I excite when I shew you the Authors of this horrible Design? I tremble at the mentioning of them, and as if it were still possible to save them, I am unwilling to declare their Names: However, I must overcome my former Friendship for them, and let you know who these impious Wretches are; for which Way can I conceal so abominable a Crime? Know then, Soldiers, that Parmenio in his advanced Age, loaded with my Father's and my Favours, and the most antient of all my Friends, is the chief Leader in this detestable Enterprize, and Philotas has been the Instrument to corrupt Peucolaus, Demetrius, and Dymnus (whose Body lies there before you) and several others equally mad, to be Partners with him in taking away my*

Life. At these Words the whole Camp was in an Uproar, complaining with the utmost Indignation, against the detestable Plot, after the Manner of Soldiers, when they are either moved by Affection or Anger. Then Nicomachus, Metron, and Cebalinus were produced, and each declared to the Army their respective Informations: But not one of them in his Evidence charged Philotas to have any Hand in the Conspiracy; so that the Anger of the Assembly being appeased, they remained silent, after the Informers Declaration: But the King immediately asked them, 'What his Design could be, who could suppress an Information of this Nature? That it was not ill grounded, appeared sufficiently from Dymnus's killing himself: And Cebalinus, as uncertain as he was of the Truth of the Matter, did not refuse being tortured to verify he had received such an Account from his Brother; and Metron did not delay one Moment to discharge himself of the Trust reposed in him, inasmuch that he broke into the Place where I was bathing. Philotas was the only Person amongst them all that feared nothing, nor believed any Thing. What a Hero is he! Had he been touched with the Danger of his Sovereign, would he have heard it unmoved, without the least Token of Concern? Would he not have lent an attentive Ear to an Accusation of that Importance? The Matter is this, his Crime lay lurking under his Silence, and the greedy Hopes of a Kingdom, drove him headlong on the worst of Villanies. His Father commands in Media, and he himself is in that powerful Station with me that relying on his Interest with my Officers, he aspired to greater Things than he was capable of. I suppose my having no Issue, made him despise me: But Philotas is mistaken, for you yourselves are my Children, Parents, and Relations: While you are safe, I cannot be destitute of either.' After this, he read to them an intercepted Letter of Parmenio's to his Sons Nicanor and Philotas, which certainly did not contain in express Terms, any criminal Matter;

Matter; for the Substance of it was this: *First, take Care of yourselves, and then of those under you: By these means we shall compass our Desires.* Here the King took Notice, 'That he writ after this obscure Manner, that if it came safe to his Sons, it might be understood by their Accomplishes, and in case it was intercepted, it might deceive the Ignorant; but it may be objected, that *Dymnus*, in his Discovery of the Conspirators, made no Mention of *Philotas*. Yet, this itself, is not so much an Argument of his Innocency, as of his Power; for it shews he was so much feared, even by those he might have betrayed, that at the same Time they confess themselves guilty, they don't so much as dare to name him. However, *Philotas's* Life sufficiently detects him; for when *Amynas*, my Kinsman, conspired against me in *Macedonia*, he was not only privy to it, but also a Confederate. Moreover, he married his Sister to *Attalus*, than whom I have not had a greater Enemy: And when I writ to him, out of Familiarity and Friendship, to acquaint him with the Report of the Oracle of *Jupiter-Hammon*, he made no Scruple to return me this answer, *That he rejoiced that I was received into the Number of the Gods, yet he could not but pity those who were to live under a Prince that exceeded the Condition of Man.* These are plain Indications, that his Mind has been long since alienated from me, and that he envied my Glory. Notwithstanding all these Provocations, Soldiers, I have endeavoured to put a good Construction upon them as long as I could; for I thought it was rending some Part of my Bowels from me, to discard those I had heaped so many Favours upon: But the Case is altered, it is no longer Words we have to resent: The Temerity of the Tongue has proceeded to the Execution of the Sword; which, if you dare believe me, *Philotas* has been sharpening against me. If he has been guilty of these Things, whither shall I fly, Soldiers? Whom shall I intrust with my Life? I made him General of my Cavalry, which

is the chief Part of my Army, and placed him at the Head of the noblest Youth in Europe: I committed to his Custody my Safety, Hopes, and Victories. Besides all which, I have advanced his Father to the same Pitch of Grandeur, almost to which you have raised myself: I have made him Governor of *Media*, than which there is not a richer Country, and have intrusted him with the Command of many considerable Cities, and so many Thousands of our Associates: From whence I expected, upon Occasion, my chief Support, Soldiers, I have found the greatest Danger. How much happier had I been had I fallen in Battle, a Prey to my Enemies, rather than the Victim of a Citizen! but I have escaped those Dangers, which I only feared, and have fallen into those I did not in the least suspect. You have often exhorted me, Soldiers, to take Care of my Safety: It lies in your Power now, to secure it, whatever you advise me to do, I'll do. It is to yourselves, and your Arms, I have Recourse for my Protection, I would not be safe against your Wills; and if you desire I should, I cannot be so, unless you vindicate my Cause.

Hereupon he ordered *Philotas* to be brought forth, he had his Hands tied behind him, and his Head covered with an Oil Veil. It was easily perceivable they were moved at so lamentable a Disguise, tho' therefore they used to behold him with Envy. They had seen him the Day before, General of the Horse; they knew he had supped with the King, and now on the sudden they saw him not only accused, but condemned and bound. They also reflected on the hard Fortune of *Purmenio*, who was not only a great Captain, but an illustrious Citizen, and had not only the Misfortune to lose two of his Sons lately, *viz. Hector* and *Nicanor*; but now stood accused in his Absence, with the only Son he had left.

Amynas therefore, perceiving the Multitude inclined to Pity, endeavoured to exasperate them again, telling them, 'They were all betrayed to the Barbarians; that none of them would return to their Wives,

‘ their Country, or their Friends; that they
 ‘ should be like the Body without a Head;
 ‘ without Life or Name, a mere Sport, in a
 ‘ strange Country, to their Enemies.’ This
 Speech was not so acceptable to the King, as
Amyntas expected; because, by putting them
 in Mind of their Wives and Country, it
 cooled their Courage to after Expeditions.
 Then *Crenus*, notwithstanding he had mar-
 ried *Philotas*’s Sister, inveighed against him
 more than any Body, and declared him to
 be the Parricide of his King, Country, and
 of the whole Army, and taking up a Stone
 that lay at his Feet, was going to fling it
 at his Head, desiring thereby, as some
 thought, to secure him from future Tor-
 ments; but the King laying hold of his
 Hand, hindered him, telling him, ‘ He
 ‘ ought to have the Liberty to plead, with-
 ‘ out which he would not suffer him to be
 ‘ judged.’ *Philotas* being accordingly or-
 dered to speak for himself, was so stupified;
 either from the Guilt of his Conscience, or
 the Greatness of the Danger he was in, that
 he could neither lift up his Eyes, nor so
 much as utter the least Syllable, but burst
 out into Tears, and fainting away, fell into
 the Arms of him that held him. After-
 wards, having recovered his Spirits and
 Speech, he wiped away his Tears, and
 seemed to prepare himself to speak. Then
 the King turning to him, said, *The Mace-*
donians are to be your Judges; I desire to
know, whether you design to speak to them
in your Country Language or not. To
 which *Philotas* replied, *Here are a great*
many others here besides the Macedonians,
who I believe will understand me better, if
I use the same Tongue you yourself spoke in,
for no other Reason, as I suppose, than
that you might be understood by the greater
Number. The King then bid them take
 Notice, how he even hated his Country’s
 Tongue, which no Body disdained but him-
 self; but let him use what Language he
 pleases, so you do but remember that he
 equally abhors our Manners and our Speech.
 Which said, he withdrew.

C H A P. X.

*The Apologetick Speech of Philotas, by
 which he fully refutes the Accusation
 formed against him.*

THEN *Philotas* began, ‘ It is an easy
 ‘ Matter for the Innocent to find
 ‘ Words, but it is very hard for a Man in
 ‘ Distress to moderate them; so that between
 ‘ the Innocence of my Conscience, and the
 ‘ Severity of my Fortune, I am at a Stand
 ‘ how to suit my Discourse both to my
 ‘ Mind and Circumstances. He that is my
 ‘ properest and best Judge, has withdrawn
 ‘ himself; why he would not hear what I
 ‘ had to say, I cannot imagine, since after
 ‘ he had heard both Parties, he had it still
 ‘ in his Power as well to condemn as absolve
 ‘ me; whereas if he does not hear what I
 ‘ say in my Defence, I cannot hope to be
 ‘ discharged by him in his Absence, who
 ‘ condemned me while present; but not-
 ‘ withstanding the Defence of a Man in
 ‘ Chains, is not only superfluous, but also
 ‘ odious, since it does not so much inform as
 ‘ seem to reprove his Judge: Yet in what
 ‘ Manner soever I am obliged to speak, I
 ‘ shall not desert my own Cause; neither
 ‘ shall I give any Body Leave to say, that I
 ‘ condemned myself. What my Crime is I
 ‘ cannot tell, not one of the Conspirators
 ‘ so much as names me: *Nichomachus* has
 ‘ given no Information against me; and
 ‘ *Cebalimus* could not know more than he
 ‘ had been told. All which, notwithstanding,
 ‘ the King believes me to be the Contriver
 ‘ and chief Manager of the Conspiracy:
 ‘ It is likely *Dymnus* would pass over him,
 ‘ whose Directions he followed? More
 ‘ especially when being asked, *Who the*
 ‘ *Confederates were*, I ought (tho’ falsely)
 ‘ to have been named, for the greater En-
 ‘ couragement of him who seemed to be
 ‘ afraid: For having discovered the Plot, it
 ‘ cannot be thought he omitted my Name,
 ‘ that he might spare an Accomplice; for

‘ when

when he confessed the Matter to *Nichomachus*, who he thought would not divulge Secrets relating to himself, he named all the rest without making the least Mention of me. Pray, Brother Soldiers, if *Cebalinus* had not addressed himself to me, and had had no Mind I should know any Thing of the Matter, should I, To-day, be making my Defence, without having been so much as named by any of the Informers? It is a very likely Matter that he that does not conceal himself should spare me! Calamity is spiteful, and most commonly he that suffers for his own Guilt, is well enough pleas'd if others should suffer the same Fate. Shall so many guilty Persons, when put upon the Rack, refuse to tell the Truth? It is observed, that no Body spares him that is to die, and for my Part, I believe he that is to die, spares no Body. I must therefore come to my true Crime, and the only Thing I can be charged with. Why did you then conceal the Treason? Why did you hear it without any Concern? Of what Force soever this may be, you pardoned it, *Alexander*, upon my Confession, wherever you are, and having given me your Right-Hand as a Pledge of your Reconciliation, I was one of them that supped with you that Night. If you believed what I said, I am cleared; if you pardoned me, I am discharged. Stand at least to your own Judgment. What Crime have I committed since last Night, that I left your Table? What new Crime have you been informed of to make you alter your Mind? I was in a profound Sleep, not dreaming of my Misfortunes, when my Enemies, by their binding me, wak'd me! How came it to pass, pray, that a Parricide and a Traitor slept so quietly? For a guilty Conscience will not suffer its wicked Owners to be at Rest. The Furies distract their Minds, not only while they are contriving the Parricide, but even after they have put it in Execution. My Security was grounded first upon my Innocency, and next on your Right-Hand. I was not afraid other Peoples Cruelty

should have more Power with you than your own Clemency. However, that you may have no Reason to repent you believed me, do but reflect that the Information was brought to me by a Youth, who could bring no Witness, nor Security of the Truth of what he said, and yet would have filled the Palace with Apprehensions had he been heard. Unhappy Man that I am! I thought my Ears had been impos'd upon by a trifling Quarrel between the Lover and his Catamite; and I distrusted the Truth of the Information, because he did not give it in himself, but sent it by his Brother. Besides, I could not tell but he might disown having sent *Cebalinus* on any such Account, and then I should have been suspected to have contrived it on Purpose to bring several of the King's Friends into Trouble. Thus, altho' I have offended no Body, I have found Enemies that wish my Ruin, rather than my Safety. How much Ill-will should I have procured myself, had I provoked so many innocent Persons? But *Dymnus* killed himself, it is true, however I could not divine that he would do so. From hence 'tis plain, that the only Thing that gives Credit to the Information, was what I could not any Ways be moved with, when *Cebalinus* communicated it to me. Again, had I been concerned with *Dymnus* in the abominable Treason, I ought not to have dissembled the Matter for two Days, when I knew we were betrayed. It had been the easiest Thing in the World to have dispatched *Cebalinus* out of the Way: Besides, after the Discovery of the Plot, I entered into the King's Chamber alone, and with my Sword by my Side, what then could be my Motive, not to put it in Execution? Did not I dare to go about it without *Dymnus*? At this Rate he must be the chief Conspirator, and *Philotas*, who aspired to the Kingdom of *Macedonia*, depended on him. Now pray tell me yourselves, Which of you have I endeavoured to bring over to my Interest? What Leader or Commander have I chiefly

chiefly courted? It has been objected to
 me, That I despised my Native Language,
 and the Manners of the *Macedonians*:
 This I cannot but own would have been
 a ready Way to have obtained the Crown
 I am said to have thirsted after: You are
 all sensible, that our own Language is
 almost out of Use, by the long Conver-
 sation we have had with Foreigners, and
 the Conquerors, as well as the Van-
 quished, have been obliged to learn a
 new Expression. These Charges do not
 affect me any more than *Antistates*'s rea-
 sonable Practices against the King, with
 whom I do not disown to have had a
 Friendship, but I cannot think myself
 guilty on that Account, unless it be a
 Crime for us to love the King's Brother:
 But, if on the contrary, we were obliged
 to respect a Man in that high Station,
 pray tell me, How I am guilty since I
 could not divine it was flagitious? Must
 the innocent Friends of the Guilty be
 involved in their Ruin? If that be reason-
 able, Why have I lived so long? If it be
 unreasonable, Why must I now at last
 suffer for it? Oh! but I writ in my Let-
 ter, *That I pitied those who were to live*
under him, who believed himself Jupi-
ter's Son. It is true, and you yourselves
 forced me not to conceal my Thoughts.
 I do not deny that I writ thus to the King,
 but I did not write so to any Body else of
 the King; I therefore did not seek to cre-
 ate him Ill-will; but, on the contrary, I
 had a tender Care for him, I thought it was
 more worthy *Alexander* to be satisfied
 within himself of his divine Extraction,
 than to boast of it publickly: And, be-
 cause the Oracle is infallible, I'll wil-
 lingly rely on the Testimony of the God:
 Let me be a Prisoner till *Hannibal* is con-
 sulted about the secret and mysterious
 Crime. Certainly he that has acknow-
 ledged our King for his Son, will not suffer
 any that have conspired against his Off-
 spring to remain undetected; but, if you
 look upon Torments to be more certain in
 this Case than the Oracle, I do not even
 refuse that Testimony of my Innocency.

It is usual for those who are accused of
 capital Crimes to exhibit their Parents or
 next Relations as Pledges for them, but I
 have lost my two Brothers lately, and I
 cannot at this Distance produce my Father,
 neither dare I name him, since he is equally
 accused with me; for it seems it is not
 enough for him to be deprived of so many
 Children as he had, and to have but one
 left to comfort him in his old Age, unless
 that be also taken from him, and he him-
 self perish with him in the same Pile.
 Must you then, dear Father, not only die for
 me, but also with me? I am the unhappy
 Wretch that takes away your Life, and
 puts a final Period to your old Age!
 Why did you beget me in the Displeasure
 of the Gods? I cannot determine whether
 my Youth be more miserable, or your grey
 Hairs: I am snatched away in the Bloom
 of my Years, and the Executioner must
 put an End to your Days, whom the
 Course of Nature would have taken out
 of the Way, had Fortune had but a little
 Patience. The Mention I make of my
 Father puts me in Mind how cautious I
 ought to have been in communicating
Cebalinus's Information; for *Parnenio*
 being advised that *Philip* was bribed to
 Poison the King, writ a Letter on Purpose
 to dissuade him from taking the Medicine
 he prepared for him; was there any Cre-
 dit given to my Father in this Case? Had
 his Letter any Authority with the King?
 Nay, how many Times have I myself
 been ridiculed for my Credulity, when
 I have imparted what I heard? Now if
 we must be odious when we inform, and
 suspected when we conceal, because we
 don't give Credit to the Discovery, what
 must we do? Here one of the Standers-
 by cry'd out by way of Answer, *Not Plot*
against those who have deserved well of us.
 To which *Phileas* reply'd, 'Thou say'st
 well, whatever thou art, if it therefore
 appears that I have conspired, I don't re-
 fuse to suffer, and so shall conclude my
 Defence, since I find my last Words dis-
 agreeable to you.' This said, they who
 had him in Custody took him away.

C H A P. XL.

The Assembly being stir'd up, by one named Belon, were enraged, and cried out against Philotas; and some Time after Philotas himself, to get rid of his Tortures, discovered the Circumstances of a feigned Conspiracy, and was knocked on the Head with Stones, as were some others accused with him.

THERE was among the Captains one named *Belon*, a very brave, but unpolish'd Man; he had been a long Time in Arms, and from a private Centinel, had rais'd himself to the Post he was then in. This brutishly audacious Officer perceiving the Assembly stood mute, represented to it, That they had frequently been thrust out of their Quarters to make room for the very Scum of *Philotas's* Servants; that the Streets were full of his Waggon's laden with Gold and Silver, and that he would not so much as suffer any of his Fellow Soldiers to be lodg'd near his Quarters, but kept them at a Distance for fear of being disturbed in his Rest, not allowing them even to Whisper, much less make any Noise; that they had been always the Subject of his Ridicule, and were sometimes called by him *Phrygians*, sometimes *Paphlagonians*; and that he was so haughty as to hear his own Countrymen by an Interpreter, What can be his Reason to have *Hammon* consulted, he that did not scruple to tax the Oracle with Lying, when it acknowledged *Alexander* for *Jupiter's* Son; for he had great Reason to fear the King should contract Ill-will by what the Gods themselves bestow'd upon him. He did not consult the Oracle when he conspired against the Life of his Sovereign and Friend, but he would now have it consulted, that in the mean Time his Father, who commands in *Media*, might be solicited, and with the Money he has in his Custody, procure other Desperadoes to associate themselves with him in his Villany. That it was their Business to send to the Oracle, not to be informed of

what the King had told them himself, but to give Thanks to the Gods, and offer up their Vows for their Sovereign's Preservation.

This incens'd the whole Assembly, and the Guards cry'd out, That it belong'd to them to take Satisfaction of the Parricide, and that they ought to tear him in Pieces. *Philotas*, who was afraid of greater Torments, was well enough pleas'd with this saying. The King returning now to the Assembly, adjourn'd the Council to the next Day, either that *Philotas* might be tormented in Prison, or that he might get better Information of the Conspiracy; and notwithstanding the Night drew on, he summon'd his Friends to come to him; the rest of them were for having *Philotas* ston'd to Death, according to the *Macedonian* Custom, but *Hephestion*, *Craterus* and *Cænus*, were of Opinion, that the Truth ought to be forc'd from him by Tortures; and then those who had been of another Sentiment, came over to their Advice. The Council being therefore dismiss'd, *Hephestion*, *Craterus* and *Cænus*, got up in order to have *Philotas* tortur'd, and the King calling *Craterus*, had some private Discourse with him, the Substance whereof was never known, and then retir'd into his Closet, and there remained alone a considerable part of the Night, expecting the Event of the Tortures. The Executioner brought now before *Philotas* all the Instruments of Cruelty, and he of his own accord ask'd them, Why they delay'd killing the King's Enemy and Murderer, who confess'd the Fact? What occasion is there for Torments? I own I contriv'd the Mischief, and would have executed it. Then *Craterus* required he should make the same Confession upon the Rack. While they laid hold of him, and were stripping him and binding his Eyes, he to no purpose call'd upon the Gods of the Country, and the Laws of Nations. They made him pass thro' the severest Torments, as if he had been actually condemn'd, and out of their Zeal for the King's Safety, most miserably tore his Body. And notwithstanding they made use both of Fire and Scourges, rather

rather by the way of Punishment than Examination, he was so far from crying out, that he did not so much as yeild a Groan; but when his Body swelled with Ulcers, and the Scourges cut to the Bones, not being any longer able to contain himself, he promised them, if they would leave off tormenting him, he would discover to them what they desired to know: But he required they should swear by the King's Safety, that they would torture him no more, and that the Executioners should be sent away; both which being granted him, he asked *Craterus*, What he would have him tell him? *Craterus* was very much incensed herat, thinking he mocked him, and called back the Executioners. Then *Philotas* desired a little Time to recover his Spirits, and promised to tell them all that he knew. In the mean Time the chief Officers of the Cavalry, and they who were nearly related to *Parmenio* (hearing that *Philotas* was put upon the Rack, and dreading the *Macedonian* Laws, which ordain, that the near Relations of those that conspire against the King, shall die with them) some killed themselves and others fled to the Mountains and Desarts; the whole Camp was in a Consternation, which the King being informed of, he caused Proclamation to be made, That he remitted the Law relating to the Kindred of Traitors. *Philotas* in the mean Time made the following Confession, that he might not be any more tormented, but whether what he said was true or false, is hard to determine.

' You are not ignorant, said he, how familiar my Father was with *Hegelochus*, I mean that *Hegelochus* that was killed in Battle; he was the Cause of all our Misfortunes, for when the King ordered himself to be saluted *Jupiter's* Son, this Man took it so heinously, that he said, shall we acknowledge him for King, who is ashamed to own *Philip* for his Father? We are undone if we suffer this, for he not only despises Men but the Gods themselves, who desires to be thought a God. We have lost *Alexander*; we have lost our King; he is fallen into that insuffera-

ble Pride that makes him odious, both to the Gods, to whom he equals himself, and to Mankind that he despises. Have we spilt our Blood to make him a God, who now disdains us? Believe me, if we will but shew ourselves Men, we may be also adopted by the Gods. Who revenged the Death of *Alexander*, great Grandfather of our *Alexander*, or that of *Archelaus*, or *Perdiccas*? Nay, has not he himself pardoned those that killed *Philip*? This is what *Hegelochus* said at Supper, and the next Day, early in the Morning, my Father sent for me, he was Melancholy, and saw that I was also sad, for what we had heard made us very uneasy; that therefore we might know whether what he said was the effect of Wine or Premeditation, we sent for him, and being come, he of his own Motion repeated what he had said before, and added, that if we dared to be Leaders in the Enterprize, he claimed the next Place to us; if we did not approve of it, he would faithfully keep our Counsel. *Parmenio* did not think it proper, while *Darius* was alive, since the Enemy would reap the Advantage of *Alexander's* Death, and not we, but *Darius* being dead, *Asia*, and all the East would fall as a Reward to those that should kill the King. The Advice was approved, and Faith mutually promised between the Parties. As for what relates to *Dymnus*, I know nothing of it; and after this Confession, what will it avail me that I am altogether innocent of this last Plot? Then they tormented him afresh, and struck him themselves in the Face and Eyes with their Darts, and at last extorted from him a Confession of that Crime likewise. As they required him to give an orderly Account of the whole Contrivance, he answered, That as it seemed probable that the King would remain a considerable Time in *Bactriana*, he was afraid his Father, who was Seventy Years of Age, and at the Head of a great Army, and had the Custody of a vast Treasure, might die in the mean Time, and then being deprived of such Support

‘ Supports, it would be to no Purpose for
‘ him to kill the King; he therefore de-
‘ signed to hasten the Execution while the
‘ Reward of it was still in his own Hands.
‘ This he said was the whole History of the
‘ Matter, and if they did not believe his
‘ Father to be the Author of it he was
‘ ready to undergo the Tortures again, tho’
‘ he was too weak to bear them.’ Hereupon
they conferred together, and having con-
cluded they had made sufficient Enquiry,
they returned to the King.

The next Day the King ordered his Con-
fession to be read to the Assembly, and be-
cause *Philotas* was not able to go, he caused
him to be brought before it: Here he again
owned it all to be true. They proceeded
next to the Examination of *Demetrius*,
who was accused to be one of the Confede-
rates in the last Conspiracy; but he made
great Protestations, and with an undaunted
Mind and Countenance, deny’d that he
had ever intended any Thing against the
King, and for his greater Justification, he
desired to be tortured. Then *Philotas* cast-
ing his Eyes about, spied a certain Person
named *Calis*, not far from him, and bid
him come nearer. But *Calis* in the utmost

Confusion, refused to do it; so that *Philo-
tas* said to him, Will you suffer *Demetrius*
to lie, and cause me to be tortur’d again?
At these Words *Calis* became Speechless,
and turn’d as pale as if he had no Blood
left in his Body. The *Macedonians* now
began to suspect *Philotas* maliciously ac-
cus’d those that were innocent; because
neither *Nichomachus*, nor *Philotas* in his
Tortures, had named the Youth. How-
ever, when he found himself surrounded by
the King’s Officers, he confessed that both
he and *Demetrius* were guilty. Hereupon
all those who were named by *Nichomachus*,
were according to the *Macedonian* Laws
(upon a Signal given) ston’d to Death.

It is certain the King here ran a great
Risque, both as to his Safety and Life;
for *Parmenio* and *Philotas* were so power-
ful, and so well beloved, that unless it ap-
pear’d plain they were guilty, they could
never have been condemned, without the
Indignation of the whole Army. For while
Philotas deny’d the Fact, he was look’d
upon to be very cruelly handled; but after
his Confession, there was not any one of
his Friends that pity’d him.

The End of the Sixth B O O K.

B O O K. VII. C H A P. I.

*Alexander gives Orders for the Execution of Lyncestes, guilty of Lese - Majesty. He
causes an Information to be made against Amyntas and Simmias, Friends of Philotas.
They defend their Innocence with great Force and Vigour.*

WHILST the Traces of *Philotas*’s
Crime were fresh in their Me-
mory, the Soldiers cry out he was
justly punished; but as soon as the Object of
their Hatred was out of their Sight, that Ha-
tred was turned to Pity. The Merit and
Dignity of the Person whom they had put
to Death in the Flower of his Youth, with
the old Age of the Father, who now saw his

Line extinguished by so tragical an End,
touched them most sensibly. This wise Lea-
der, was the first that opened the King a
Passage into *Asia*, and had shared in all his
Dangers; moreover he always used to Com-
mand one of the Wings of the Army in a
general Engagement. He had been *Philip*’s
chief Favourite, and had shewn himself so
faithful to *Alexander*, that he made Use of

no other Person in the taking off of *Attalus*. These Thoughts came into the Minds of the Army, and their seditious Expressions were brought to the King, who was not in the least moved thereat; as knowing very well that the Vices of Idleness were easily cured by Action. He therefore gave Orders for a general Appearance before his Palace. Here *Apharias* (no doubt as it had been before concerted) desired that *Lyncestes Alexander* (who stood accused of having had a Design to kill the King, a considerable Time before *Philotas*) might be brought to Judgment. Two Persons had informed against him, and it was now the third Year of his Imprisonment on that Account; it was also certain he had conspired with *Pausanias*, against *Philip*; but he having been the first that saluted *Alexander* King, his Punishment had rather been suspended than he cleared: Besides, the King had had some Deference to the Intercession of *Antipater* his Father-in-Law; but now the Resentment that had lain dormant, was revived, and the Solicitude for the present Danger, had renewed the Memory of the past. *Alexander* was therefore brought forth and commanded to make his Defence, which he had been three Years preparing; but being in the utmost Confusion, he with Difficulty pronounced some Part of what he had so long meditated, till at last both his Memory and Mind failed him. All were of Opinion, that this Disorder proceeded from his guilty Conscience, and not from any Defect of Memory, whereupon some of those that stood next to him, run him through as he was still labouring with his Forgetfulness. His Body being carried off, the King commanded *Amyntas* and *Simmas* to be likewise brought forth; for *Polemon* the youngest of the Brothers was fled, upon *Philotas*'s being put to the Torture. These had been *Philotas*'s most intimate Friends, having by his Interest been advanced to honourable Employments; and the King now called to mind how zealous *Philotas* had been in promoting them, and therefore did not doubt, but they were also privy to this

last Plot. So that he told the Assembly, ' That his Mother had long since warn'd ' him by Letters to have a special Care of ' them; but as he was not in his Nature ' prone to put the worst Constructions upon ' Things, he had suspended his Jealousy ' till now he was convinced by Overt- ' Acts; upon which he had ordered them ' to be bound. For it was certain that they ' had had private Conferences with *Philotas* ' the Day before his Treason was discovered. That his Brother's making his ' Escape when *Philotas* was tortured, was a ' sufficient Detection of the Cause of his ' Flight. Moreover, they had lately (con- ' trary to Custom, under the Pretext of ' Officiousness), removed the rest at a ' greater Distance, and placed themselves ' near his Person, without any probable ' Ground for such Proceeding; so that ' being surprized at this their Behaviour ' (especially out of their Time of Wait- ' ing) and alarmed at their unusual Dili- ' gence, he had thought fit to retire to his ' Guards. To all which may be added, that ' when *Antiphanes*, Agent of the Horse, ' required *Amyntas*, the Day before *Philo- ' tas*'s Plot came to light, to supply with ' some of his Horses, as is usual, such as ' had lost theirs, he made him this haughty ' Answer: " That if he did not desist from ' his Demands, he should in a little Time ' know who he had to deal with." ' Be- ' sides the Intemperance of their Tongues, ' and the rash indecent Expressions they used ' concerning him, were so many plain Indi- ' cations of their inveterate Malice against ' him; all which Charges, if true, make ' them deserve the same Punishment that ' *Philotas* had. If they are not true, he re- ' quired they should clear themselves.'

The King having finished his Speech, *Antiphanes* gave an Account of *Amyntas*'s refusing the Horses, and of his haughty menacing Answer. After which, *Amyntas* being allowed to speak for himself, said, If the King be not prejudiced thereby, I desire, that while I plead, I may be unbound: Which the King immediately granted to them both; and *Amyntas* begging also that he

he might also be allowed the usual Marks of his Office, the King ordered his Pike to be restored to him. Then having taking the same in his Left Hand, and removing to some Distance from the Place where *Alexander's* Body had lain a little before, he spoke to this effect, ' Be our Lot what it will, Sir, ' we must now confess, that if it be prosperous, we stand indebted to your Bounty for it; if it be fatal, we shall impute it wholly to Fortune. You allow us to make our Defence without the least prejudice; our Bodies are at liberty, as well as our Minds: You have moreover restored to us, the Tokens we used to bear when we attended you in our respective Posts. We cannot fear our Cause, nor shall we any longer distrust Fortune. But I beg your Leave to Answer first, what you objected last. We are not, Sir, conscious to ourselves, of having said any Thing against your Majesty. I would say, that you have long ago overcome all Envy and Ill-will, if I did not apprehend you would suspect I endeavoured by Flattery, to excuse other malicious Expressions. However, if it has happened that we have let slip any unbecoming Words, when we have been either faint or fatigued; while we were hazarding our Lives, or Sick in our Tents, and dressing our Wounds, I hope we may be allowed to have deserved by our bravery and gallant Behaviour, that those Sayings should be imputed to that particular Circumstance of Time, rather than to any Disaffection in our Minds: In great Misfortunes, all are guilty; for we some times lay violent Hands upon ourselves, tho' we cannot be said to hate our Bodies: In these dismal Conjunctions, the very Sight of our own Parents are not only ungrateful, but odious to us. Again, when we are prosperous, and nobly rewarded for our Service; or when we return laden with Spoils, who can bear us? Who can in that Circumstance moderate his Joy? A Soldier's Anger or Alacrity, never keeps within due Bounds, they are always excessive. We are transported in all our Affections. We

blame, praise, pity, or are angry, according as the present Object moves us. Some times we are for going to *India* and the Ocean; and sometimes, again, the Thoughts of our Wives, our Children, and Country, fills our Mind: But these Reflections, these Discourses are all at an End, whenever the Signal is given to March: Then every one runs to his Post, and whatever Anger was conceived in our Tents, is all discharged upon the Enemy. Would to God *Philotas* had only offended in Words. Now I must come to that for which we are looked upon as guilty, *viz.* our Friendship with *Philotas*; and I am so far from disowning it, that I freely confess, we sought and cultivated it. Can you wonder, Sir, that we should endeavour to insinuate ourselves into the Favour of the Son of *Parmenio*, to whom you have given the next Rank to yourself, preferring him to all the rest of your Friends? If your Majesty will hear the Truth, it is yourself, Sir, who have brought us into this *Premunire*; for who else was the Cause of that, all those who endeavoured to please you, courted *Philotas's* Friendship? It was he that presented us to you, and procured us our present Interest with you. In a Word, he was so much in your Favour, that we had both Reason to seek his Friendship and fear his Displeasure. Have we not all obliged ourselves by Oath to esteem the Persons our Friends and Enemies, that you declared to be your's in either Capacity? Being bound by this Oath, could we in Conscience hate him you shewed the greatest Kindness to? If loving him while we saw you loved him were a Crime, in reality your Majesty has but few Subjects that are not guilty, nay, I dare be bold to say, none at all; for there is no Body but would have been glad of *Philotas's* Friendship, tho' every Body could not obtain it. If therefore all that were his Friends are guilty, your Majesty must think them so too who would have been his Friends; but what Indication is there that we were conscious of his Treason?

son? This—I suppose, that we were privately with him the Day before; this would undeniably hold good, and be beyond Purgation, if I did that Day any Thing I had not used to do. Now if we did not more that Day which is suspected, than what we were used to do every Day, the very Custom will clear us of any Guilt. Oh! but we refused Horses to *Antiphanes*! and this Contest with him happened the Day before *Philotas* was discovered; if that be a sufficient Ground to be suspected that we did not that Day deliver them, he cannot clear himself neither for having required them. The Crime is doubtful between the Exactor and the Retainer, only with this difference, that the Cause of him that keeps his own, is better than his that requires another Man's. However, Sir, out of ten Horses which I had, *Antiphanes* had already distributed eight to such as had lost theirs, so that I had but two left me for my own Use, which when he very haughtily and unjustly would have taken away also, I was obliged to refuse them, unless I would serve on foot myself. I cannot deny but I spoke to him as became a Man of Spirit to a sorry Fellow, who is no otherwise employed in the Army than to distribute other People's Horses to those who are to fight. I cannot but think myself very unhappy that at the same time I excuse myself to *Alexander*, I seem also to do it to *Antiphanes*. But here is another Thing, your Mother in her Letter cautioned you to have an Eye upon us, as being your Enemies. I could wish she had been more wisely solicitous for her Son's Safety, than to fill his Head with vain and groundless Suspicions. Why does she not at the same Time assign the Cause of her Fear? She neither tells her Author, nor alleges any Act or Saying, by which she was moved to write such frightful Letters. What an unhappy Circumstance am I in, to whom perhaps it is equally dangerous to speak or to hold my Tongue; but be it as it may, I had rather my Defence should displease you than my Cause. You may, if you

please remember, that when you sent me to *Macedonia* to raise Recruits, you told me there were a great many young Men hid in your Mother's House, and you gave me particular Instructions to have no regard for any Body besides yourself, but to bring by force those that would not serve voluntarily. I executed your Orders accordingly, and indeed more punctually than was expedient to my own Interest; for I brought you from thence *Gorgias*, *Hecateus*, and *Gorgatas*, who do you very good Service. Now what can be more unjust than for me (who should have deservedly suffered if I had disobeyed your Commands) to perish now for having duly put the same in Execution? For your Mother had no other Cause to persecute us than that we preferred your Good to her Favour. I brought you six Thousand *Macedonian* Foot, and six hundred Horse, a great many of which would not have come if I had not compelled them. Now as your Mother is incensed against us on this Account, it seems reasonable that you should reconcile us to her, since it was to serve you that we got her Displeasure.

CHAP. II.

Amyntas and his Brothers are restored to Favour. The King sends Polydamas into Media to kill Parmenio; which causes a Mutiny, but it is afterwards appeased.

WHILE *Amyntas* was thus pleading his Cause, they who had been sent in Pursuit of *Polemon*, who is before mentioned, having overtaken him, brought him bound before the Assembly. The Assembly were so incensed against him, that they could scarce be restrained from their usual Custom of Stoning him to Death, without hearing his Defence, when he not at all dejected, told them, *He did not desire the least Favour to himself, provided his Flight were not interpreted to his Brother's Prejudice. If I cannot clear myself, at least let my Crime be Personal, for their Cause is by so much the better, that I am suspected only for having fled.*

The

The whole Assembly was pleased with what he said, and fell a weeping, so suddenly were they changed; and what before had chiefly provoked their Anger was the only Thing that now reconciled them to him. He was a Youth in the Flower of his Age, and had been terrify'd by the Disturbance he observed in others, when *Philotas* was tormented, and so fled along with them; but finding himself forsaken by his Companions; he was deliberating whether he should pursue his Flight or return to the Camp, when they who had been sent after him overtook him; he now wept bitterly, and beat himself about the Face, not much concerned on his own Account, but overwhelmed with Grief at the Danger he saw his Brothers in. The King himself was moved with his Behaviour, as well as the Assembly; his Brother was the only Person that seem'd implacable, who looking at him with a furious Countenance, said, *Fool as thou art, thou shouldst then have wept when thou clapp'dst Spurs to thy Horse, thou Deserter of thy Brothers, and Companion of Deserters, thou miserable Wretch! Whither, and from whence didst thou fly? Thou art the Cause that I am thought deserving of Death, and that I am now forced to use these Terms of Accusation.* To this he reply'd, *That he owned he was very much to blame, and deserved worse for the Trouble he had brought his Brothers into than for any Thing he had done himself.* At these Words the whole Assembly could no longer command their Tears and Acclamations, the usual Tokens by which the Multitude declares its Favour. It seemed to be but one Voice issued forth by an universal Consent, intreating the King to Pardon these innocent and brave Men. The chief of his Friends also laid hold of this Opportunity, and implored his Mercy. Then *Alexander* having commanded Silence said, 'And I myself discharge *Amyntas* and his Brothers, and as for you, young Gentlemen, (addressing himself to the Prisoners) I had rather you should forget the Favour you now receive from me, than remember the Danger you were in. Be as sincere in

your Reconciliation to me as I am in mine to you. If I had not examined into the Information, my Dissimulation might have been distrust'd, and it is better for yourselves that you have proved your Innocence, than to remain suspected. Reflect that no Body can be cleared of any Crime till he be try'd: As for you *Amyntas*, forgive your Brother, and I shall accept of that as a Pledge of your sincere Reconciliation to myself.' Then having dismissed the Assembly, he sent for *Polydamas*, who was a particular Friend of *Parmenio*, and used to be next to him in Time of Battle, and notwithstanding he immediately came, relying on his Innocence, yet being commanded to fetch his Brothers, who were very young, and on that Account unknown to the King, his Assurance turned into a deep Concern, and he began rather to reflect on what could be laid to his Charge, than how to confute the same. The Guards who had them in Custody now brought them forth, and the King commanded *Polydamas*, who was almost dead with Fear, to come nearer him, and having ordered the rest of the Company to withdraw, he spoke to him in these Terms, 'We are all attacked by *Parmenio's* Crime, but especially myself and you, whom he has deceived under the Colour of Friendship. Now I design to make use of you to punish his Perfidiousness, see what a Confidence I have in your Fidelity. Your Brothers shall remain with me as Hostages till you have acquitted yourself of this Trust; you shall go therefore into *Media*, and carry these Letters, writ with my own Hand, to my Governors there. You must be so expeditious as to prevent even Fame. I would have you arrive there in the Night, and the next Day you shall deliver the Letters I charge you with. You shall also carry Letters to *Parmenio*; one from myself, and another from *Philotas*, whose Seal I have by me; by this means the Father seeing a Letter from his Son, will have no manner of Apprehension.

Polydamas.

Polydamas being thus delivered from his Fears, promised more than was required of him. *Alexander* having hereupon very much commended him, and made him large Promises, *Polydamas* pulled off the Dress he had on, and clothed himself after the *Arabian* Manner, and had two *Arabians*, whose Wives and Children remained with the King as Pledges for their Fidelity, appointed him for Companions in his Journey. As they rode upon Camels they passed through the dry barren Countries commodiously enough, and came on the eleventh Day to their Journey's End. Here *Polydamas* re-assumed the *Macedonian* Habit, and before any Body knew of his Arrival he repaired to *Cleander's* Tent, who was the King's Prætor in this Province, about the fourth Watch; and having delivered his Letters, it was agreed between them to go as soon as it was light to *Parmenio's* Quarters, where the rest of those to whom the King had wrote, were to meet them. By this time *Parmenio* was acquainted with the arrival of *Polydamas*, and being overjoy'd at the coming of his Friend, and eager to know what the King was doing (for by reason of the great distance he had received no Letters from him of a considerable Time) he sent to inquire after *Polydamas*. The Inns in this Country have large Recesses backwards, which are well planted with Trees, that render them very pleasant. This kind of Groves is what the Kings and Nobility take great delight in. *Parmenio* walked therefore into the Wood in the Middle of those Officers who had received Orders from the King to kill him: The Time fixed upon to execute their Design, was when he should be reading the Letters *Polydamas* was to deliver to him. *Polydamas* at a great distance no sooner perceived by *Parmenio's* cheerful Countenance that he saw him, than he ran to embrace him; and after their mutual Caresses, *Polydamas* delivered him the King's Letter; while he was opening it, he asked *Polydamas*, what the King was doing? Who told him, his Letter would inform him. *Parmenio* therefore having read the Letter, said, the King is

preparing to march against the *Arachosians*: He is a Prince indefatigably laborious and never idle! but I should think it were high Time for him now to spare his Person, having acquired so much Glory. Then he took the other Letter writ in *Philotas's* Name, and seemed by his Countenance to be pleased with the Contents of it; while he was thus employed, *Cleander* stabbed him in the Side, and afterwards stuck him in the Throat, the rest running him through as he lay dead on the Ground. The Guards who stood at the Entrance into the Wood understanding he was murdered without knowing for what Reason, repaired to the Camp, and with the surprizing Tydings, put it all in a Confusion. Hereupon the Soldiers armed themselves, and ran to the Wood where their General's Body lay, and threatened to break down the Walls of the Place, and Sacrifice all they found in it, to the Manes of their Commander, if *Polydamas*, and the rest concerned in his Murder, were not immediately delivered up to them. *Cleander* therefore ordered the chief Officers to be admitted, and read to them the King's Letters, that contained *Parmenio's* Treason, and *Alexander's* Request to them to vindicate his Cause. Thus being satisfied that it was done by the King's Directions, the Sedition was quieted, tho' their Indignation was not appeased. The greatest part of the Soldiers being gone, the few that remained begged, that they might at least be allowed to bury his Corpse, which was a long time refused, *Cleander* fearing he should by that Allowance incur the King's Displeasure. But as they persisted obstinately in their Demand, to avoid the ill Consequences that might ensue, he caused the Head to be cut off, and allowed them to bury his Body. The Head he sent to the King. Such was *Parmenio's* End, a Man of an established Reputation, both at Home and in the Army; he had done several great Exploits without the King; but the King had done nothing of Moment without him: He had been able to satisfy the Expectation of a prosperous Prince, who required Performances answerable to his own
extra-

extraordinary Fortune; he was seventy Years of Age when he was killed, and would often (notwithstanding the Burthen of his Years) do the part of a young General, and sometimes that of a private Soldier. He was Wise in Council, brave in Action, beloved by the chief Officers, but still more dear to the common Soldiers. Whether these Qualifications inspired him with the Thoughts of reigning, or only made him suspected, may be doubted; because it is uncertain whether *Philotas's* Declaration was true, or only forced from him by the Violence of his Tortures, since when the Thing was fresh, and so most likely to be cleared, it remained still doubtful. *Alexander* thought it advisable to separate from the rest of the Army, those who had complained of *Parmenio's* hard Fate, he therefore incorporated them into a Body by themselves, and gave *Leonidas* (who had himself formerly been very intimate with *Parmenio*) the Command of them. They happened to be the very Men he had a private Pique against on another Account. For one Day resolving to sound the Minds of his Soldiers, he gave the whole Army to understand, That if they had any Letters to send into *Macedonia* to their Friends, they might give them to his Messengers, who would be sure to deliver them faithfully. Hereupon every one writ his Thoughts frankly, some were quite weary of the War, however, the major Part liked it well enough. The Letters being all brought to the King, he thereby discovered who had writ favourably of him, and who had complained of his Proceedings, he therefore now ordered them to incamp separately by way of Infamy, intending to make use of their Service in the War, and yet prevent their infecting the rest of the Army with their licentious Discourse. The King's Conduct might here be called in Question (since he thereby exasperated the Minds of a great many brave young Men) yet his usual Happiness turned this, as well as all other Things, to his Advantage; for in the subsequent Wars, none were readier on all Occasions than they, their Courage spurring them on

to signalize themselves, as well to wipe off their Disgrace, as because in so small a Number their gallant Behaviour could not lie undiscovered.

C H A P. III.

Alexander subdues many People, and in seventeen Days passes over Caucasus with his Army.

AFTER these Things, *Alexander* having given a Satrape or Governor to the *Arians*, ordered his March to be proclaimed against the *Arimaspians*, who at this Time having changed their Appellation, were called *Euergetæ*, for their having formerly relieved *Cyrus's* Army, when it was afflicted with Hunger and Cold. The Fifth Day after he arrived in this Country, he received Intelligence, that *Satibarzanes* (who had revolted to *Bessus*) was march'd with a Body of Horse to make an Irruption into the Country of the *Arians*. Hereupon he detach'd against him six Thousand of the *Grecian* Infantry, and six Hundred Horse, under the Command of *Cananus*, *Erigyus*, *Artabazus* and *Andronicus*; and remained himself sixty Days with the *Euergetæ*, during which Time he regulated that State, and bestowed a great Sum of Money on them for their eminent Service and Fidelity to *Cyrus*; after which he constituted *Amenides* Governor over them, and then marched and subdued the *Arachosians*, whose Country extends itself as far as the *Pontick* Sea. Here he was joined by the Army *Parmenio* had commanded, which consisted of six Thousand *Macedonians*, two Hundred of the Nobility, and five Thousand *Greeks*, with two Hundred Horse; it was beyond dispute, the main Strength of the King's Forces: He appointed *Menon* Governor over the *Arachosians*, in the Quality of *Prætor*; then he entered into a Country hardly known to those that border upon it, for the Inhabitants admit of no manner of Communication with their Neighbours. They are called *Parapamisade*, and are a very rude unpolished People, even to.

to that degree, that they may be reckon'd the most unciviliz'd of all the *Barbarians*; the roughness of the Country, seems to have contributed to that of their Minds. They lie very far Northward, and border upon *Bactriana* on the West, looking towards the *Indian* Sea on the South. Their Cottages are built of Brick from the Top to the Bottom, the Country affording no Wood, not so much as on the Mountains. Their Structure is broad, and by degrees grows narrower as it rises, till at last it closes in the form of the Keel of a Ship, there being a Hole left in the Middle to transmit the Light. If they find any Vines or Trees any where, not destroyed by the rigor of the Climate, they cover them with Earth during the Winter, and when the Snow is quite dissolved, they restore them to the Air and the Sun; but the Snows are so deep, and so congealed with the Frost, that no Footsteps or Traces of Beast or Bird appear in all the Country. The Light is so obscure, that it may be compared to the dimness of the Night, so that those Things that are nearer at hand are hardly discernable. In this wretched Country, destitute of all manner of Culture, the Army suffered all kinds of Evils, Hunger, Cold, Weariness, and Despair. The Excessive Coldness of the Snow killed a great many, it destroyed the Feet of others, but it was generally very pernicious to their Eyes. If, being tired, they laid themselves down upon the frozen Snow, their Bodies, for want of Motion, were so penetrated by the piercing rigor of the Air, that they could not rise again, till helped up by their Companions, who found no better Expedient to unbenumb their stiff Limbs, than that of compelling them to walk, by which means the vital Heat being put into Motion, they recovered some part of their former Vigour: Such of them as could get into any of the Cottages were soon restored, but then the Darkness was so great, that these Cottages were only discoverable by the Smoke: As the Inhabitants had never seen any Strangers before in their Territories, when they perceived the armed Soldiers they were ready to die with Fear,

and very willingly brought to them what their Huts afforded, desiring only they would spare their Lives.

The King walked on Foot round his Forces, raising such as were laid down, and supporting others that could not walk; sometimes in the Front, sometimes in the Middle, and sometimes in the Rear, sparing no Pains to express his Care for his Men. At length they came to a better Country, where he refreshed his Army with Plenty of Victuals, and waited till those that could not keep up with him, had rejoined him.

From hence he moved towards Mount *Caucasus*, which with its long Ridge of Hills stretches itself thro' *Asia*, having on one Side of it the *Cilician* Sea, and on the other the *Caspian* Sea, the River *Araxes*, and the Deserts of *Scythia*. Mount *Taurus*, which holds the second Rank for Bigness, joins to Mount *Caucasus*; it takes its Rise from *Cappadocia*, and running across *Cilicia*, joins itself to the Mountains of *Armenia*, so that all these Mountains being united from one continued Ridge; out of which almost all the Rivers of *Asia* flow, some emptying themselves into the *Red-Sea*, others discharging themselves into the *Caspian* Sea, while others again fall into the *Hyrcanian* and *Pontick* Sea. The Army passed over Mount *Caucasus* in seventeen Days; there is a Rock in it ten Furlongs in Compass, and above four in Heighth, to which, as Antiquity relates, *Prometheus* was bound. At the Foot of this Mountain, *Alexander* made choice of a Place to build a City, which he peopled with seven Thousand of the oldest *Macedonians*, and such other Soldiers as were of no farther use to him. The Inhabitants gave it the Name of *Alexandria*.

C H A P. IV.

Bessus enters into a Debate at a Feast whether he shall make War with Alexander or not; and cannot submit to the prudent Advice of Cobaris. In the mean while Alexander arrives in the Country of the Bactrians, where he receives an Account of

of the Revolt of the Greeks, and of the Death of Satibarzanes, who had been killed in a single Combat.

BUT *Bessus* being alarmed at *Alexander's* Expedition, offered a Sacrifice to the Gods of the Country; and then according to the Custom of those People, at an Entertainment which he gave his Friends, he deliberated with them concerning the War. As they were well loaded with Wine, they extolled their own Strength, and despised the Enemy, one while for their Rashness, and then again for their small Number: *Bessus* particularly was very furious in his Expressions, and being elated on the Account of the Kingdom, he had lately procured by his Treason, he told them, it was *Darius's* Folly, that had given the Enemy's Arms so great a Reputation, for he must needs go and meet them in the Streights of *Cilicia*, when at the same time by retiring, he might have drawn them insensibly into Places impracticable even by their natural Situation, casting so many Rivers and Mountains in their Way, that they might have been surprized in those lonesome Retreats, and hinder'd from all possibility of flying, without having it in their Power to make any Resistance. It was his Resolution therefore to repair to the *Sogdians*, and to leave the River *Oxus* as a Wall between him and the Enemy, till he had got together a powerful Army from the Neighbouring Nations. The *Chorasmians*, the *Dabe*, the *Sace*, and the *Indians* as well as the *Scythians* that inhabit beyond the River *Tanais*, would not fail to join him, who are none of them so low in Stature, but that their Shoulders are upon the Level with the *Macedonians* Heads. They unanimously (in their Drunken Humours) agreed, that that was the wisest Course he could take. Hereupon *Bessus* caus'd the Wine to be filled about plentifully, and routed *Alexander's* Horse and Foot at Table. There happened to be at the Feast, among the rest, a *Median* named *Cobaris*, more renowned for his Profession of the Magical Art (if it may be called an Art, and not rather an Illusion

upon Superstitious Tempers) than for any great Knowledge he had therein; but otherwise he was a moderate good Man enough. This Man (by the Way of Preface) told *Bessus*, he was sensible it was safer for a Servant to obey blindly, than to give Advice. Since they who obey are sure of the same Lot with the rest: Whereas they that venture to perswade or give Counsel, run a particular Risk. Upon these Words, *Bessus* gave him the Cup he had in his Hand; which *Cobaris* having received, he expressed himself in the following Manner. 'Mankind is in this respect very unhappy, 'that every one is of a clearer Sight in 'other Peoples Affairs, than in his own. 'There is a Confusion of Thoughts in him 'that advises with himself; Fear, Desire, 'and an overweening to our own Conceptions, are so many Obstacles: As for Pride, 'it cannot be thought to fall into your Nature. You have found by Experience, 'however, that every one flatters himself 'so far, as to think his own Counsel the 'only salutary and proper Expedient. Now 'you ought to reflect, that you bear a great 'Burden on your Head in the Crown; you 'must carry it with Wisdom and Moderation, or it will (I speak it with Horror) 'crush you. It is Conduct and Prudence 'that are requisite in the present Juncture; 'Rashness and Violence are altogether 'useless.' Then he took Notice of a Proverb among the *Bactrians*; *That the fearful Dog barks furiously, tho' he dares not bite; and the deepest Rivers glide along with the least Noise.* Which Sayings I take Notice of, to shew, that even among the *Barbarians*, there were some Sparks of Wisdom worthy Observation. This awakened the Attention of the whole Assembly, who were in mighty Expectation of the main Drift of his Discourse. After which, he spoke his Opinion, which would have proved more useful to *Bessus*, than it was agreeable. 'You have, says he, almost at 'the Gates of your Palace, an expeditious 'indefatigable Prince, who will sooner 'move his whole Army, than you remove 'this Table. Is this a Time to call for
Z 'Troops

' Troops from the River *Tanais*, or to
 ' think of opposing Rivers to the Enemy?
 ' Can you imagine, that you can fly where
 ' he cannot follow you? The Way is in
 ' common to you both, but indeed, is safest
 ' to the Victor. And if you look upon
 ' Fear to be nimble and swift, you ought to
 ' consider, that Hope is still swifter? Why
 ' don't you therefore Court the Favour of
 ' the Stronger, and lay yourself at his Mer-
 ' cy? Be the Event what it will, it cannot
 ' but be more advantageous to you to sur-
 ' render yourself, than to remain his Ene-
 ' my. The Crown you wear, is not your
 ' own, and therefore you may the more wil-
 ' lingly part with it; besides, you may then
 ' perhaps with Reason, think yourself a law-
 ' ful King, when he has made you such, who
 ' can either give or take away your King-
 ' dom. You have here a faithful Counsel,
 ' which to be long in executing, is so much
 ' Time lost. The Horse of Spirit is gover-
 ' ned by the very Shadow of the Switch,
 ' whereas the dull Jade is not quickened
 ' even by the Spur.

Bessus who was Cholerick in his Nature,
 and at this Time heated with Wine, would
 hardly be kept by his Friends from killing
 him, for he drew his Sword in order to it,
 and in a Rage left the Company, and *Co-
 baris* during the Tumult, fled to *Alexander*.
Bessus's Army consisted of eighty Thousand
Bactrians, who while they believed the
 Rigor of their Climate would cause the
Macedonians to march into *India*, remain'd
 faithful to him; but when they received
 Advice of *Alexander's* coming against them
 they all deserted *Bessus*, every one repairing
 to his own Habitation. As for *Bessus*, he
 with a small Number of such as had an im-
 mediate Dependance on him, and therefore
 adhered firmly to him, passed the River
Oxus, burning afterwards their Boats, that
 the Enemy might not make use of them,
 and then endeavoured to raise a fresh Army
 among the *Sogdians*.

Alexander as we said before, had passed
 over Mount *Caucasus*; but there was such a
 Scarcity of Corn in his Camp, that it was
 not far from a Famine. They expressed the

Juice of *Sesama*, and therewith anointed
 their Limbs, as if it had been Oil, but this
 itself was so dear, that each Measure called
Amphora, sold for two Hundred and Forty
Denarij; the same Measure of Honey cost
 three Hundred and Ninety; and that of
 Wine three Hundred; as for Wheat there
 was none at all, or a very small Quantity.
 These *Barbarians* use Subterranean Grana-
 ries, which they call *Siri*, and cover them
 so artfully, that none but those that are
 privy to them, can find them out. In these
 they had bury'd all their Corn; so that the
 Soldiers for want thereof, were forc'd to live
 upon Herbs, and such Fish as the Rivers af-
 forded. When this Food fail'd them like-
 wise, they were commanded to kill their
 carriage Cattle, by which means they made
 a Shift to subsist till they came into *Bactri-
 ana*. This Country has great variety of
 Soils; some Places abound with Trees and
 Vines, and afford Plenty of very good Fruits,
 the Soil being fat and well water'd. That
 Ground that is fit for Corn they sow with
 Wheat, and the rest serves as Pasturage for
 their Cattle. At the same Time a great Part
 of this Country, is nothing but Barren
 Sands, whose excessive Sterility and Dryness,
 afford no Nourishment for Man, nor
 Fruit; and when the Winds blow from the
Pontick-Sea, they sweep these Sandy Plains
 into great Heaps, which at a Distance have
 the Appearance of Hills, and thereby quite
 destroy all the Marks of former Roads.
 They therefore that Travel this Way, are
 obliged to observe the Stars in the Night,
 like Mariners, and by their Means direct
 their Course; and indeed the Nocturnal
 Shade, is rather more luminous than the
 Day-light, so that there is no travelling here
 in the Day-time, there being no Track or
 Foot-step to follow, and the Stars being in-
 tercepted by thick Mists. Now if any Per-
 sons are travelling while the aforesaid Winds
 blow, they are sure to be overwhelm'd with
 this flying Sand. On the other Side, where
 the Country affords a better Soil, it is
 crowded with Inhabitants, and well stocked
 with Horses. *Bactra* which is the capital
 City of this Country, is situate under a
 Hill

Hill called *Parapamissus*; the River *Bactrus* runs by its Walls, and gives its Name both to the Town and Country.

While the King lay here encamped, he received an account out of Greece, that the *Peloponnesians* and *Lacedemonians* had revolted; for they were not yet reduced when the Messengers first set out to acquaint Alexander with their Defection. This ill News was attended by another more immediate Danger from the *Scythians*, who inhabit beyond the River *Tanais*, and were said to be coming to assist *Bessus*. He likewise received at this time, an account of what had passed in the Country of the *Arians*, under the Conduct of *Caranus* and *Erigyus*. The *Macedonians* and *Arians* being engaged, *Satibarzanes* who commanded the latter, seeing the Men did not fight with that Vigour he desired they should (both Armies seeming to have equal Advantage) rid up to the first Rank, and caused a Cessation of Arms; then taking off his Helmet, he challenged any one of the *Macedonians* to a single Combat, and at the same time declared he would fight bare-headed. *Erigyus* could not brook the Insolence of the *Barbarian*, and notwithstanding he was advanced in Years, yet he was not inferior to any of the young Men in point of Courage or Strength of Body: He therefore took off his Helmet, and shewing his Grey-Hairs, said, 'The Day is come in which I will either by a Victory, or an honourable Death, demonstrate to the World what Friends and Soldiers Alexander has.' And without any farther Speech he rid up to the Enemy. One would have thought both Armies had received Orders to hold their Hands, and forbear fighting; for they immediately drew back and gave the Combatants room, both Sides being intent upon the issue of this Duel, which was not only to decide the Matter between the two Generals, but also between both Armies. The *Barbarian* cast his Javelin first, which *Erigyus* avoided by a small Declination of his Head, and clapping Spurs to his Horse, ran his Spear into his Adversary's Throat, so that it came out behind his Neck. The

Barbarian hereupon fell from his Horse, but yet struggled, which made *Erigyus* draw his Spear out of his Throat and ran it into his Mouth. And *Satibarzanes* to rid himself the sooner of his Pain, clapped his Hand to the Spear, and farthered his Enemy's Stroke.

The *Barbarians* having lost their General, whom they had followed more out of Necessity than Good-will, and calling to Mind Alexander's Favours to them, delivered up their Arms to *Erigyus*. The King was pleased with this Success, but was a little uneasy at the *Lacedemonians* Defection; however he bore it with great Magnanimity, and said they did not dare to discover their Intentions, till they understood he was advanced to the remotest Part of *India*. Then decamping he continued his Pursuit of *Bessus*, and was met by *Erigyus*, who shewed him the Spoils of his Enemy, as an Ornament of his glorious Victory.

CHAP. V.

Alexander's Army passes the River Oxus with great Dexterity. *Bessus* being taken by a Stratagem, is brought before Alexander, who gives him to *Oxathres*, the Brother of *Darius*, to be crucify'd.

ALEXANDER having committed the Country of *Bactriana* to the care of *Artabazus*, left there his Baggage under a sufficient Guard, while he with a flying Camp entered into the Desarts of the *Sodgians*, marching his Army by Night. The great want of Water here (as we before took Notice) inflamed the Soldiers Drought (by the despair of getting any) before they had any real Occasion to drink. For the Space of four Hundred Furlongs, there is not a drop of Water to be found, and the Heat of the Sun in the Summer being very vehement, it kindles such a Fire in the Sands, that they burn whatever they touch. Besides, there arises such a Mist (occasioned by this excessive Heat in the Sand) that the Light is much obscured thereby, and the Plains carry the Appearance of a vast and deep Sea: Not-

Notwithstanding all which, it was tolerable good travelling there in the Night, by reason of the Dews and the Freshness of the Mornings. However, as the Heat begins with the very Light, it soon parches up all the Moisture of the Air, so that not only the outward Parts, but even the Bowels, are quite burn'd up with it. In these Extremities therefore, their Hearts failed them first, and then their Bodies became faint, and they were as unwilling to stand still, as to go forward. Some few amongst them by the Advice of such as knew the Country, had provided themselves with Water; this served them a little while, but as the Heat increas'd, so did they desire Liquor to quench their Thirst. This made it a Necessity to distribute among them, what Wine and Oil there was. The Pleasure they found in drinking was so great, that they did not reflect they should be dry any more, and therefore drank so largely, that they were no longer able to carry their Arms, nor to March; so that they seemed happier when they wanted Water, than after they were supplied with Wine and Oil, since by their immoderate use of it, they were forced to Vomit it up again. As the King was thoroughly griev'd at all these Calamities, his Friends came about him, and desired him to reflect, that his great Soul was the only Remedy in the present Misfortune. It happened at this Juncture of Time, that two of those that were sent before to mark out the Camp, came and met him, bringing along with them some Bottles of Water, which they intended for their Sons, who were in the Army, and were ready to perish with Thirst. When they saw the King, one of them, opening a Bottle, pour'd out a Cup full, and presented it to his Majesty. He took it from him, and ask'd him, who they intended the Water for? To which they answered, for their Sons. Whereupon the King returning the Cup full as it was, said, 'I cannot find 'in my Heart to drink alone, and this small 'Quantity will not afford every one some, 'wherefore carry it to your Sons, for whom 'you first design'd it.

At length he came to the River *Oxus* about the beginning of the Night; but a great Part of the Army not having been able to keep up with him, he caused Fires to be made on the Tops of Hills, that they that were behind, might thereby know they were not far from the Camp. Then he ordered them that were with him, to refresh themselves with Victuals and Drink as fast as they could; and then take Water in Skins and other Vessels, and carry them to their Fellow Soldiers. They who drank immoderately, immediately died; and he lost more Men this Way, than he had ever lost in any Battle. As for himself, he kept on his Armour, and without either eating or drinking, plac'd himself on the Way the Army was to come, without any Refreshment at all, till all those that laggd behind, had passed by him; and afterwards he passed all that Night without Sleep, in great Anxiety of Mind.

The next Day he was not less uneasy, because he had no Boats, and there was no Possibility of building a Bridge, there being no Timber thereabout. He therefore had recourse to the only expedient Necessity suggested to him; which was, to cause a great Number of Skins to be fill'd with Straw, and distributed to the Soldiers, upon which they laid themselves, and so passed the River: They that got over first, put themselves in order of Battle, till the rest swam over to them. Thus in six Days he passed his whole Army to the other side, and was resolv'd now to continue his Pursuit of *Bessus*, when he received Information of what had happen'd among the *Sodgians*.

There was one *Spitamenes*, who was particularly in *Bessus* his Favour, and had received great Honours from him. But a perfidious Nature is not to be prevailed upon by Merit, or Kindness; however, it was less odious in him, by reason nothing could be reckoned Criminal that was done against *Bessus*, who had so basely murder'd his Sovereign. Besides this, *Spitamenes* put a fair Gloß upon his Treachery, pretending he did it to revenge *Darius*; whereas in truth,

truth, it was *Bessus's* Fortune they envy'd, more than they hated his Crime.

When this Man understood that *Alexander* had pass'd the River *Oxus*, he communicated his Design to *Dataphernes* and *Catenes* (in whom *Bessus* had the greatest Confidence) who very readily entered into his Measures, and taking with them eight lusty young Fellows, they resolv'd upon this Wile. *Spitamenes* goes to *Bessus*, and privately tells him, he understood *Dataphernes* and *Catenes* had conspired to seize him, and deliver him up alive to *Alexander*, that therefore he had secured them, and put them in Bonds. Hereupon *Bessus* thinking himself very much oblig'd to him, return'd him many Thanks, and being eager to take Satisfaction of them, order'd them to be brought before him. They having their Hands ty'd by concert, suffer'd themselves to be led by their Accomplices; and *Bessus* no sooner saw them, but looking at them with a stern Countenance, he rose up with a Design to Wreak his Revenge upon them. But they laying aside the Disguise, surrounded him immediately and Bound him, pulling the Diadem from his Head, and tearing his Garment, which was part of the Spoils he had taken from the murder'd King. He then confess'd, That the avenging Gods were at hand; and added, That they were not unjust to *Darius*, whom they revenged after this manner; but were over propitious to *Alexander*, whose Victories were always promoted by his Enemies. It is a doubtful thing, whether the Majority of the *Bactrians* would have tamely suffer'd this usage of him, had not the Conspirators given out, that they did it by *Alexander's* Orders, and so terrify'd those whose Thoughts were at uncertainty. Having therefore set him on Horseback, they brought him away, in order to deliver him up to the King, who in the mean time had made a Draft of nine Hundred Men, whose Service deserv'd they should be dismiss'd. He therefore gave to every Trooper two Talents, and to every Foot Soldier, three Thousand *Denarij*, and having enjoined them to Marry

and get Children, he sent them home. At the same Time, he thank'd the rest for their Willingness to serve him in the remaining Part of the War. While *Bessus* was bringing to him, he came to a little Town, whose Inhabitants were call'd *Branchidae*. They were by *Xerxes's* Order (when he return'd from *Greece*) transplanted from *Miletum*, and assign'd this Settlement in consideration of their having pillag'd the Temple of *Apollo Didymus*, in his Favour. They had not quite forsaken the Customs of their ancient Country, but their Language was a sort of Medley, made up of their own, and that of the Country they now inhabited. They express'd a great deal of Joy at the King's Arrival, and readily surrender'd both themselves and their Town to him. Hereupon *Alexander* call'd together the *Milesians* that serv'd in his Army. Now we must observe, that the *Milesians* bore an old Grudge to the *Branchidae*. The King therefore referr'd it to them, whether they would consider their Extraction, or revenge their former Injury; and as they vary'd in their Opinions, he told them, he would advise with himself what was best to be done in the Matter. The next Day, when the Deputies from the *Branchidae* came to meet him, he command'd them to attend him, and being come to the Town, he enter'd the Gates thereof with Part of his Army, and order'd the *Phalanx* to surround the Place, and upon the Signal given, to pillage that Receptacle of Traitors, and put them all to the Sword. These poor Wretches being in a defenceless Condition, were every where butcher'd, and neither Conformity of Language, and humble Posture of Suppliants, nor the most fervent Intreaties, could put a stop to this authorized Cruelty. The very Foundations of the Walls were dug up, that there might not be the least Footsteps left of the Town. Their Fury did not stop here, for they not only cut down the consecrated Woods, but also grubb'd up the very Roots thereof, that there might be nothing left but a barren waste Solitude. Now had this Cruelty been practis'd on the first

first Transgressors, it might have been thought a just Punishment of their Crime; but here Posterity is punished for the Sins of its Forefathers, without ever having so much as seen *Meletum*, far from being able to betray it to *Xerxes*.

From hence he advanc'd to the River *Tanais*; here *Bessus* was brought to him, not only bound, but stripp'd of all his Cloathes. *Spitamenes* led him by a Chain that went about his Neck; a Sight no less agreeable to the *Barbarians*, than to the *Macedonians*. Then *Spitamenes* addressing himself to *Alexander*, said, *I have revenged the Cause of Darius, and you, Sir, both my Sovereigns, and have brought to you the base Murderer of his King, having taken him after the same Manner as he gave the Example. O that Darius could open his Eyes to View this Spectacle! That he could arise from the Dead, who deserv'd not that Punishment, but well deserves this Comfort.*

Alexander having commended *Spitamenes*, turned to *Bessus*, and asked him, what beastly Rage had prompted him, first to bind and then to murder a Prince who had loaded him with so many Favours? But, said he, the usurped Title of King was the Reward of thy Parricide. To which *Bessus* not daring to excuse his Crime, answered; 'That it was true he had taken upon him the regal Dignity, but it was only that he might thereby be able to preserve it for him, since if he had not done so some Body else would not have failed to seize it.' But *Alexander* without having any regard to this Speech, called for *Oxathres*, *Darius's* Brother (who was one of his Body Guards) and ordered *Bessus* to be delivered up to him, that being fastened to a Cross, having his Ears and Nose cut off, he might serve for a Mark for the *Barbarians* to shoot at with their Bows, without suffering the very Birds to impair his Body. *Oxathres* readily took upon him to see all the rest performed, but as for the keeping off the Birds none could do that besides *Catenes*, which he said, out of a Desire to shew his unparalleled Dexterity; for he shot with so exact an Aim, that the very Birds flying could

not escape him: And notwithstanding the common practice of shooting with Bows and Arrows, rendered this Art less admirable, yet those that beheld the Performance, were surprized, and *Catenes* was highly esteemed for it; afterwards the King made Presents to all those who had brought *Bessus* to him, but delayed his Execution till they came to the same Place where he had killed *Darius*.

CHAP. VI.

Alexander takes many Towns thro' the Affection of the Barbarians and Macedonians; and builds the City of Alexandria near the River Tanais, which Work he finishes in a short Time.

IN the mean Time the *Macedonians* going out to Forage, without observing their usual Discipline, were attacked and worsted by the *Barbarians*, who came upon them from the neighbouring Mountains, and took a great many more of them Prisoners than they killed; so that driving the Captives before them, they returned again to the Hills. They were about twenty Thousand that lurked here, and were accustomed to live by Plunder. Their Arms were Slings and Bows. The King therefore came and besieged them, and as he was fighting amongst the foremost, was wounded with an Arrow in the Middle of the Leg, where the Head of the Arrow stuck; hereupon the *Macedonians* were in the greatest Affliction, and carried him back to the Camp. The *Barbarians* were not unsensible of the King's being carried off from the Place of Action, for they could discover every thing from the Top of the Hill. They therefore sent the next Day Deputies to the King, whom, he immediately ordered to be introduced; and taking off the Bandage from his Leg, he shewed it to them, dissembling the Danger of his Wound; then having commanded them to sit down, they told him, The *Macedonians* themselves were not more afflicted at his being wounded than they were, and that if they knew the

Author

Author of it, they would presently deliver him into his Hands; for it belonged only to the Sacrilegious to fight with the Gods, and therefore they submitted to him, being overcome by his Virtue and Bravery. The King hereupon having received his Captives, took them in his Protection.

After this he decamped, being carried in a military Litter, both Horse and Foot striving for the Honour of being his Bearers; the Horse alledg'd in justification of their pretensions, That the King usually fought amongst them. On the other Side the Foot thought it their right, because they were us'd to carry their fellow Soldiers, when wounded, and therefore looked upon it as an injustice done them to be deprived of their Office in the Person of their King. Wherefore the King taking into consideration their mutual Strife, and reflecting how hard it was to make a Choice in the present Case, since they who were rejected would think themselves injured, commanded them to take him by Turns.

From hence they came the fourth Day to a Town call'd *Maracanda*, the Walls whereof were threescore and ten Furlongs in compass, but the Castle had no Walls; leaving therefore a Garrison in the Town, he burnt and pillag'd the Neighbouring Villages. Here he received Ambassadors from the *Abian Scythians*, who had maintained their Liberty ever since the Decease of *Cyrus*, but now readily offered to submit to his Commands. It is certain they were the justest of all the *Barbarians*, never having recourse to Arms but when provoked; and were besides so Righteous in the moderate and fair Use of their Liberty, that the meanest among them were upon the level with the greatest. The King having received them graciously, sent *Penidas*, who was of the Band of his Friends, to those *Scythians* who inhabit *Europe*, to forbid them to pass the River *Tanais* without his Leave. He likewise ordered him, to make the best Discovery he could of the Situation of the Country; and also to visit those *Scythians* that border on the *Bosphorus*. He had made Choice of a Place to build a City on, upon the Banks of the *Tanais*,

which might serve as a Curb to those Nations he had already subdued, as well as to those he should hereafter conquer: But this Design was delay'd by the Revolt of the *Sogdians*, which was followed by that of the *Bactrians*. They were about seven Thousand Horse, whose Authority influenced the rest; *Alexander* therefore sent for *Spitamenes* and *Catenes*, who had delivered *Bessus* to him, no wise doubting but by their Interest the Insurrection might be suppressed, and the Ringleaders secured. But as they were themselves the Authors of the Commotions they were sent to quiet, they spread a Rumour, that the King had sent for the *Bactrian* Cavalry for no other end but to be cut to Pieces, and that this was their Commission; but they were far from being capable of executing so abominable a Design against their own Countrymen, for which they detested *Alexander's* Cruelty as much as they hated *Bessus's* Parricide. As they were of themselves inclined to rise, it was no difficult Matter by such Insinuations as these, to make them take to their Arms. The King being informed of the Defection of these Traitors, commanded *Craterus* to besiege *Cyropolis* while he himself took another Town in the same Country by a general Assault, upon the Signal given they killed all that were at *Man's* Estate, the rest were a Prey to the Victors: The Town was demolished for an Example to others.

This did not hinder the *Memaceniens* (who were a valiant People) from resolving to sustain a Siege, as being not only the most honourable but safest Course. The King therefore sent before him fifty Troopers with Instructions to make the Inhabitants sensible of his great Clemency and Goodness to those that submitted to him; and at the same Time how inexorable he was to those that held out against him. To which they made Answer, *That they did not doubt either of the King's Honour or Power*: However, they desired them to pitch their Tents without the Walls of the Town, where they entertained them very courteously; and at Midnight, when they were in a profound Sleep, being loaded with Wine, they set upon

upon them and cut all their Throats. *Alexander* was no less moved at this Usage, than the Barbarity of the Act required, and immediately marched and invested the City, which was too strongly fortified to be taken at the first Assault: So that he left *Meleager* and *Perdiccas* to carry on this Siege, and with the rest of the Forces he joined *Craterus*, who, as we said before, was besieging *Gyropolis*.

The King had a great Desire to spare this Town, in favour of *Cyrus*, its Founder, for whose Memory, and that of *Semiramis*, he had a great Veneration, on the Account of their extraordinary Vertue, Magnanimity, and memorable Exploits; but finding the Besieged remained obstinate, it so incensed him against them, that having taken the Town, he abandoned it to the *Macedonians* to be pillaged, who were not without Cause very severe to them. After this he return'd to *Meleager* and *Perdiccas*, who were left to carry on the Siege of the *Memaceniens*. No Town ever defended itself better; here he lost his bravest Men, and was in the greatest Danger himself, for he received so furious a Blow on the Neck with a Stone, that it took away his Sight, and the present use of his Reason. The Army was in the greatest Consternation now, as thinking he could hardly recover; but he was invincible to those Things that terrify others, and therefore without waiting till his Wound was cur'd, he carried on the Siege with greater Vigour, his Anger quickening his natural Dispatch and Expedition. Having therefore undermin'd the Wall, and made thereby a considerable Breach, he carry'd the Place by Storm, and caused it to be demolished. This done, he detach'd *Menedemus* with three Thousand Foot, and eight Hundred Horse to the City of *Maracanda*, from whence *Spitamenes* had driven the *Macedonian* Garrison, shutting himself up therein, as in a Place of Safety. The Inhabitants did not much approve of his Proceeding, yet they seem'd to consent to it, not being able to oppose him. In the meantime *Alexander* return'd to the River *Tanais*, where he inclos'd with a Wall as much

Ground as his Camp had taken up, which was threescore Furlongs in Compass, and caused the Town he built therein to be also call'd *Alexandria*. The Work was carried on with so much Celerity, that in seventeen Days both the Walls and Houses were finish'd. There was a mighty Strife among the Soldiers, who should soonest perform their Task (for the Work was divided amongst them) so that the whole being soon perfect'd, he peopled it with the Captives, whose Ransoms he paid to their respective Owners; and their Posterity (notwithstanding the many Ages that are since elaps'd) are still in Consideration out of Respect to *Alexander's* Memory.

CHAP. VII.

Alexander still ill of his Wound, holds a Council about making War with the Scythians. Aristander accommodates to the King's Pleasure the Prognosticks he discovered in the Entrails of the Victims. Menedemes is defeated and killed, with two Thousand Foot, and three Hundred Macedonian Horse, which Defeat Alexander wisely conceals.

THE King of those *Scythians* whose Empire lies beyond the *Tanais*, looking on the new built Town, as a Yoke the *Macedonians* had put about their Necks, sent his Brother with a great Body of Horse to demolish it. The *Tanais* divides the *Bactrians* from the *European Scythians*, and likewise serves for the Bounds of *Asia* and *Europe*. The *Scythian* Nation not being far distant from *Thrace*, extends itself from the East to the Northward, and are not, as some have thought, Borderers on the *Sarmatians*, but are a Part of that People. They also inhabit that Country, that lies beyond the *Ister*, and touches upon *Bactriana*, which is in the extreme Parts of *Asia*, Northward, where there are vast Forests, and unbounded Wastes; but that Part of the Country that lies near the *Tanais*, and looks towards *Bactriana*, does not differ much in Culture from other improved Territories.

Alexander

Alexander finding himself obliged to enter upon an unforeseen War with these People, and observing with what Insolence they rid up and down within his Sight; altho' he was not yet recovered of his Wound, and his Voice particularly failed him by reason of his slender Diet, and the violent Pain in his Neck, yet he summoned his Friends to Council. He was not afraid of the Enemy, but uneasy at the unhappy Juncture of Affairs. The *Bactrians* were in open Rebellion, the *Scythians* insulted him when he was neither able to stand nor ride, and so could neither give necessary Orders, nor encourage his Men. In this double Perplexity he could not forbear complaining of the Gods, who forced him to lie idle, whose Diligence heretofore none could escape; but now his own Soldiers had much ado to believe he did not counterfeit being ill. This made *Alexander*, who since *Darius's* overthrow, had never consulted the Soothsayers, return to that Superstition, or rather Delusion of Mankind; he therefore commanded *Aristander*, in whom he had the greatest Confidence, to offer Sacrifice, in order thereby to penetrate into the Event of Things. Now it was the Custom of these Soothsayers to inspect the Intrails of Beasts without the King, and make a Report to him of their Observations.

While these Means were using to find out the hidden Issue of Affairs, he ordered his Friends *Hephæstion*, *Craterus* and *Erigyius* with his Body Guards to draw near him, that he might not, by straining his Voice, break the Cicatrix of his Wound, which was yet but tender. After which he spoke to them in the following Manner, 'The Danger I have to encounter with, comes upon me at a Juncture more favourable to my Enemy than myself, but Necessity takes place of Reason, and more especially in War, where it very rarely happens that we can chuse our own Times. The *Bactrians* have revolted when we were just ready to put our Yoke upon them, and they shall find by others Experience what we are able to do. It is plain that if we leave the *Scythians*, who at-

tack us, of their own Choice, we shall appear despicable to those who have rebelled; but if on the contrary we pass the *Tanais*, and shew ourselves invincible at the *Scythians* Cost, there is no doubt to be made, but *Europe* will also lie open to our victorious Arms. He is deceived who pretends to set Bounds to our Glory. We have only one River to pass to carry our Arms into *Europe*, and what an Honour will it be to us at the same time that we are subduing *Asia*, to erect Trophies of our Conquests, as it were in a new World, by uniting with one Victory what Nature separated at so great a Distance? But on the other Side, if we make the least delay, we shall infallibly have the *Scythians* upon our Backs. Are we the only Men that can pass Rivers? A great many Things by the Means whereof we have hitherto been successful will turn against us. Fortune will teach the Vanquished the Art of War. We have lately shewn the Way to pass Rivers upon Skins, which admit the *Scythians* to be yet ignorant of, the *Bactrians* will soon teach them the Way. Besides, tho' there is yet but the Army of one of these Nations arrived, there are others daily expected; so that by declining the War we foment it: And whereas we can now carry the War where we please, by our Neglect we shall be forced to be upon the defensive. What I say is self-evident, but whether the *Macedonians* will suffer me to act after my own way, I cannot tell, because since my last Wound I have not been able to ride on Horseback, or to go on Foot. However, if you are willing to follow me, my Friends, I am well. I think myself strong enough to bear the Fatigue, and if the period of my Life be at hand, which way can I die more gloriously?

He uttered these Things with so weak a Voice, that they who were next to him, could hardly hear him, so that they unanimously endeavoured to divert him from so rash an Enterprize, especially *Erigyius*, who (finding he could not prevail upon his Obstinacy by his Interest with him) had recourse to

Superstition; which the King was very much addicted to, and therefore told him, That the Gods themselves oppos'd his Design, and threatened him with some extraordinary Misfortune, if he pass'd the River. *Erigyius*, as he was entering the King's Tent, had met *Aristander*, who had informed him, that the Entrails of the Beasts appeared unlucky. Hereupon *Alexander* silenc'd him, reddening with Anger as well as Shame, that his Superstition, which he thought to conceal, was thus made Publick, and sent for *Aristander*, who being come, he told him (a little transported) *That he supposed he was no longer his King, but a private Person; did not I command you to offer a Sacrifice? Why then did you disclose to any but myself what the same portended? Erigyius, by your Treachery has penetrated into my Secrets; but I am confident he covers his own Fear by that Interpretation. I therefore command you to tell me yourself, what you learned by your Observation of the Victims, that you may not have it in your Power to deny what you shall have said.* *Aristander* at these Words stood like one astonished, turning pale, almost speechless thro' Fear; but then again, the same Fear prompted him to speak, lest he should provoke the King still more by his long Silence: He therefore said, *I foretold that your present Undertaking would be both perillous and full of Difficulties, but not unsuccessful; neither is it any Discovery from my Art, but the Sincerity of my dutiful Affection for you, that makes me uneasy. I see how weak you are, and am sensible how much depends on your Person alone. In fine, I fear you have not Strength enough to help out your Fortune as heretofore.*

The King bidding him not distrust his Hapiness (since the Gods intended him still a larger Portion of Glory) dismiss'd him. Afterwards, while the King was deliberating with the same Persons, how he should pass the River, *Aristander* return'd and assur'd him, he had Sacrific'd again, and had never observ'd more promising Omens, they being very different from the first, in which there was some Ground for Solicitude;

whereas now the Gods seem'd to be altogether propitious.

However, the News that was brought *Alexander* soon after seemed to break the Chain of his uninterrupted Prosperity. We took Notice before that he had detached *Menedemus* to besiege *Spitamenes*, the Author of the *Bactrian* Insurrection; who upon Advice of the Enemy's Approach, to avoid being pent up within the Walls of a Town, and conceiving withal some Hopes of trepanning him, had plac'd himself in Ambuscade on the Way he knew he was to come. There was a Wood thro' which *Menedemus* was to pass, and by reason of its covert, very fit for *Spitamenes's* Purpose; here he placed the *Dabe*, whose Horses carry each two arm'd Soldiers, who by Turns as occasion serves, suddenly dismount, and put the best order'd Cavalry in Confusion, for the Men are as swift as the Horses.

Spitamenes ordered therefore these Troops to surround the Wood, and upon the Signal given to attack the Enemy in Front, Flank and Rear; at the same time *Menedemus* finding himself hemm'd in on all Sides, and much inferior in Number, resolv'd to make the best Resistance he could, and so told his Men, *That the only Comfort they could now propose to themselves, was to die well reveng'd.* He was himself mounted on a strong Horse, with which he had often broke down the Enemy's Ranks, and put them to flight with great Loss; but being at present attack'd on all sides, and almost bloodless by the many Wounds he had received, he desired a certain Friend of his, named *Hypsides*, to get upon his Horse, and try to save him; but while this was doing he died, and fell to the Ground. However, *Hypsides* might have got off, if he had a Mind, but having lost his Friend he scorn'd to live. His only Care was to sell his Life as dear as he could; clapping therefore Spurs to his Horse, he rode in among the thickest of the Enemy, and having made a great Slaughter at last was killed. They that still remained perceiving this, retired to an Eminence hard by, and were at last reduced by Famine. In this Action there perished

perished two Thousand Foot, and three Hundred Horse, which Loss *Alexander* wisely conceal'd, by threatening with Death those that returned from the Defeat, if they divulg'd it.

C H A P. VIII.

While the Army was preparing for War, Ambassadors arrive from the Scythians, who make a fine Speech to Alexander, concerning Peace.

BUT as he could no longer carry on his Dissimulation, he repaired to his Tent, which he had caused on purpose to be pitch'd upon the Bank of the River; there he pass'd the Night alone without Sleep, casting in his Mind what was best to be done in the present Juncture, and frequently lifting up the Skins of his Tent to behold the Enemy's Fires, and be able to guess at their Number. As soon as it was Day, he put on his Armour, and shew'd himself to the Army now the first Time since he received his last Wound. They had so great a Veneration for their King, that his Presence soon dissipated their Fears; they therefore with Tears of Joy in their Eyes, saluted him, and now press'd him hard to enter upon the War, which they had before refused. Upon this he told them, *He would pass the Horse, and the Phalanx in Flote-Boats, and the Light-arm'd Part of the Army on the stuffed Skins, as he had done heretofore.* There was no Occasion for his saying more, neither could he, by reason of his Infirmary.

The Soldiers immediately fell to Work with so much cheerfulness, that in three Days time they made twelve Thousand of these Boats. Every thing was now in readiness for their Passage, when there came twenty Ambassadors from the *Scythians*, according to the Custom of that Nation, and riding about the Camp, desired the King might be informed they had a Message to him: They being introduced accordingly, and ordered by his Majesty to sit down, look'd very earnestly at him: I suppose for this Reason, that they make an Estimate of

the Mind from the Size of the Body, and as he was but of a moderate Stature, they did not think him proportionable to his mighty Character. The *Scythians* are not a dull heavy People, like the rest of the *Barbarians*; nay, some of them are said to attain to as much Knowledge as is consistent with any Nation that is constantly in Arms. It is said, they address'd themselves to the King in the following Terms; which tho' perhaps different from our Manners, who live in a politer Age, and have our Parts better improv'd, yet such as it is we shall faithfully relate, hoping that if their Speech be despised, our Integrity will not be suspected. The eldest of them therefore said, ' If the Gods had given you a Body suitable to the insatiable greediness of your Mind, the World would not be able to contain you; you would stretch one Arm out to the farthest Extremities of the East, and the other to the remotest Bounds of the West, and not content therewith, would be for examining where the glorious Body of the Sun hid itself; but even as you are, your Ambition attempts what you are not capable of. You pass out of *Europe* into *Asia*, and from *Asia* you return again to *Europe*; and when you have overcome all Mankind, rather than be quiet, you'll quarrel with the Woods and the Mountains, the Rivers and the wild Beasts. Can you be ignorant, that large Trees are a long Time growing, tho' an Hour be sufficient to cut them down? He is a Fool that coveteth their Fruit, without duly considering their Height. Take heed that while you strive to climb up to the Top, you do not fall Headlong with those Branches you have grasp'd. A Lion has sometime been the Prey of the smallest Birds, and Iron itself is consumed by Rust. In fine, there is nothing so firm and strong, but is in danger of perishing by what is weaker. What have you to do with us? We never so much as set Foot in your Country. Shall not we who pass our Lives in the Woods, be allow'd to be ignorant who you are, and whence you came? Know that as we are not greedy of Empire,

• pire, so neither can we submit to be Slaves.
 • Now that you may be sensible what sort
 • of People the *Scythians* are, Heaven has
 • presented us with a Yoke of Oxen, a
 • Plough, an Arrow, and a Bowl; these
 • Things we either communicate with our
 • Friends, or make use of them to defend
 • ourselves against our Enemies: We im-
 • part to our Friends the Corn which is pro-
 • duced by the Labour of the Oxen, and
 • with them also we Sacrifice to the Gods out
 • of the Bowl: Our Arrows serve us against
 • our Enemies at a Distance, and we use
 • our Spears in a closer Engagement. By these
 • Means we overcome the King of *Syria*,
 • and since, the Kings of *Persia*, and of the
 • *Medes*, and opened ourselves a Way even
 • into *Egypt*. And whereas you are pleased
 • to give out, that you come to punish
 • Thieves and Robbers; it is plain you have
 • play'd the Part of a Robber in all the Na-
 • tions you have yet invaded. You seized
 • *Lydia*, made yourself Master of *Syria*,
 • and are in present Possession also of *Persia*,
 • the *Bactrians* are in your Power, and you
 • have penetrated into *India*; and after all
 • this, you cannot be satisfy'd, unless you
 • extend your ravenous Hands to our harm-
 • less Flocks. What Occasion have you for
 • Riches since they only serve to increase
 • your Appetite? You are the first who by
 • Satiety sharpen your Hunger, as if all
 • your Acquisitions only served to make you
 • thirst after what you have not. Don't
 • you reflect how long the *Bactrians* have
 • employed you? And that while they kept
 • you in play, the *Sogdians* rebelled: So that
 • your very Victories seem to afford you
 • fresh Matter of War. Now admitting
 • that you are greater and stronger than any,
 • yet you ought to consider, that no Body
 • can endure long a foreign Government.
 • Do but pass the *Tanais* and you may in-
 • deed learn the extent of our Count'y, but
 • can never hope to overtake the *Scythians*;
 • our Poverty will still be too nimble for
 • your Army that is laden with the Spoils of
 • so many Nations. Again, when you
 • think us the farthest from you, you shall
 • find us within your Camp. We are equal-
 • ly ready to fly or pursue. I am informed,
 • that our Deserts and Wastes, are become
 • Proverbs of Scorn among the *Greeks*;
 • but for our Parts, we make choice of
 • Wilds, and those Places that are void of
 • human Culture, rather than of Cities and
 • fruitful Soils. Hold therefore your For-
 • tune as close as you can, for she is slippery,
 • and will not be held against her Will.
 • Wholesome Advice is better discovered by
 • the Consequences than the present. Put a
 • Curb therefore to your Prosperity, and
 • you'll govern it the better. We have a
 • Saying amongst us, That Fortune is with-
 • out Feet, and has only Hands and Wings,
 • and that when she reaches out her Hands,
 • she will not suffer her Wings to be touch-
 • ed. To be short, if you are a God, you
 • ought to be beneficent to Mortals, and
 • not deprive them of what they have; and
 • if you are a Man, always remember your-
 • self to be what you are. It is Folly to be
 • mindful of those Things which make you
 • forget yourself. You may make good use
 • of the Friendship of those you do not ex-
 • asperate by War: For the firmest Union
 • is amongst Equals; and those seem to
 • be Equals, who have not yet try'd their
 • Strength. Do not imagine those you
 • conquer, can be your Friends; there is no
 • Friendship between the Sovereign and the
 • Slave, for even in time of Peace, the De-
 • crees of War do still obtain. The *Scythi-
 ans* in their Alliances, do not make use
 • of Oaths to ratify the same, but their
 • Integrity answers all the Ends of Oaths.
 • It is a Precaution of the *Greeks* indeed,
 • to confirm their Transactions with the In-
 • vocation of the Gods; but as for ourselves
 • we make it Part of our Religion faithfully
 • to observe our Promises. They who have
 • no reverence for Men, will not scruple to
 • deceive the Gods themselves. Besides,
 • you have no Occasion for Friends, of
 • whose Benevolence you doubt now. In
 • us you will have incorruptible Guardians
 • both of *Asia* and *Europe*: There is only
 • the *Tanais* between us and *Bactriana*;
 • and beyond the *Tanais*, we extend our-
 • selves as far as *Thrace*, and *Thrace* is said

‘ to border upon *Macedonia*. Thus you see
‘ we are your Neighbours in both your Em-
‘ pires. Consider therefore, whether you
‘ will have us for your Friends or your En-
‘ mies.’

C H A P. IX.

Alexander, having sent back the Ambassadors, passes the Tanais, makes War upon the Scythians, and treats the Vanquished favourably.

THE Barbarian having ended his Speech, the King answered in few Words; *That he would make the best Use both of his Fortune and of their Counsel; of his Fortune, by still continuing to confide in it, and of their Counsel, by undertaking nothing rashly.* After which, he dismissed the Ambassadors, and embarked his Army on the Boats he had prepared for that Purpose. In the fore Part of the Boats, he placed those who had Bucklers, commanding them to kneel down that they might be less exposed to the Enemy's Arrows. Next to these were the Directors of the Machines, having on each Side of them, as well as before, Soldiers compleatly armed. The rest standing behind the Engines, formed a Tortoise with their Bucklers, and so protected the Rowers, who had also Armour on. The same Disposition was observed in those Boats that transported the Horse, of whom the major-part held their Horses by the Reins of their Bridles, and so drew them along swimming at the Stern; as for them that were carry'd over on Skins stuffed with Straw, they were sheltered by the Flat Boats.

The King with such as he had chosen to accompany him, put off first, and directed his Course to the other Side of the River, where the *Scythians* had drawn up some Horse along the Bank to oppose his landing; but besides the Appearance of an Army on the Shore, the *Macedonians* met with another Danger in their Passage, for they that steer'd the Boats were not able to maintain their Course cross the River, by reason of the Rapidity of its Current, and the Soldiers tottering up and down, and apprehensive of being cast over-board, disturbed the Watermen in their

Business. In this Condition it was impossible for them to deliver their Darts with any Force, being more solicitous how to stand securely, than to attack the Enemy. It is true, their Engines did them great Service, seldom failing to do Execution, the Enemy standing thick upon the Shore, and rashly exposing themselves. The *Barbarians* also, on their Side, poured in Clouds of Arrows among the Boats, so that there was hardly a Buckler that had not several Heads sticking in it. At length the Boats began to gain the Land, and those that were armed with Shields, rising all at one Motion, cast their Darts with a more certain Aim, as having greater Liberty and surer Footing, Thus the *Scythian* Horse being terrify'd and forc'd to give back, the *Macedonians* encouraging each other, leap'd out of the Boats, and with great Alacrity and Fury, bore down upon the Enemy already in Confusion. By this Time *Alexander's* Horse had formed themselves into Troops, and breaking in also upon the *Barbarians*, disordered their Ranks. While these Things were doing, the rest of the *Macedonian* Army being covered by those that were engaged, had time to prepare likewise for Battle. The King supply'd the Weakness of his Body with the Vigor of his Mind; and altho' his Voice was not yet strong enough to make his Encouragement heard, his Wounds not being quite healed, yet the whole Army could see how gallantly he fought. This made them all discharge the General's Part, and animate each other with so good an Effect, that they fell furiously on the Enemy, regardless of their own Safety. Whereupon the *Scythians* no longer able to sustain the Arms, Shouts and Countenance of the *Macedonian* Army, clapp'd Spurs to their Horses and made the best of their Way. The King, (notwithstanding his infirm Body could not yet endure any great Fatigue) pursued the Enemy for the Space of fourscore Furlongs; then finding himself faint, he ordered his Men to continue their Pursuit as long as they had Day-light; after which, he repaired to his Camp, expecting the Return of his Troops.

They

They had already passed the Bounds of *Bacchus*, in Commemoration of whom there were a great many Stones erected at a Distance from each other, and several tall Trees, whose Boles were covered with Ivy. But the *Macedonians* Rage carried them still farther, so that they did not return to the Camp till Midnight. They killed a great many, took several Prisoners, and brought away eighteen hundred Horses. In this Action the *Macedonians* lost sixty Troopers, and almost one hundred Foot, and had one Thousand wounded. This seasonable Victory settled the Minds of the *Asiaticks*, who were at this Time wavering, for they looked upon the *Scythians* to be invincible, and finding them defeated too, they concluded, no Nation was able to withstand the *Macedonian* Power.

The *Sace* hereupon sent Ambassadors to *Alexander*, to assure him that their Nation submitted to him. They were moved to this, not only by the King's Bravery, but also by his Clemency towards the *Scythians*, to whom he sent back all their Prisoners without Ransom, that that fierce Nation might be sensible he did not fight with them out of Hatred or Anger, but for Reputation and Glory. Having therefore received the *Sace's* Ambassador graciously, he gave them *Excipinus* for a Companion home; who being in the Flower of his Youth, was very much in *Alexander's* Favour; but altho' he was as handsome in Person as *Hephestion*, yet he was far from having his agreeable Wit.

Then the King leaving the major-part of the Army under the Command of *Craterus*, with Orders to follow him at easy Marches, went himself with the rest to *Maracanda*. *Spitamenes* being informed of his Approach, left that City and fled to *Bactra*. *Alexander* therefore having travelled a great deal of Ground in four Days, came at last to the Place where *Menedemus* had lost the two thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse, whose Bones he ordered to be buried with the usual Rites of their Country. Here *Craterus*, who had been commanded to follow, joined the King. That therefore he

might chastise at once all those who had revolted from him, he divided his Army into several Bodies, and ordered them to burn the Country, and kill all that were able to bear Arms.

C H A P. X.

The invincible Courage of the Sogdian Nobles. The Punishment of Bessus. Alexander's Army reinforced by new Troops.

THE Country of the *Sogdians*, is for the most Part a Desert, the Wilds and Wastes taking up almost eight hundred Furlongs in Breadth. It is of a vast Extent in Length, and is watered by a River called by the Inhabitants *Polytimetus*, which runs with a rapid Stream. This River is confined within a narrow Channel, and is at last received into a subterranean Cavity. The Noise it makes, as it passes under Ground, is a sufficient Indication of its hidden Course, yet the Territory under which this considerable River runs, shews no Sign of it from the least Evaporation of Water, thro' any Part of its Passage.

Among the Captive *Sogdians*, there were thirty of the chief Nobility of the Country, who were remarkable for their prodigious Strength of Body. These being brought before the King, and understanding by the Interpreter, that his Majesty had ordered them to be Executed, they began to sing and dance, and by other wanton Motions of their Body, endeavoured to express the cheerfulness of their Mind. *Alexander* being amaz'd at their unusual Alacrity on such an Occasion, commanded them to be brought back, and asked them the Cause of their excessive Joy, when they beheld Death before their Eyes. To which they answered; That if any other than himself had sentenced them to die, they should have been concerned; but since they were to be restored to their Ancestors by so great a King, who had conquered all the World, they looked upon their Death to be so honourable, as even to deserve the Envy of all brave Men, which made them so transported when they understood

understood his Pleasure. The King then asked them if they would be his Friends hereafter, if he should give them their Lives? They replied, That they had never been his Enemies, but had only defended themselves when they were attacked in a hostile Manner by him: And that if any Body would make Trial of them, by good Offices, instead of Injuries, they would willingly contend in the generous Strife, and use their utmost Endeavours not to be overcome. He asking them afterwards, What Pledge they would give him for their Fidelity? They answered, Their Lives, which they received through his Bounty, and which they would at all Times be ready to restore to him, whenever he required them. Nor were they worse than their Words. For those of them who were sent home, kept their Country People in due subjection to *Alexander*; and four of them being received into his Body Guards, were inferior to none of the *Macedonians* in their sincere Affection to the King. *Alexander* having left *Peucolaus* among the *Sogdians* with a Garrison of three thousand Men, he marched to *Bactra*, from whence he commanded *Bessus* to be conducted to *Ecbatana*, there to suffer Death for murdering *Darius*.

About the same Time *Ptolemy* and *Menidas* brought him three thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse, to serve in the War as Mercenaries. *Alexander* likewise came to him with the same Number of Foot, and five hundred Horse out of *Lycia*. The like Number had followed *Asclepiadus* from *Syria*. *Antipater* had also sent eight thousand *Greeks*, amongst whom were five hundred Horse.

Being therefore reinforced by these Recruits, he proceeded to compose the Disturbances in the revolted Provinces; and having put to Death the Promoters, he came the fourth Day to the River *Oxus*. This River, by reason of the Mud it carries along with its Stream, is always turbid and unwholesome to drink. The Soldiers therefore fell to sinking of Wells, and notwithstanding they had dug a great Way into the Ground, could find no Water. At last

there was a Spring found in the King's Tent, which, because it was discovered but late, they imagined sprung up on the sudden, and the King himself was not against its being thought a Present from *Heaven*.

Having afterwards passed the Rivers *Ochus* and *Oxus*, he came to a Town called *Marginia*, near to which he made choice of Places to build six Cities in, two of them were to be towards the South, and four towards the East. They were to stand at a moderate Distance from each other, that neither might have far to seek for Succour upon Occasion. They were all built upon pretty high Eminences, and intended as so many Curbs to the conquered Nations; but having now forgot their Origin, they are subject to those whom they formerly commanded.

CHAP. XI.

Alexander obliges the People of the Rock to surrender, altho' it was very strong, and almost impregnable by its Site.

ALL Troubles were now quieted; there was only one Rock which *Arimazes* a *Sogdian*, had possess'd himself of, with Thirty Thousand Men all arm'd, having provided it with all manner of Necessaries for so great a Multitude for two Years. The Rock is Thirty Furlongs in Height, and one Hundred and Fifty in Circumference, being on all Sides steep and craggy, and is accessible only by a very narrow Path. In the Midway to the Top, it has a Cave whose Entrance is strait and dark, but by degrees grows wider, and farther on, has large Recesses. This Cave was full of Springs, whose Waters being united as they run down the Rock, form a River. The King having consider'd the Difficulty of the Enterprize, had resolved to leave it; but afterwards was seized with a violent Desire to get the better even of Nature. However, before he undertook the Siege thereof, he sent *Cophas*, *Artabazus's* Son, to endeavour to persuade the *Barbarians* to surrender the Rock. But *Arimazes* confiding in the Strength

Strength of the Place, gave very haughty Answers, and at last ask'd, whether *Alexander* could fly? Which being related to the King, so inflamed his Anger, that having called a Council, he communicated to it how insolent the *Barbarians* were to them, because they had no Wings. Yet he did not doubt, he said, but by the next Night, to convince them, that the *Macedonians* could upon occasion turn themselves into Birds; and therefore ordered them to bring him three Hundred of the nimblest and most active young Men, they each had in their respective Troops, and such as had been accustomed at home to drive Sheep amongst the Rocks, and almost impassable Ways in the Mountains. Accordingly they brought him such as excelled the rest, both in Agility and Lightness of Body, as well as in Boldness and Courage. Whom the King beholding, said, *It is with you, generous Youths, who are of my own Age, that I have taken Towns which were before thought impregnable, and pass'd over the Tops of those Hills which are continually covered with Snow; with you, I entered the Streights of Cilicia, and endured without Weariness the violent Colds of India. I have given you Proof of myself, and have had it of you. The Rock you see has but one Way to it, which is guarded by the Barbarians, the rest of it is neglected by them. They keep no Watch but towards our Camp. If you seek diligently, you will not fail of finding some Way or other that will bring you to the Top. There is nothing so inaccessible by Nature, but your Virtue will make some shift or other to get to it. It is by undertaking what others despair'd of, that we have Asia in our Power, work therefore your Way up to the Top of the Hill, and when you have made yourselves Masters of it, hang out white Clothes for a Signal to me; and I shall then take care to advance towards the Enemy, and by a powerful Diversion hinder their falling upon you: The first that gets up shall have Ten Talents for his Reward, the next shall have one less, and so downward in the same proportion for Ten. I am very certain, that it is not so much*

my Liberality as the Satisfaction to please me, that you will look at, in this bold Attempt. They heard the King's Speech with so much Eagerness, that one would have thought they had already gained the Top of the Mountain, and being dismissed, they provided themselves with Wedges to fix in the Clefts of the Rock, and also with strong Ropes. The King rid round the Rock with them, and ordered them to set about their Work at the second Watch, beginning where the Rock was most practicable, and wished the Gods to favour their Undertaking: They having furnished themselves with Provisions for two Days, and armed only with their Swords and Spears, set forwards without any great Difficulty at first, but when they came to the steep Part, some laid hold of the broken Craggs to lift themselves up, others made use of Ropes with sliding Knots, having fixed their Wedges in the Clefts to shift their Footing. Thus they spent the whole Day in Fear and Labour, and having surmounted great Difficulties, there remained still greater to overcome, and the Rock seemed to grow in Height. It was a dismal Spectacle to behold those whose footing failed them, tumbling headlong down the Precipice, and by their Example shewing others what they were to expect. All these Difficulties notwithstanding, they made a shift to get up to the Top, being all very much fatigued with the continual Labour; some were hurt and maimed in their Limbs, yet were with the rest surprized with the Night and Sleep. However dispersing themselves up and down, they laid their wearied Bodies upon the rough craggy Stones, altogether unmindful of the present Danger, and slept till it was light. At last they awaked out of their profound Sleep, and looking curiously about to discover where so great a Number of People could hide themselves, they perceived some Smoke beneath them, which detected the Place of their Retreat. They therefore according to their Orders, erected the Signal agreed upon, and found that of their whole Number there were missing thirty-two. The King being no less desirous to make

make himself Master of the Place, than Solicitous for those he had exposed to manifest Danger, stood all Day gazing at the Top of the Hill, and did not depart to take his natural Rest, till the darkness of the Night hindred all Prospect of the Eyes. The next Day early in the Morning he first perceived the white Clothes, which were the Signal that his Men had gained the Top. However, he was uncertain whether his Eyes did not deceive him, by reason of the Variety of the Light of the rising Sun, which sometimes shined out, and sometimes was hid in a Cloud; but the clearer Light put it beyond all doubt. He therefore called for *Cophas* (whom he had sent before to the *Barbarians*) and dispatched him to them again, to try to bring them to a safer Resolution; and if he found they persisted in their Obstinacy, relying on the Strength of the Place. he commanded him to shew them his Soldiers who had taken Possession of the Top of the Mountain. *Cophas* being admitted, did all he could to persuade *Arimazes* to surrender the Rock, assuring him, he would very much ingratiate himself with the King, if he did not, by the Siege of a single Rock, stop him in the Career of his nobler Designs. The *Barbarians* were now more Insolent than before, and commanded *Cophas* to be gone. Then *Cophas* taking *Arimazes* by the Hand, desired him to go out of the Cave with him, which being done, he shew'd him those who were in Possession of the Top of the Rock; and, by way of Ridi-

cule, told him, That *Alexander's* Soldiers had Wings. At the same time the Trumpets were sounding in the *Macedonian's* Camp, and the Soldiers filled the Air with their Shouts and joyful Conclamations. This, as it often happens in War, where trivial Accidents have many Times great Influence, made the *Barbarians* resolve to surrender; for, being seized with Fear, they could not make an Estimate of the small Number of those who were behind them. They therefore called back *Cophas* in all haste, and sent along with him thirty of the most considerable amongst them, to deliver up the Rock if they might retire with their Lives; but the King was so incens'd at *Arimazes* his haughty Answers, that notwithstanding he very much dreaded lest the *Barbarians*, discovering the small Number of those above, should cast them headlong down the Precipice, and so frustrate his Attempt; yet confiding at the same time in his Fortune, he deny'd them any Manner of Conditions. Hereupon *Arimazes* (being more afraid than hurt) descended into the Camp with his Relations, and the chief Men of the Nation; all whom *Alexander* caus'd to be whip'd first, and then crucify'd at the Foot of the Rock. The rest of the Multitude were given to the Inhabitants of the new Towns, as also what Money was found amongst them; and *Artabazus* was appointed Governor of the Rock, and the adjacent Country round it.

The End of the Seventh B O O K.

B O O K VIII. C H A P. I.

The Massagetes, the Dahæ, and Sogdians being subdued, the Scythians offer Alexander the Daughter of their King in Marriage. Alexander alone slays a Lion in a Chase, and afterwards kills Clitus at a Banquet, because he had spoken with too much Freedom.

ALLEXANDER, having made himself Master of this Rock with more Noise than Glory, observing his Enemies were dispersed here and there, divided his Army into three Bodies. *Hephestion* had the

Command of one, *Genon* of another, and he himself led the third. However, his Enemies were not all of the same Mind, for some were subdued by Force of Arms, tho' the greater Number submitted without
B b risking

risquing an Engagement: To these he therefore distributed the Towns and Lands of those who perished obstinately in their Rebellion; but the banished *Eaſtrians*, with eight Hundred *Maſſagetan* Horſe, plundered the Neighbouring Villages, and *Attinas* (who was Governor of that Province) marched out with three Hundred Horſe to ſuppreſs theſe Diſorders, not dreaming in the leaſt of the Miſchief that was prepared for him; for the Enemy had placed a Body of Soldiers in the Woods that are contiguous to the Plains, leaving ſome few only to drive before them Flocks of Sheep, that the Deſire of the Booty might entice him into the Ambuſcade they had laid for him: Accordingly *Attinas* no ſooner diſcovered the ſame, but he made all the haſte he could to ſecure his Prey, without obſerving the leaſt Order; ſo that he was no ſooner paſſed thro' the Wood, than they who lay in Ambuſcade fell upon him at unawares, and killed him and all his Men. This Diſaſter quickly came to *Craterus's* Ears, who immediately repaired thither with all his Horſe, but the *Maſſagetes* were already fled; however, he ſlew a Thouſand of the *Dabe*, by whoſe Deſeat the Rebellion was quell'd throughout all the Country.

Alexander likewise having again ſubdued the *Sozdians*, returned to *Maracanda*. Here *Berdes* whom he had ſent to the *Scythians* who inhabit the Country near the *Bisphorus*, came to him, with the Ambaſſadors of that Nation. *Pbrataphernes* alſo, who had the Government of the *Choraſmians*, who bordered on the *Maſſagetes* and the *Dabe*, ſent Meſſengers to acquaint him, that he ſubmitted himſelf to his Royal Will and Pleaſure. The *Scythians* deſired, That he would marry the Daughter of their King, but if he did not approve of the Alliance, at leaſt that he would permit the *Macedonian* Nobility to intermarry with the moſt conſiderable Perſons of their Nation; they aſſured him alſo, that their King would come in perſon, and pay him a Viſit.

Alexander received both theſe Embaſſies very graciously, and remained encamp'd in the ſame Place till he was joined by *Hepheſ-*

tion and *Artabazus*, after which he marched into the Country called *Bazaria*.

The chief Marks of the barbarous Opulency of this Nation conſiſt in having large Herds of wild Beaſts, ſhut up in great Forests and Woods, well ſupply'd with perennial Springs, which render them very delightful. Theſe Forests are incloſed with Walls, and have Towers alſo for the Reception of the Hunters; among the reſt of theſe immur'd Woods, there was one which had not been hunted in for the Space of four Ages, which *Alexander* enter'd with his whole Army, giving Orders to hunt and deſtroy all the Game they could. Among the reſt, there was a Lion of an unuſual Size, which made towards the King, and *Lyſimachus* (who reigned afterwards) being next to *Alexander*, and obſerving the Danger he was in, began to put himſelf into a Poſture to receive the Beaſt with his hunting Spear; but *Alexander* reſuſed his Aſſiſtance, and commanded him to be gone, adding, that he was as able to kill a Lion ſingle as *Lyſimachus*. We muſt here take Notice, that *Lyſimachus* had formerly (as he was hunting in *Syria*) killed a very large Lion ſingle, but endanger'd his Life in the Action, it having torn his left Shoulder to the Bone: This made the King upbraid him as he did, and at the ſame time behave himſelf with more Bravery than he had ſpoke; for he not only received the Beaſt with an undaunted Courage, but alſo killed it with one Stroke. I am apt to believe the fabulous Account of *Lyſimachus* being expoſ'd to a Lion by *Alexander's* Command, had its riſe from this Accident which we have mentioned.

However, notwithstanding the King ſucceeded ſo well in this bold Attempt, yet the *Macedonians*, according to the Cuſtom of their Country, made an Ordinance, That for the future the King ſhould not hunt any more on Foot, nor without being attended by the chief of his Nobility and Friends. *Alexander* having killed four Thouſand wild Beaſts in this Wood, feaſted his whole Army there; after which he returned to *Maracanda*, where, upon *Artabazus's* excuſing himſelf on the Account of his old Age,

Age, he bestowed his Government on *Clitus*. This was he who at the River *Granicus*, when *Alexander* was fighting bare-headed, covered him with his Buckler, and cut off *Rhofaces's* Hand, as he was ready to discharge a great Blow on the King's Head. He had served a long time under *Philip*, and was remarkable for a great many noble Exploits during the War. His Sister *Hellanice* had nursed *Alexander*, and was no less beloved by him on that score than his own Mother; this made him commit to his Care and Trust, the bravest and most warlike Province of his Empire. He therefore ordered him to be ready to set out the Day following to take upon him his new Commission, and invited him to assist at the solemn Feast he gave his Friends that Night. During the Entertainment, the King being heated with Wine, and an immoderate Extoller of his own Performances, began to enlarge upon the great Things he had done, to such a Degree, as to be troublesome to the Ears even of them who were sensible of the Truth of what he said. The eldest among them nevertheless heard him with an attentive Silence, till he began to disparage *Philip's* Achievements, and boast that the celebrated Victory near *Cheronea*, was owing to himself; and that he was deprived of the Glory of it thro' his Father's Malice and Envy, whom (in the Sedition that arose between the *Macedonians* and the mercenary *Greeks*, when he counterfeited being dead of the Wound he received therein) he protected with his Buckler, killing with his own Hand those who offered to insult him; yet his Father was never willing to acknowledge this Piece of Service, as being loath to confess he owed his Life to his Son. That therefore after his Expedition against the *Illyrians*, he wrote to his Father, that the Enemy was vanquished without *Philip's* Assistance. Those he said deserved Commendation who did not stop at the Borders of *Samoethracia*, when *Asia* ought to be burnt and laid waste, but who by their great Actions surpassed all Belief.

These and the like Sayings were grateful enough to the young Men, but the Seniors

did not at all like them, especially on *Philip's* Account, under whom they had served a longer Time than under him. Hereupon *Clitus*, who was not very sober himself, turning to those who sat below him, recited some Verses out of *Euripides*, yet after such a Manner, that the Sound was rather heard, than the Words distinguished by the King. They were to this Effect, *That it was an ill Custom among the Greeks to inscribe only the Names of their Kings on the Trophies; by which Means they run away with the Glory that was acquired by other People's Blood.* The King therefore suspecting what he said had something malicious in it, ask'd those who were next him, what *Clitus* had said? But as they remain'd Silent, *Clitus* began to speak in a louder Tone of *Philip's* Actions, and concerning the Wars in *Greece*, preferring them to what was now done. This caused a Dispute between the young Men and the *Veterans*, yet the King seem'd patiently to hear *Clitus's* Allegations (whereby he endeavoured to lessen his Praise) tho' at the same Time he was inwardly enraged; notwithstanding which he appeared inclined to bridle his Passion, if *Clitus* would have let drop his indiscreet Discourse; but finding he still ran on, after the same Manner, it exasperated him very much. *Clitus* at last proceeded to that degree of Insolence, as to dare to defend *Parmenio*, and preferred *Philip's* Victory over the *Athenians*, to the Destruction of *Thebes*, and seemed to be now prompted by a spiteful Disposition of Mind to Contention, as well as by the Wine; so that he did not scruple to say, if it be requisite to die for you *Clitus* is sure to be the first in your Thoughts; but those shall reap the greatest Rewards of your Victories who after the most shameful Manner insult your Father's Memory. You have bestowed on me the Country of *Sogdiana*, which has so often rebelled, and is still not only unsubdued, but impossible to be brought under Subjection; that is to say, I am sent amongst wild Beasts, headstrong and rash by Nature. However, I shall wave what relates to myself, and take Notice of your Contempt for

Philip's

Philip's Soldiers, while you forget, that if it had not been for old *Atbarias* here present, (who rallied the young Men, and brought them back to the Fight they had declined) we might have been still before *Halicarnassus*. How then can you be said to have conquered *Asia* with this Youth? As for my Part, I believe what your Uncle said in *Italy* to be true, that he had to do with Men, and you with Women. Of all the rash and indiscreet Things uttered by *Clitus*, nothing more provoked the King than the honourable mention he made of *Parmenio*; yet for all that, he suppressed his Grief, and was contented to bid him be gone from the Feast, without adding any Thing more than that if he had continued to talk on, he supposed he would have upbraided him with the having saved his Life, which was a Thing he would often brag of with too much Vanity. But as *Clitus* made no hast to obey the King's Order, they who were next to him laid hold of him, and endeavoured to carry him off, blaming him, and at the same Time reminding him of his Duty. When *Clitus* found they were taking him away by force, Anger mingling itself with his excess of Wine, he cried out, That it was his Breast that had defended the King's Back, but the Time of so signal a Service being elapsed, the Memory of it was become odious. He also reproached him with the Death of *Attalus*, and at last ridiculing the Oracle of *Jupiter*, whom *Alexander* claimed as his Father, he said he told him greater Truths than his Parent. By this Time the King's Anger was so increased, that had he been perfectly sober he could hardly have governed it; he therefore leaped on the sudden from the Table, to the great Amazement of his Friends, who thereupon did not take Time to set down their Cups but cast them away, expecting what would be the Issue of so furious a Transport: And *Alexander* laying hold of the Spear of one of the Guards, was for killing *Clitus* (who still continued talking with the same intemperance of Tongue as before) had he not been held by *Ptolemy* and *Perdiccas*, and as he persisted to struggle with them, *Lyf-*

machus and *Leonnatus* took the Lance from him. This made *Alexander* implore the Assistance of his Soldiers, and cry out, That he was seized (as *Darius* had been) by his most intimate Friends, and commanded the Signal to be given for them to repair to his Palace with their Arms. At these Words *Ptolemy* and *Perdiccas* cast themselves at his Feet, and begged he would moderate his Anger, and give himself Time to reflect, since he might the next Day execute with a greater regard to Justice, what the Nature of the Thing should require; but his Anger had shut his Ears to all Counsel, so that in his rage he run to the Porch of the Palace, and taking a Spear from the Centinel that was there upon Duty, he placed himself in the Entry thro' which those who had supped with him were obliged to pass. Now all the rest being gone, *Clitus* came last of all without any Light, and the King asked who he was? But after such a Manner as sufficiently declared the Cruelty of his Intention. *Clitus*, who was no longer mindful of his own Passion, but only of the King's, made answer, That it was *Clitus* who was retiring from the Banquet; as he spoke these Words, *Alexander* run him thro', and all besmeared with his Blood, said to him, Get thee gone to *Philip*, *Parmenio*, and *Attalus*.

CHAP II.

Alexander repents too late of the Murder of Clitus. His Expeditions against Sismithres, and the banished Bactrians. The Death of Philip, a young Man of high Birth and great Courage; with that of Erygius, an excellent and renowned General.

THE Mind of Man is in this but indifferently provided for by Nature, that he for the most Part does not so much reflect on the Consequences of Things till they are transacted. Thus the King when his Anger was over, and the heat of his Wine abated, too late perceived the Enormity of his Crime. Then he saw he had kill'd a Man who

who indeed had taken too great a Liberty with his Tongue, but at the same Time was very deserving on the Account of his Bravery, and who, if he was not ashamed to own the Truth, had saved his Life; he now reflected how unworthily he had sully'd the Splendor of the Royal Dignity, by discharging in Person the odious Office of an Executioner, and that he had by an abominable Murder, cruelly punished the Liberty of a few Licentious Words, which might reasonably have been imputed to the Wine. He with Horror beheld the Entry of his Palace, stain'd with the Blood of a Person, who but a little before had been thought worthy to Sup with him. The Guards in the Fright they were in, stood like Men stupified at a Distance, so that his Solitude afforded him a greater Freedom to repent of what he had done. He therefore drew the Spear out of the dead Body that lay extended on the Floor, and would have plunged it in his own, had not the Guards flown to his Assistance, and wrested it out of his Hands, and carry'd him into his Tent; here he flung himself on the Ground, and filled the Place with his Lamentations and Cries. Then finding he could do nothing else, he tore his Face with his Nails, and intreated the Standers by, not to let him survive so shameful an Action. After this Manner he spent the whole Night, and as he was examining himself, whether he had done any Thing to deserve the Deity's Anger to that Degree, as to be abandoned to the Commission of so foul a Crime? He recollected, that the Anniversary Sacrifice to *Bacchus*, had not been performed at the Time appointed for that Purpose: He therefore concluded, That the Murder he had committed in his Wine and good Cheer, was a manifest discovery of the Anger of that God. But what most griev'd him was to see all his Friends stand like Men stupified, and that none of them would for the future dare to converse with him; so that he should for the future be forc'd to live like the Wild Beasts, which are sometimes a Terror to others, and sometimes afraid themselves.

As soon as it was Day, he order'd the Corpse, all bloody as it was, to be brought into his Tent, and when it was plac'd before him, he with Tears in his Eyes said, *Is this the grateful Return I make my Nurse, whose two Sons lost their Lives for my Glory at Miletum?* This Brother was the only Comfort she had left, and I have barbarously Murder'd him at my own Table: What will this unfortunat Woman do? Of all that belong'd to her, I am the only left, whom alone she for the future will never be able to see with any Satisfaction. How wretched is my Fate, that I must thus shew myself the Butcher of those who have preserv'd my Life! how can I think of returning to my own Country, where I shall not be able to hold out my Right-Hand to my Nurse, without refreshing her Memory with the cause of her Calamity? His Friends finding there was no end of his Tears and Complaints, order'd the Body to be taken away; notwithstanding which he remain'd three Days shut up, bewailing himself after this Manner, till at last the Guards of his Person (perceiving he was determin'd to die) broke into his Chamber altogether, and with much ado prevailed with him to eat; and that the King might have the less Confusion for what he had done, the *Macedonians* resolv'd, that *Clitus* was justly kill'd, and were for depriving him of the Honour of Sepulture, had not the King order'd him to be buried.

Having therefore staid ten Days at *Maracanda*, to re-assume his Modesty, he sent *Hephestion* with part of the Army into *Bactriana* to lay up Provisions for the Winter, and gave to *Amyntas* that Province which he had before bestow'd on *Clitus*; after which he came to *Xenippa*, which is a Country bordered on *Scythia*, and is full of Towns and Villages, the Soil thereof being so fruitful, that it not only detains those who are born there, but also invites Strangers to come and settle there. The banished *Bactrians*, who had revolted from *Alexander*, were retir'd thither; but upon certain Advice of the King's coming, they were expell'd by the Inhabitants, so that
about

about two Thousand two Hundred of them were got together in a Body; they were all Horse, and accustomed, even in Time of Peace, to live by Rapine and Theft; but their fierce Natures were by the War, and despair of being forgiven, rendered still more brutish. They therefore unexpectedly attacked *Amyntas*, *Alexander's* Predecessor, and the Victory was doubtful for a considerable Time, till at last having lost seven Hundred of their Men (of which three Hundred were taken Prisoners by the Enemy) they fled; they were not altogether unrevenge, for they killed fourscore of the *Macedonians*, and wounded about three Hundred and Fifty. However, tho' this was the second Time they had rebelled, they obtained their Pardon.

The King having taken them into his Protection, came with his whole Army into a Country called *Naura*; *Symithres*, who was Governor thereof, had two Sons by his own Mother, (for amongst them it is lawful for Parents to have carnal Knowledge of their Children) he had with two Thousand of the Militia, built a strong Wall at the narrow Entrance into the Country, before which there run a rapid River; the back Part was secured by a Rock, thro' which the Inhabitants had made a Way by dint of Labour. The Entry into this hollow Way is lightsome, but farther on it is dark, unless some artificial Light be made use of; this hidden Passage runs quite thro' the Rock into the Plains, and is only known to the Inhabitants.

But *Alexander* (notwithstanding the *Barbarians* guarded this Place, which was so strong both by its natural Situation and Art) with his battering Rams, quickly beat down these manual Fortifications, and with Slings and Arrows, drove away those that defended them; then passing over the ruin'd Works, he brought his Army to the Rock, which was strengthened by a River that run before it, and was formed by the united Streams, that fell from the Top of it into the Valley. It seemed to be a vast Undertaking to fill up so deep and large a Channel. However, he ordered Trees to be cut down,

and great Heaps of Stones to be brought thither. The *Barbarians* who were altogether unacquainted with such sort of Works, were seized with the utmost Horror, when they saw so vast a Pile erected in so little Time. Hereupon the King imagining they might be brought to a Surrender thro' Fear, sent *Oxartes* (who was of the same Nation, but in his Interest) to them, to persuade the Governor to deliver up the Rock. In the mean Time to augment their Terror, he order'd the Tower to be advanced, and caused several Engines to play upon them at a Distance; which had so good an Effect, that the *Barbarians* not thinking themselves secure any other Way, betook themselves to the Top of the Rock. *Oxartes*, therefore pressed *Symithres* (who now began to distrust his Affairs) to fling himself on the Honour of the *Macedonians* rather than withstand their Power; advising him not to stop the Career of a victorious Army that was marching into *India*; and which, whoever should dare to oppose, would only bring others Calamities on their own Heads. As for *Symithres*, he was not against surrendering, but his Mother (who was also his Wife) declared she would suffer Death, rather than submit to the Power of any Enemy, and so put the *Barbarian* upon more honourable than safe Measures; he being ashamed that Women should set a greater Value upon Liberty than Men. He therefore dismiss'd the Messenger of Peace, and resolved to undergo the Siege. But then upon due weighing of his own and the Enemy's Strength, he began to repent again, for having hearken'd to a Woman's Counsel, which was rather rash than suitable to the present Juncture of Affairs. Wherefore he immediately called back *Oxartes*, and told him, he would lay himself at the King's Mercy, and begg'd of him, not to say any thing of his Mother's Obstinacy; that her Pardon might also be more easily obtained. As soon as he had dispatched *Oxartes* with this his Resolution, he followed himself, with his Mother and Children, and a great Crowd of his Relations, without so much as waiting for any farther Security from the King, who
being

being informed of this, sent a Trooper to order them to go back, and expect his coming; where he no sooner arrived, than he offered Sacrifice to *Minerva* and Victory, and then confirmed *Sysimithres* in his Authority, promising to enlarge his Province, if he remained faithful to him. He had two Sons which he delivered up to the King, who ordered them to follow him in his Wars.

Alexander leaving here his *Phalanx*, advanced with his Cavalry to subdue the Rebels. The Way was rough and craggy; however, they endured it pretty well at first, but after some Time the Horses Hoofs were not only worn away, but their Bodies also tired, besides which, the Riders themselves were so harrassed with the immoderate Labour, that a great many were not able to keep up with him, so that the Troops, began to grow thin, the extraordinary Fatigue overcoming the Shame they had of being left behind. Nevertheless, as the King changed Horses frequently, he continued pursuing the flying Enemy; but the young Noblemen who used to accompany him, were all forced to give out, except *Philip*, who was *Lysimachus's* Brother, and was then in the Flower of his Age, and as it plainly appeared a Person of a Genius capable of the greatest Things. This Youth, which will hardly be believed, tho' on foot, kept up with the King, who was on Horseback, for the space of five hundred Furlongs. *Lysimachus* offered him his Horse several Times, but nothing could prevail upon him to leave the King; tho' at the same Time he was loaded with his Breast-Plate, and other Arms. He afterwards behaved himself gloriously in a Wood where the Enemy had hid themselves and protected the King's Person, who was closely engaged. But after the *Barbarians* were put to Flight, that great Soul which had so bravely supported his Body during the Heat of the Engagement, at last flagged, and a cold Sweat issuing out of all the Parts of his Body, he was forced to plant himself against a Tree, but that proving too weak a Relief in his present Circumstances, the King took him up, and

he expired in his Arms. This Misfortune was succeeded by another, which also did not a little afflict *Alexander*; for as he was returning to his Camp, he was informed of the Death of *Erigyus*, one of the bravest of his Captains. The King ordered both their Funerals to be performed with all the Pomp and Magnificence imaginable.

C H A P. III.

Alexander commands the Wife of Spitamenes, who brought him the Head of her Husband, whom she had slain, to go out of his Camp. He takes Vengeance of the Governors of several Provinces for the Injuries they had done the People.

THE *Dabe* were the next he intended to march against, for he understood *Spitamenes* was amongst them. But Fortune who never tired in heaping her Favours on him, assisted him here, as she had done on many other Occasions, and saved him the Trouble of this Expedition. *Spitamenes* had a Wife on whom he doated, and as the Fatigues and Dangers she was exposed to in accompanying him where ever his Misfortunes drove him, were become troublesome to her, she employed all her Charms to prevail with him to desist from flying any farther, and as he had already experienced *Alexander's* Clemency, to try to appease the Anger of an Enemy he could not otherwise hope to escape. She had three Sons by him which were pretty well grown up, these she brought to his Embraces, and begged he would at least take Pity of them; and to enforce her Prayers, she told him, *Alexander* was not far off; but he thinking he was betrayed, and not advised, and that it was the Confidence she had in her Beauty, which made her not care how soon she came into *Alexander's* Power, drew his Sword, and would have killed her, if her Brothers had not happily interposed. However, he commanded her to be gone out of his Sight, threatening her with Death, if she offered to come into his Presence, and that he might not be sensible of her Absence, he passed the

the Nights with his Concubines. Yet as his Passion for her was great, it was the more enflamed by the Distaste he took to their Company. He therefore gave himself intirely again to her, conjuring her never to speak to him more on that Account, but willingly undergo with him whatever Fortune did alot them; since for his now Part, he had rather die than surrender himself. Hereupon she excused herself, telling him, That she had advised him only to what she thought was most for his Interest, and admitting she had talked like a Woman, yet it was with a faithful Intention, however, for the future she would conform to his Pleasure.

Spitamenes won by this counterfeit Compliance, gave a great Entertainment on the Account of their Reconciliation, where having loaded himself with Wine and good Chear, he was brought half asleep into his Apartment. As soon as his Wife perceived he was in a sound Sleep, she drew a Sword she had under her Garment for that Purpose, and cut off his Head, and all besmeared with the Blood, gave it to a Servant who was privy to her Crime, and being attended by him, came in this bloody Condition to the *Macedonian* Camp, where she sent Word to *Alexander*, that she had something of Importance to communicate to him, and which he must hear from her own Mouth. The King immediately ordered her to be introduced, and observing her to be stained with Blood, imagined she came to complain of some Affront offered her, he therefore asked her what she had to say? Hereupon she called for the Servant that waited in the Entry, who having *Spitamenes* his Head under his Garment, gave the Guards a Suspicion, and upon their searching him, he pulled out the Head and shewed it. But the bloodless Paleness had so disfigured its Features, that it was a hard Matter to distinguish whose it was. *Alexander* being informed it was a Man's Head, that he brought, went out of his Tent, and enquired into the Matter, which he accordingly told him. The King's Mind was now perplexed with variety of Thoughts; for on the one Hand, he look'd

upon it as a considerable Piece of Service, that he who was first a Refugee, and afterwards had prov'd a Traitor, and was like to have delay'd the Execution of his great Designs, was kill'd; but then again he detested the barbarous Action, of her having thus treacherously murder'd her Husband, who had deserved well of her, and by whom she had had several Children. At last the foulness of the Fact got the better of the Service it did him, so that he sent her Word to be gone from the Camp lest the *Greeks* more human Minds, and gentler Manners, should be corrupted by the Example of so barbarous a License. The *Dabe* understanding *Spitamenes* was slain, seiz'd *Datapharnes* (who had been his Partner in the Conspiracy) and brought him bound to *Alexander*, and at the same Time yielded themselves to him. Being now delivered from the chief Part of his present Cares, he turned his Mind to the revengeing such as had been ill-used and oppressed by his Prætors. He therefore conferred the Government of *Hyrkania*, the *Mardi*, and *Tasurians* to *Phrataphernes*, with Orders to secure *Phradates*, whom he succeeded; and send him to him under a sufficient Guard. *Stasanor* was substituted in the Place of *Arfanes*, Governor of *Drance*. *Arfaces* was sent into *Media* to succeed *Oxydates*; and *Babylon*, *Mazeus* being dead, was committed to the Care of *Deditamenes*.

C H A P. IV.

Almost all Alexander's Army is lost by the Cold in going to Gabaza. His Constancy, and his Humanity towards the Common Soldiers. His Marriage with Roxana.

HAVING made these Regulations, he drew his Army out of their Winter Quarters where they had been almost three Months, and marched towards a Country called *Gabaza*. The first Day's March was easy and calm, the next was not stormy and dismal, yet more gloomy than the preceding, and did not end without some threatening of a growing Evil; but on the third, it
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Lightened from all Parts of the Heavens, and not only dazzled the Eyes of the Army, but also terrified their Minds. The Thunder was almost continual, and the frequent Lightnings seemed to fall from the Heavens before them, so that the Army was struck with such a Dread, that it neither dared to advance nor stand still. Soon after, there fell such a Storm of Rain, accompany'd with Hail, that it seemed to partake of the Violence of a Torrent. At first they protected their Bodies, by covering themselves with their Bucklers, but after some Time their Hands, which were wet with Rain, and benumbed with the excessive Cold, were no longer able to hold them, and they knew not which Way to direct their Course, since the Violence of the Tempest seemed to increase on which Side soever they turned. Breaking therefore their Ranks, they wandered up and down the Woods, and many of them, rather overcome with Fear than tired with the Fatigue, cast their Bodies on the Ground, notwithstanding the Intensity of the Cold had frozen the new fallen Rain. Others had placed themselves against the Stocks of Trees, which served them both for Shelter and Support. At the same Time, they were not ignorant they only chose a Place to die in, since for want of Motion their vital Heat would forsake them. However the very Thoughts of Rest was so agreeable to their wearied Bodies, that they did not grudge to die in an easy Posture. The Storm was not only furious, but obstinate in its Duration, and the Shade occasioned by the Trees concurred with the Darkeness from the Tempest, to deprive them of the Light, which is a natural Comfort in Affliction. The King was the only Person could bear these Calamities; he therefore went about, and rallied his scattered Soldiers, raising them up who were laid down, shewing them at a Distance the Smoak that came out of the Cottages, and encouraging them to lay hold on the first Refuge they could come at. Nothing contributed more to their Safety in this Case, than the Shame they had to forsake the King, who they saw was indefatigable, and able to hold out

against those Evils their weaker Natures sunk under. At last Necessity, which in Adversity is more efficacious than Reason, supply'd them with a Remedy against the Cold: And they fell to cutting down the Wood, then laying it in Heaps and Piles, they set it on Fire. One would have thought the whole Forest had made but one continued Blaze, there being hardly room left for the Soldiers to stand between the Flames. The Heat now began to work upon their benumbed Limbs, and, by Degrees, the Spirits, whose Operation had been intercepted by the Rigor of the Cold, gained a freer Passage. Some of them got into the Cottages of the *Barbarians*, which Necessity had made them seek out, tho' hid in the utmost Part of the Wood; others repaired to the Camp, which was pitch'd indeed in a wet Ground, but then the Storm was over. This Passage consumed about a Thousand Soldiers, Followers of the Camp, and Servants. It is said, that some of them who had placed themselves against the Trees, after they were frozen to Death, looked as if they were alive, and talking to one another, preserving still the same outward Appearance that Death had surprized them in.

It happened at this Time that a private Soldier of the *Macedonians*, being hardly able to support himself and his Arms, with much ado at last came into the Camp, where being perceived by the King, (who was warming himself by the Fire) he immediately leaped from his Seat, and having help'd the Soldier (who was almost Frozen, and hardly *compos mentis*) to put off his Armour, he bad him set down in his Seat. This Man for a while did not know either where he was, or by whom received; at last his Vital Heat being restored, he saw the King, and finding himself seated in the Royal Chair, he got up in a Fright, which *Alexander* taking Notice of, he ask'd him, if he was not sensible how much happier the *Macedonians* were under their King than the *Persians*? Since to these it is a capital Crime to set in the King's Seat, whereas he had saved his Life by it.

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The next Day he called his Friends and chief Officers, and ordered them to make Proclamation throughout the Army, that he would make good whatsoever Losses had been sustained, and accordingly he was as good as his Word; for *Sysimithres* having brought to him a great Number of Horses and ten Thousand Camels, with several Herds of Cattle, and Flocks of Sheep, he distributed them among the Soldiers, by which means he at the same time both supplied them with Provisions, and made good their Damage.

The King having declared that *Sysimithres* had shewn himself grateful, for the Favours he had bestowed on him, ordered the Soldiers to provide themselves, each with Victuals ready dress'd for six Days, and marched towards the *Sace*. He pillaged and destroyed all this Country, and made a Present of thirty Thousand Sheep to *Sysimithres*, out of the Booty.

From hence he pass'd into the Province which was under the Government of a noble Satrap, whose Name was *Chortanus*, who presently put himself under the King's Protection; whereupon *Alexander* restored his Government to him, without requiring any more from him, than two out of three Sons which he had, to serve him in the War. The Satrap gave him also the third that was left him, and made a sumptuous Entertainment for him, with all the Magnificence the *Barbarians* are capable of. During the Solemnity of the Feast, he ordered Thirty noble Virgins to be brought in, among whom was *Roxana* his own Daughter, who was an exquisite Beauty, and neatly set off in Apparel, which is a Rarity amongst those People. This Lady, notwithstanding she was in the Company of chosen Beauties, so far excelled them all, as to turn the Eyes of all the Beholders on herself, especially the King's, who in so great an Indulgence of Fortune (against which Mankind is seldom sufficiently guarded) had not now the same Government of his Passions as heretofore. He therefore who had looked upon *Darius's* Wife and Daughters (to whom none could be compared, except *Roxana*) no other Way than with the Eyes of a Parent, was so transported

with Love for this young Lady (who in comparison to the Royal Blood might be esteemed of mean Extraction) that he did not scruple to say, it was necessary for the firmer Establishment of the new Kingdom, that the *Persians* and *Macedonians* should intermarry, that being the only Way to wipe off the Shame of the Conquer'd, and abate the Pride of the Conquerors. He added, that *Achilles* (from whom he was descended) had not scrupled to marry a Captive. And that he might not be thought to do an ill Thing, he was resolved to marry her lawfully. Her Father ravished with an unexpected Joy, heard the King's Speech with inexpressible Pleasure; and the King in the height of his Passion, ordered Bread to be brought, according to the Custom of his Country. This was the most solemn Way of celebrating Marriages among the *Macedonians*, who on this Occasion cut the Bread asunder, each of the contracted Parties eating a Piece thereof. I suppose the Founders of this Custom had a View (in the Institution thereof to shew by this sparing) and easily procurable Food, with how small a Matter they ought to be contented. Thus the great King of *Asia* and *Europe*, in the Festival Sports of an Entertainment, married a Captive, on whom he was to beget an Emperor for the Victors themselves. His Friends were ashamed he should after this Manner, in his Wine and good Chear, make choice of a Father-in-Law, out of those he had subdued; but upon *Clitus's* Death all Liberty of Speech was taken away, and by their Countenance, which is easily commanded on such Occasions, they seemed to approve of the King's Action.

C H A P. V.

Whilst the Thoughts of his People are wholly employed on the Expedition to India, Alexander is made proud by the Malice of his Flatterers, and will be acknowledged the Son of Jupiter, which Callisthenes condemns in a grave and sharp Discourse.

HOWEVER, as he resolved to March in-
to India, and from thence to the Ocean,
that

that he might leave nothing behind him able to interrupt the Execution of his Designs, he gave Orders to his Lieutenants to pick out of all the Provinces, thirty Thousand chosen young Men, and to send them to him ready arm'd, to serve him both as Hostages and Soldiers. He also detach'd *Craterus* to pursue *Hauſtanes* and *Catenes*, who had revolted; of whom *Hauſtanes* was taken, and *Catenes* was killed in Battle. *Polypercon* likewise subdued the Country call'd *Bubacene*. Having thus settled his Affairs, he bent his Thoughts intirely upon the *Indian War*.

This Country was esteemed to be vastly rich, not only in Gold, but also in Pearls and Precious Stones, which were by the Inhabitants applied rather to Luxury than Magnificence: The Soldiers Shields were said to glitter with Gold and Ivory; that therefore he who excelled all others might be nowhere out-done; he ordered his Soldiers Bucklers to be covered with a Plate of Silver, and the Horse to have Gold Bridles, and adorned their Breast-Plates, some with Gold and some with Silver. The King was followed by one hundred and twenty Thousand Men to this War. Having thus prepared every Thing, he thought it now a proper Opportunity to execute what he had a long Time wickedly entertained in his Mind; he therefore began to consult about the Measures which were necessary for his usurping the celestial Honours. He was no longer contented to be called *Jupiter's Son*, but would likewise be believed to be really so, as if he had the same Power over Mens Minds, as over their Tongues. He therefore required, that the *Macedonians* should prostrate themselves on the Ground, and worship him, after the Manner of the *Persians*.

In these irregular Desires, he did not want the Applause of Flatterers, the perpetual Banes of Kings, who have been oftener ruined by them, than by their professed Enemies. However the *Macedonians* were not to blame herein, for none of them were for subverting the Laws of their Country: But it was the *Greeks* Fault, who by their cor-

rupt Manners dishonoured the Profession they made of the Liberal Arts. There was one *Agis*, of *Argos*, the worst Poet that had been since *Chærilus*; and another nam'd *Cleo*, a *Sicilian*, who was no less a Flatterer by his own Nature, than by the common Vice of his Nation: These, with some others, who were the Dregs and Refuse of their respective Towns, had greater Interest with *Alexander* than either his Relations or Generals. These Wretches did not scruple to blaze up and down, that *Hercules*, *Bacchus*, with *Castor* and *Pollux*, would all readily give Way to this new Divinity. The King therefore, on a Festival Day, ordered an Entertainment to be prepared with all the Pomp and Magnificence imaginable; to which were invited not only the chief of his Friends, as well *Macedonians* as *Greeks*, but also the most considerable among the Nobility. After he had sat down with them, and eat a-while, he withdrew. Then *Cleo*, as it had been concerted, made a Speech in Praise and Admiration of the King's Virtues, reciting particularly the great Favours he had bestowed upon them; for all which, he told them, they had but one Way to make him a Return, which was publicly to acknowledge him to be a God, whom they understood to be one; it being the least they could do to repay such mighty Benefits with so small an Expence as that of a little Incense. The *Persians*, he said, did not only act piously, but prudently, in worshipping their Kings as Gods, since the Majesty of Empire and Sovereignty, was its chief Protection and Safety. Neither *Hercules* nor *Bacchus* were ranked amongst the Gods, till they had overcome the Envy of their Contemporaries; After-Ages easily believing what the present Age had warranted. If the rest had any Difficulty in this Matter, he was resolved, for his Part, to prostrate his Body on the Ground, at the King's returning to the Feast; that the rest ought to follow his Example, especially those who were wise, it being their Duty to lead the Way in the Veneration that was due to the King. 'Twas easy to perceive, that this Speech was chiefly directed

rected to *Callisthenes*, whose Gravity and freedom of Speech was odious to the King; as if he was the only Person who hindered the rest of the *Macedonians* from paying him that Honour. Hereupon *Callisthenes*, on whom the Eyes of the Assembly were fix'd, (silence being made) said, If the King had been present at thy Discourse, none of us would have had Occasion to answer thee; for he himself would have required thee, not to press him to degenerate into Foreign Manners, nor sully the Splendor of his glorious Performances with so foul an Envy as an Action of this Nature must necessarily raise in the Minds of all his Friends. But since he is absent, I'll answer thee for him, that no Fruit too soon ripe, is of long duration, and that instead of conferring divine Honours on him, thou robbest him of them. For an interval of Time is necessary to have him believed a God, it being from Posterity that extraordinary Men usually receive this Favour. For my part I wish the King a late Immortality; and that his Life may be long and his Majesty eternal. Divinity sometimes follows the Dead, but never accompanies the Living. Thou just now broughtest *Hercules* and *Bacchus* for Instances of consecrated Immortality. Dost thou then think they were made Gods by the Decree of an Assembly at an Entertainment. No: Their mortal Nature was first removed from the Sight, before their Fame carried them into Heaven. Dost thou think, *Cleo*, that thou and I can make a God? The King then is to receive his divine Authority from us! now let us try thy Power. Let us see thee make a King, if thou canst so easily make a God. It is not so difficult a Matter to give an Empire, as to bestow Heaven. May the propitious Gods hear, without being provoked, thy blasphemous Discourse, and suffer Things to be carried on with the same Success that has hitherto attended us, and grant us to be contented with our ancient Customs. I am not ashamed of my Country, nor do I now desire to learn from the *Persians*, after what Manner I am to reverence the King. For I pronounce them to be Conquerors, if we receive from them Laws to prescribe our way of Living.

Callisthenes was listened to with great attention as the Assertor of the Publick Liberty. He not only gained the silent Approbation of the Elders, but also their open Declaration in his Favour, as thinking it a great Grievance to forsake their ancient Customs, and strike into Foreign Manners.

The King was not ignorant of what passed to and fro in the Assembly, for he stood all the while behind the Tapestry, which he had for that purpose ordered to be hung up before the Table. He therefore sent to *Agis* and *Cleo* to supersede the Discourse, and be contented that the *Barbarians* only, according to their Custom, fell down before him. And after some Time, he returned to the Assembly, as if he had been about some Matter of Moment, and as the *Persians* were worshipping him, *Polypercon*, who sat above the King, advised one of them, who touched the very Ground with his Chin, to hit it harder against the Ground, by which Jest he provoked the King's Anger, which for a long Time he had not been able to suppress. He therefore said to him, Thou wilt not then adore me? Are we so contemptible to thee alone, as to be thy Sport and Diversion? To which he made answer, That he neither thought the King ought to be jested with, nor himself condemned. At these Words, the King dragged him from the Bed, and flung him on the Ground, where, as he lay in a prostrate Posture, he said to him, Dost thou see thou hast done the same Thing that thou ridiculedst just now in another? And having commanded him to be taken into Custody, he dismissed the Assembly. However, after a long Punishment, he pardoned *Polypercon*.

C H A P. VI.

A Conspiracy is formed against Alexander, on Account of an Injury done to Hermolaus, which is discovered; and although Callisthenes is innocent, he is put among the Number of the Conspirators.

AS for his Anger to *Callisthenes* whose Stubbornness he had a long Time suspected, it had taken a deeper Root, and he had

had very soon an Opportunity to gratify it.

It was (as is before mentioned) the Custom of the *Macedonian* Noblemen to deliver their Sons to the King, as soon as they had attained to an adult Age, to be employed in Functions not differing much from servile Offices. They watched by Turns in the Night at the King's Chamber-Door; they introduced the Concubines by another Way than where the Soldiers kept Guard. It was their Duty likewise to take the Horses from the Grooms of the Stables, and bring them to the King whenever he mounted on Horseback; they attended him also in Hunting, or in Battle, and were instructed in all the liberal Arts and Sciences. Their chief Honour was, that they were allowed to sit at Table with the King, and that no Body had power to chastise them but himself. This Band was amongst the *Macedonians* a kind of Nursery, or Seminary of Generals and Commanders: From hence Posterity received their Kings, whose Offspring were after many Ages deprived of their States by the *Romans*. Now it happened that *Hermolaus*, who was a young Nobleman of this Royal Company, killed with his Dart a wild Boar, that the King himself designed to strike; for which Action he commanded him to be whipp'd. *Hermolaus* being very much grieved at this Affront, began to make his Complaint to *Softratus*, who was of the same Band, and loved him dearly: Thus *Softratus* seeing how miserably his Friend's Body was torn, and perhaps being already incensed against the King on some other Score, put the Youth (who was sufficiently provoked by this Usage) on entering into a strict Confederacy with him to kill the King. Having therefore given and received to and from each other their mutual Fidelity in a Matter of such Importance, they did not go about the Execution of it with a Juvenile Rashness, but wisely made use of proper Persons to join with them in their criminal Undertaking, which were *Nicos-tratus*, *Antipater*, *Asclepiadorus* and *Philotas*, these brought into the Conspiracy *Anticles*, *Elaptonius*, and *Epimenes*. Not-

withstanding these Preparations, it was no easy Thing to execute their Design; for it was requisite they should be upon the Guard all at the same Time, whereas some of them mounted one Night, and some another: They therefore were two and thirty Days in changing their Turns of Duty, and making the other necessary Preparations; but the Night was now come that they were all to be upon Duty at the same Time, and they were not a little pleased at their mutual Fidelity, of which so many Days elapsed was a sufficient Proof. Neither Fear nor Hope had shook the Constancy of any one of them in all that Time, so great was their Resentment against the King, or their Fidelity to one another. They were all waiting at the Door of the Apartment in which the King was eating, that at his rising from the Table they might conduct him into his Bed-chamber; but either his Fortune, or the merry Disposition of the Company, promoted their drinking largely; besides, the Sports and Diversions usual on those Occasions spun out the Time. The Conspirators one while were pleased at it, thinking they should attack him in a stupified Condition; on the other hand, they were in pain lest the Merriment should be protracted till Day-Light, because by break of Day they were to be relieved by others, and were not to mount again till that Day Sevensnight; and they could not tell how to hope, that none of their Fidelities should be shaken in so long a Time. However, as it began to draw near Day-Light, the Company broke up, and the Conspirators received the King, overjoyed that they had now an Opportunity to execute their criminal Design, when a Woman, who was disturbed in Mind, as it was thought, and was used to be about the Palace, because she pretended to foretel what was to come, not only came and met him, but opposed his coming out, and by her Countenance and Eyes signifying the Emotion of her Soul, advised him to go back again, and drink on. The King, as it were in jest, made answer, That the Gods gave good Counsel, and calling back his Friends, continued drinking till two Hours after Day-Light: By this Time

Time others had succeeded in the Conspirators Post, notwithstanding which they did not go off, tho' they had fulfilled their Duty; so obstinate is the Hope of Man, when he passionately desires any Thing. When the King came out he spoke to them in more courteous Terms than usual, and bad them go and take their Rest, since they had watched all the Night; and to recompence their extraordinary Diligence, he ordered them, every one fifty Sesterces, commending their Zeal, which had prompted them to remain after they were relieved. Having lost their Opportunity, they retired all to their own Homes. All the rest impatiently expected the Return of their Duty, but *Epimenes*, whether suddenly changed by the King's obliging Behaviour to him and the other Conspirators, or out of an Opinion, that the Gods opposed their wicked Intentions, went immediately to his Brother, *Eurylochus*, from whom till then he had concealed the Matter, and revealed to him the whole Design.

The Punishment of *Philotas* was to fresh in all their Memories, that he presently seized his Brother, and brought him to the Palace, where having raised the Guards, he told them, That what he came about related to the King's safety.

The unreasonable Time they came at, and their disturbed Countenances, together with the dejected Looks of one of them, gave a Suspicion to *Ptolemæus* and *Leonnatus*, who commanded the Guard at the King's Chamber. They therefore immediately open'd the Door, and carrying in a Light, awakened the King, who by Reason of his hard drinking was in a profound Sleep; but having by little and little recollected his Spirits, he asked them, What was their Business? Then *Eurylochus* made Answer, That the Gods had not intirely forsaken their Family, since his Brother (who had dared to be concerned in the worst of Crimes) did not only repent thereof, but had pitched upon him to discover the same. The Mischief was to have been executed the preceding Night, and they were concerned in it that the King least suspected. Then *Epimenes* laid open the whole Matter, as it had been contrived and

projected, giving in the Names of all the Conspirators. It is most certain, *Callisthenes* was not named amongst them, but he was observed to lend an easy Ear to the young Men, when they talked licentiously, and railed against the King.

Some did not scruple to say, That when *Hermolaus* complained to him, of his being whipped by the King's Orders, he made this Answer; 'That the King ought to reflect, that they were now at Man's Estate;' but 'tis still doubtful, whether he said this to comfort him in his Affliction, or to exasperate his provoked Mind. When the King was thoroughly awaked, and duly considered the Greatness of the Danger he escaped, he immediately ordered *Eurylochus* fifty Talents, giving him at the same Time the forfeited Estate of a certain rich Man, called *Tyridates*, and restored his Brother to him, even before he made it his Request: But he ordered the rest of the Conspirators, and with them *Callisthenes*, to be strictly guarded, who being brought to the Palace, he slept all that Day and the following Night, being heavy with the Excess of Wine and sitting up.

The next Day he called a general Council, at which assisted the Fathers and nearest Relations of those whose Cause was in Agitation, and who, for that Reason, were not safe themselves, it being the Practice of the *Macedonians* to punish with Death all those who were related by Blood to Traitors. The King commanded the Prisoners to be brought in, except *Callisthenes*, who presently confessed the Crime they had intended; and as every one cried out against them, the King asked them, what he had done to them to provoke them to so horrid an Enterprize.

C H A P. VII.

Hermolaus makes a Speech, inveighing against the Cruelty and Pride of Alexander, and maintains that Callisthenes is innocent.

WHEN *Hermolaus* saw all the rest remained silent, like Men astonished, he uttered himself in these Terms:

‘ Since

‘ Since you seem to be ignorant of the
 ‘ Matter, I must tell you, that we conspir’d
 ‘ your Death, because you began to treat us
 ‘ not like free-born Men, but like Slaves.’

At these Words, his Father, *Sopolis*, got up, and calling him the base Murderer of his Parent, as well as King; and clapping his Hand to his Mouth, said, he was distracted with his Crime, and the Evils that attended it, and ought not to be suffered to say any more: But the King reprimanding his Father, bid *Hermolaus* speak what he had learned from his Master, *Callisthenes*

‘ I shall then (said *Hermolaus*) make
 ‘ Use of the Favour you granted me, and
 ‘ tell you what our own Misfortunes have
 ‘ taught me. How small is the Number of
 ‘ *Macedonians* that have escaped your
 ‘ Fury? How many are there left? I say, of
 ‘ Noble Blood? *Attalus*, *Philotas*, and *Par-*
 ‘ *menio*, *Lyncestes*, *Alexander*, and *Clitus*,
 ‘ with Reference to the Enemies, are still
 ‘ alive; they are still in their Posts protect-
 ‘ ing you with their Bucklers, cheerfully
 ‘ receiving Wounds to promote your Glory,
 ‘ and gain you Victories, and indeed you
 ‘ have nobly requited them; for one of them
 ‘ stained your Table with his Blood, and
 ‘ you thought it too great a Favour to pu-
 ‘ nish the other with a simple Death, you
 ‘ therefore put the bravest Generals of your
 ‘ Army to the Rack, that the horrible Sight
 ‘ might be a grateful Spectacle to the *Per-*
 ‘ *sians* they had conquered. As for *Parme-*
 ‘ *nio*, you barbarously murdered him, with-
 ‘ out suffering him to plead, tho’ he had
 ‘ taken off *Attalus*, your Enemy. Thus
 ‘ you by Turns make Use of the Hands of
 ‘ the Wretched to satisfy your Cruelty; and
 ‘ those who have been the Instruments of
 ‘ your Murders, are quickly after sacrificed
 ‘ by others.’

The whole Assembly now was in an uproar, and his Father drew his Sword to kill him, had he not been hindered by the King, who bid *Hermolaus* continue his Speech, and desired the Company to hear patiently the unhappy Wretch, who freely aggravated his own Crime. They being with Difficulty restrained, *Hermolaus* said again, ‘ How

‘ bountifully you permit Children, unskil-
 ‘ led in the Art of Oratory, to plead their
 ‘ Cause! but the Voice of *Callisthenes* must
 ‘ be shut up in a Prison, because he alone
 ‘ knows how to speak: Why is he not
 ‘ brought forth, since they who confess
 ‘ themselves guilty are heard? But the
 ‘ Reason is plain, you are afraid to hear the
 ‘ free Speech of the Innocent, nay, you
 ‘ cannot so much as look at them. However
 ‘ I will do him that Justice, as publickly to
 ‘ declare, that he was not any Way con-
 ‘ cerned with us. They are here present
 ‘ who joined with me in the glorious Un-
 ‘ dertaking. There is not any one who
 ‘ charges *Callisthenes* with being privy to
 ‘ the Design; yet he has been a long Time
 ‘ destined a Sacrifice by the justest and pa-
 ‘ tientest of Kings. These are the noble
 ‘ Rewards of the *Macedonians*, whose
 ‘ Blood you make an Abuse of, as a Thing
 ‘ in itself superfluous and sordid. As for
 ‘ your own Part, you have thirty thousand
 ‘ Mules laden with captive Gold, when at
 ‘ the same Time your Soldiers have no-
 ‘ thing to carry home to their Families, but
 ‘ their Scars and Wounds. Yet we made a
 ‘ shift to bear all these Grievances till you
 ‘ delivered us up to the *Barbarians*, and by
 ‘ a new and unheard-of Method, you en-
 ‘ slave even the Conquerors themselves.
 ‘ You delight in the Dress as well as Disci-
 ‘ pline of the *Persians*, and perfectly hate
 ‘ your own Country’s Manners. It was
 ‘ therefore the King of the *Persians*, and
 ‘ not of the *Macedonians*; we would have
 ‘ killed; and we prosecute you as a Defenter
 ‘ by the Law of Arms. You were for ha-
 ‘ ving the *Macedonians* adore you as a God:
 ‘ You slighted your own Father *Philip*, and
 ‘ if there were any of the Gods superior
 ‘ to *Jupiter*, you would even disdain him
 ‘ too. Can you then wonder, if Men
 ‘ who are free born cannot brook your exces-
 ‘ sive Pride? What can we hope from you,
 ‘ since we must either be contented to suffer
 ‘ Death, tho’ innocent, or which is worse
 ‘ than Death, live in Slavery? Now if you
 ‘ are capable of Amendment, you are very
 ‘ much obliged to me, since I am the first
 ‘ that

‘ that dare tell you what it is that free-born
 ‘ Spirits cannot bear. However be so good
 ‘ at least as to spare our Parents, and do not
 ‘ load their old Age with Torments, who
 ‘ are sufficiently punished in being deprived
 ‘ of the Comfort they had in us; but as for
 ‘ ourselves, order us to be taken to the Place
 ‘ of Execution, that we may obtain by
 ‘ our own Death, what we hoped for from
 ‘ yours.

Hermolaus spoke after this Manner, to
 which the King replied.

C H A P VIII.

*Alexander's Answer to the Invektives of
 Hermolaus. The Punishment of the Con-
 spirators, and the innocent Callisthenes.*

‘ **H**OW false all these Things are which
 ‘ he has received from his Master, suf-
 ‘ ficiently appears by my Patience; for not-
 ‘ withstanding he pleaded Guilty to the
 ‘ worst of Crimes, yet I was willing you
 ‘ should hear what he said as well as myself.
 ‘ I was not ignorant that this Villain would
 ‘ be transported with the same Rage which
 ‘ prompted him to kill me, whom he ought
 ‘ to have revered as a Parent. It is true
 ‘ I lately ordered him to be corrected for
 ‘ his insolent Behaviour when I was Hunt-
 ‘ ing; but I did no more in that than what
 ‘ was customary, and agreeable to the Prac-
 ‘ tice of the former Kings of *Macedon*.
 ‘ And indeed it is as absolutely necessary, as
 ‘ for Pupils to be chastized by their Tutors,
 ‘ and Wives by their Husbands; nay, we
 ‘ grant our Slaves the Privilege of correct-
 ‘ ing their Children of that Age. This is
 ‘ the Cruelty I exercised towards him, and
 ‘ which he would have revenged by my
 ‘ Death. As for those who do not compel
 ‘ me to act contrary to my own Nature, how
 ‘ gentle am I towards them, is well known
 ‘ to you all, and so needless to be dwelt
 ‘ upon. I cannot wonder that *Hermolaus*
 ‘ does not approve of the Punishment of
 ‘ Parricides, since he has incurred the same;
 ‘ so that when he praises *Parmenio* and *Phi-
 ‘ lotas*, he defends his own Cause. You
 ‘ know I pardoned *Lyncestes Alexander*,

‘ who had twice conspired against my Life,
 ‘ tho’ he was convicted by two Witnesses;
 ‘ nay, upon a third Conviction, I delay’d
 ‘ his Punishment two Years, till you your-
 ‘ selves required he should undergo Justice.
 ‘ You all remember *Attalus* had resolved
 ‘ upon my Death, even before I was King.
 ‘ As for *Clitus*, would to God he had not
 ‘ forced me to be angry with him; I bore
 ‘ his virulent Expressions to you and my-
 ‘ self, longer than he would have bore
 ‘ with me, had I said the same Things to
 ‘ him. The Clemency of Kings and Prin-
 ‘ ces, does not altogether depend on their
 ‘ own Disposition, but in a great Mea-
 ‘ sure on the Temper and Behaviour of
 ‘ their Subjects. Empire is softened by
 ‘ Submission; but when all Respect is
 ‘ laid aside, and high and low are Con-
 ‘ founded, then we are necessitated to have
 ‘ recourse to Force, to repel Force. But
 ‘ why should I wonder he accuses me of
 ‘ Cruelty, who dares reproach me with Ava-
 ‘ rice? I shall not appeal to yourselves on
 ‘ that Head, for fear I should render my Li-
 ‘ berality odious to you, by making it a
 ‘ Burthen to your Modesty. Cast but your
 ‘ Eyes on the whole Army, and you will see
 ‘ that they who a little while ago had no-
 ‘ thing but their bare Arms, lie now in
 ‘ Beds of Silver, their Tables are served in
 ‘ Gold Plate, they have Troops of Slaves in
 ‘ their Service: In fine, they are so loaded
 ‘ with Booty that they know not what to do
 ‘ with it. Oh! but the *Persians* whom we
 ‘ have overcome are in great Honour with
 ‘ me! it is true, and it is an undeniable
 ‘ Argument of my Moderation, that I do
 ‘ not Reign haughtily over them I have sub-
 ‘ dued. I did not come into *Asia* utterly to
 ‘ exterminate whole Nations, nor to make a
 ‘ Desert of one half of the World; but to
 ‘ behave myself so towards those I should
 ‘ overcome, that they might not be grieved
 ‘ at my Victories. This gentle Usage is the
 ‘ Cause they cheerfully serve in the War
 ‘ with you, and do not scruple to shed their
 ‘ Blood to enlarge your Empire; whereas,
 ‘ had they been haughtily dealt with, they
 ‘ would have rebelled. The Possession of
 ‘ what we get by the Sword, is not very du-
 ‘ rable

' rable, but the Benefit of good Offices is
 ' eternal. If we have a mind to keep *Asi*
 ' and not simply pass through it, our Cle-
 ' mency must extend to them also; and their
 ' Fidelity will make our Empire everlast-
 ' ing. As for ourselves we have more
 ' than we know what to do with, and it
 ' must be an insatiable avaritious Temper
 ' indeed, to continue filling what always
 ' runs over. It is said again, that I in-
 ' troduce the Manners of the *Barbarians*
 ' among the *Macedonians*; why truly, I
 ' observe in many Nations those Customs
 ' which we need not to be ashamed to imi-
 ' tate; nor is it possible to govern well so
 ' large an Empire, without communica-
 ' ting some Things to them, and learning
 ' others from them. It was ridiculous
 ' enough in *Hermolaus*, that he would have
 ' had me oppose *Jupiter*, who thought fit
 ' by his Oracle to own me for his Son, do
 ' the Answer of the Gods depend on me?
 ' He was pleas'd to offer me the Title of
 ' Son; and I thought to receive it, would
 ' very much contribute to the Success of
 ' what I had in View. I with the *Indians*
 ' could be persuaded I was a God; for War
 ' depends much upon Fame, and sometimes
 ' a false Report believ'd, has had the Effect
 ' of a Truth. Do you think it is out of
 ' Luxury that I cause your Arms to be
 ' adorn'd with Gold and Silver? No, I de-
 ' signed thereby to convince those People,
 ' amongst whom there is nothing more com-
 ' mon than those Metals, that the *Mace-*
 ' *donians*, who are invincible in all other
 ' Respects, are not to be outvied even in
 ' that. I shall by this Means first conquer
 ' the Eyes of these *Barbarians*, who ex-
 ' pect to see nothing amongst us but what
 ' is sordid and vile; and make them sensi-
 ' ble, that it is not out of Greediness of
 ' Gold or Silver, but of a Thirst after Hon-
 ' our, and to subdue the whole World, that
 ' we come to them: Of which Glory,
 ' thou Parricide, would fain have robbed us;
 ' and having deprived the *Macedonians* of
 ' their King, have delivered them up a Prey
 ' to the conquered Nations. I am desired
 ' by thee to spare your Parents; now that

' you might perish with the greater Concern,
 ' if you have any love for your Parents, you
 ' ought to be kept ignorant of my Inten-
 ' tions therein, but it is a long Time since
 ' I abolished that Custom of putting to
 ' Death the innocent Relations with the
 ' guilty; and I do now protest, that they
 ' shall all hold their respective Stations, and
 ' be as much in my Favour as before. The
 ' Reason why thou wouldst have had *Callis-*
 ' *thenes* (who alone has an Opinion of thy
 ' Merit, because thou art a *Russian*) brought
 ' forth is this, that he might before this As-
 ' sembly have spoke the same outrageous
 ' Things which thou hast lately learned of
 ' him, and now villianously uttered thyself
 ' against me. However, had he been a *Ma-*
 ' *cedonian* by Birth, he had appeared here
 ' with thee, a worthy Master of such a Dis-
 ' ciple; but as he is an *Olynthian*, he has
 ' not the same Privilege.

After this Speech he dismissed the Coun-
 cil, and ordered those who were condemned,
 to be delivered into the Hands of their Com-
 panions; who to shew their Zeal for the
 King's Safety, tormented them cruelly, and
 then killed them. *Callisthenes* also dy'd
 upon the Rack; he was altogether innocent
 of the Conspiracy against the King's Person,
 but was not at all of a complaisant Humour,
 nor qualified by Nature for the Flatteries of
 a Court. The Death of this Man procured
Alexander more Ill-will than that of any
 other, by reason he was a Man of Probity
 and Learning, and had persuaded him to
 live, when, having killed *Clitus*, he had re-
 solved to die. It was the more disliked be-
 cause he not only put him to Death, but
 tortured him, and all this without so much
 as granting him a Hearing. The King re-
 pentted, but too late, of this Cruelty.

CHAP. IX.

*A fine Description of the River Indus, of
 the Ganges, the Dyardenes, of India, its
 Inhabitants, its Kings and Philosophers.*

BUT that he might not remain in Idle-
 ness, which is apt to give birth to, and
 D d foment

foment false Rumours, he advanced towards *India*, getting always more Glory during the War, than he could maintain after the Victory. The whole Country of *India* lies chiefly towards the East, extending itself more in Length than in Breadth. To the Southward it is hilly, the rest of it is flat and open, and is watered by several considerable Rivers, which have their rise from Mount *Caucasus*, and pass pleasantly thro' the Plains. The *Indus* is the coldest of them all, and its Water differs in Colour but little from that of the Sea. The *Ganges* is remarkable from its first Appearance, and runs to the Southward in a direct Channel, washing the Tops of several Mountains, after which the Rocks that lie in its Way, turn its Course to the Eastward. It empties itself into the Red Sea, and by its rapid Course eats away its Bank, and carries along with it a great many Trees, with part of the Ground they grew upon. Its Current is obstructed in many Places by Rocks, which bear it back, but were it finds a gentler Bed, it stagnates and forms Islands. The *Acefinex* swells it. The *Ganges* intercepts this River a little before it discharges itself into the Sea; at their first meeting they dash furiously against each other, for the *Ganges* is very rough where it receives it, and the *Acefinex* is too violent to give way to the other's resisting Streams. The *Dyardenes* is less celebrated, because it runs along the Extremities of *India*; however, it is remarkable for this, that it not only affords *Crocodiles* as the *Nilus* does, but also *Dolphins*, and several other Animals unknown to other Nations. The *Erymanthus* has frequent turnings and windings, and is by the Inhabitants, let into several Cuts for the more convenient watering the Country, which makes it have but a small Channel, and even lose its Name where it runs into the Sea. This Kingdom is watered by several other Rivers, which are of less Note, because they do not run so far into it.

That Part of the Country that lies nearest the Sea, is for the most part blasted by the North Winds. But these Winds being restrained by the Tops of the Mountains,

cannot penetrate into the inward Parts, for which Reason they are very fruitful; yet this Country's Climate is so different from the rest of the World, that when other Places are parched up with the scorching Heat of the Sun, *India* is covered with Snow; and when other Regions are frozen, the Heat is here almost intolerable, no body being able to account for the Cause.

The *Indian* Sea does not differ in Colour from other Seas; yet having received its Name from King *Erythras*, the Ignorant have believed its Waters were red. The Land produces a great deal of Flax, wherewith the major part of the Inhabitants cloath themselves. The inward Bark of the Trees receives the Characters of Letters as well as Paper, and the Birds may be taught to imitate the Sounds of a human Voice. The Beasts here are different from those of other Nations; the *Rhinoceros* will live here but not breed. The *Indian* Elephants are stronger than those that are tamed in *Africa*, and they are large proportionable to their Strength. Gold is to be found in several Rivers of this Country, which glide along in a gentle Stream. The Sea doth cast both Pearls and precious Stones on the Shore, which is the chief cause of their Wealth, especially since they have communicated their Vices to Foreign Nations, for these Excrements of the working Sea, are looked upon to be worth whatever Luxury rates them at. There, as well as elsewhere, the Minds of Men seemed to be formed according to the different Situation of the Country. They cover their Bodies with Linnen Garments down to their Feet: They protect their Feet with Sandals, and bind their Heads with Rolls of Linnen. Those amongst them, who are distinguished from the rest, either by their Nobility of Birth or Riches, have precious Stones hanging at their Ears, and adorn their Arms, as well as Wrists, with Bracelets and other Ornaments of Gold. They comb their Hair often, but seldom cut it. They shave the rest of their Face very smooth, but the Beards on their Chins remain untouched. The Luxury of their Kings (which they call Magnificence)

goes

goes beyond the Excesses of all other Nations. When the King is pleased to appear publicly, there are proper Officers, who with Silver Censers, perfume all the Way through which he is to pass. He is carried in a Litter of Gold, curiously set off with Pearls that hang down all round it. The Linnen with which he is cloathed, is finely embroidered with Gold and Purple. His Body-Guards follow the Litter, some of them carrying Boughs full of Birds, which by their agreeable Notes, are taught to divert them, in their more serious Affairs.

The Palace is supported with Pillars of Gold, upon which Vines are curiously engrav'd, whereon the Effigies of those Birds they most delight in, are represented in Silver. The Palace is open to all Comers, while the King is combing himself and dressing; during which Time, he gives Audience to Ambassadors, and administers Justice to his People. When his Sandals are taken off, they anoint his Feet with odoriferous Unguents. His greatest Labour is Hunting, which is performed in a Park, where he shoots the Wild Beasts, whilst his Concubines are singing and offering up their Vows for him. The Arrows are two Cubits in Length, which they let fly with a greater Effort than Effect, by reason they are clogged with an unweildy Weight, which retards their Swiftnes, wherein their Force chiefly consists. In small Journies he rides on Horseback; but in longer Progresses he is drawn in a Chariot by Elephants, whose vast Bodies are covered all over with Gold Trappings. And that nothing may be wanting to their corrupt Manners, he is followed by a long Train of Concubines in golden Litters: This Troop marches seperately from the Queen's, but is equal to it in point of Luxury. It is the Business of Women to prepare his Victuals; they also serve him with Wine, of which all the Indians drink largely.

When the King is overcome with Wine and Sleep, these Concubines carry him to his Chamber, invoking the Gods of the Night, in their Country Hymns. Who would imagine, that where Vice seems to reign so ab-

solutely, there should be any Regard had to Wisdom? Yet there is a rural and rigid Sect amongst them, which they distinguish by the Title of Wise Men. These Men esteem it a glorious Thing to prevent their natural Death; they therefore, when Age begins to be burthensome to them, or they are otherwise indisposed in Health, order themselves to be burnt alive, looking upon it as a Disgrace to their Lives, patiently to expect the Hour of Death. For this Reason no Honours are shewn to the Bodies of those who die of old Age, the Fire is denied, they think, unless it receives them breathing. There is another sort of Wise Men amongst them, who live in Towns after a civil Manner. They are said to be well skilled in the Motion of the Planets, and to foretell future Events. They hold that no Body accelerates his Dissolution, who has Courage enough to wait the Decrees of Nature. They worship for Gods, whatever they have a Fancy for, but Trees especially; to violate which, is a capital Crime with them. Their Months contain but fifteen Days, notwithstanding which, their Years are compleat. They compute their Time by the Course of the Moon, but not as most People do, when that Planet fills its Orb; but when it begins to hollow itself into Horns. This is the Cause that they who reckon their Months after this Manner, have them much shorter than other People. There are several other Things related of them, which I did not think worth the while to interrupt the Order of my History with.

CHAP. X.

Alexander subdues many People of India, with most extraordinary good Fortune; but not without much Bloodshed.

ALEXANDER having entered *India*, all the little Kings of that Country came to meet him, and put themselves under his Obedience; saying, that he was the third Son of *Jupiter* that had reached their Country. *Bacchus* and *Hercules* they knew only by Fame; but they had the Honour to be-

hold him, and be blessed with his Presence. The King having received them graciously, ordered them to accompany him, designing to make use of them as Guides in his March. But when he saw that none of the rest came, he sent *Hephestion* and *Perdiccas* with Part of the Army before to subdue such as were unwilling to submit to his Power, ordering them to advance as far as the River *Indus*, and there to prepare Boats to transport his Army over the same,

Now because there were several Rivers to pass, they so contrived the Boats that they might be taken to Pieces, and carry'd in Waggon, and put together again when Occasion required. Then having commanded *Craterus* to follow him with the *Phalanx*, he advanced with the Cavalry and light-armed Forces, and after a small Engagement, drove a Body of the Enemy's (which came to oppose him) into the next Town. By this Time *Craterus* was come up to him: That therefore he might Strike a Terror amongst these People, who had not yet experienced the *Macedonian* Arms; he gave Orders to put all to the Sword, burning the Fortifications of the Place. But whilst he was riding about the Walls, he was wounded with an Arrow. However he took the Town, and having killed all the Inhabitants, he did not so much as spare the Houses.

Having conquered this inconsiderable People, he came to a City called *Nysa*, and pitched his Camp before the Walls thereof in a woody Ground. Here the Cold of the Night was so sharp, that it very much incommoded the Army, but it was easily remedied by Fires. For having cut down the Wood they kindled such a Flame, that it reached the burying Places of the Townsmen, which being built with old Cedar, quickly took Fire, and that spreading itself on all Sides, burnt them down to the Ground. By this Time the Barking of the Dogs from the Town, and the Noise of the Army from the Camp, were reciprocally heard, so that the Inhabitants were sensible the Enemy was at hand; and the *Macedonians* understood they were near the Town.

The King therefore drew out his Troops, and as he prepared to besiege the Place, some

of the Townsmen made a Sally, but were all killed. After this, some of the besieged were for surrendering, while others again were for trying a Battle. *Alexander* being informed of their Divisions, was contented to block up the Place without doing them any further Damage. At last being tired with the Inconveniences of the Siege, they yielded themselves at Discretion.

They said *Bacchus* was the Founder of their City, which Assertion indeed was true. It is seated at the Foot of a Hill, which by the Inhabitants is called *Meros*, from whence the *Greeks* took the Liberty to feign, that *Bacchus* had been concealed in *Jupiter's* Thigh. *Alexander* being instructed in the Nature of the Mountain by the inhabitants, sent Provisions before him, and marched to the Top of it with his whole Army. It is full of Vines and Ivy, and has a great Number of Springs. There is also great Variety of wholesome Fruits, the Earth nourishing the accidental Seeds that grow up and flourish without Cultivation. The Laurel likewise grows here, and it is pretty well clothed with Wood. I cannot believe it was by any divine Instinct, but rather out of wantonness, that the Soldiers made themselves Garlands of the Ivy and Vine-Leaves, running in that Condition up and down the Woods like so many *Bacchanals*. This Frolick was begun by a few at first, as it generally happens, but at last spread itself throughout the whole Army. The Mountains and Valleys rung with the Voices of so many thousand Men, who in that Manner adored the tutelar God of the Grove. Here, as if they had enjoyed a profound Peace, they laid themselves down upon the Grass and heaps of Leaves. The King, was so far from disapproving this accidental Licence, that on the contrary, he ordered them all wherewith to make good Chear, and suffered his Army to be thus employed for ten Days together in the Service of *Bacchus*. Who can (after this) deny that the greatest Glory is oftner the Favour of Fortune, than the Effect of Virtue and Merit? Since the Enemy did not dare to attack them in that drunken and drowsy Condition, being no less terrified by

by the Noise and Roaring of these mad Men, than they would have been by their Shoots and Huzza's in an Engagement; it was the same good Fortune that saved them at their return from the Ocean, when they had abandoned themselves to Drunkenness and Feasting. From hence he came into a Country called *Dadala*, the People whereof had forsaken their Habitations, and were fled to the Woods and Mountains. He therefore passed by *Acadera*, which he also found waste and desolate by the flight of its Inhabitants. This obliged him to change the Order of the War, and divide his Army to carry on the War in several Places at the same Time, so that they were overcome on the sudden, before they expected to see the Enemy. *Ptolemy* reduced several Towns, but *Alexander* took the largest. This being done, he again re-united his dispersed Forces, and having passed the River *Choaspes*, he left *Cenus* to carry on the Siege of a rich Town called *Bezira* by the Inhabitants, and marched himself to *Mazaga*. *Affacanus* the King thereof was lately dead, and his Mother *Cleophes*, had the Government both of the Town and Country. The Town was defended by thirty thousand Foot, and was not only strong by Nature, but also by Art: For toward the East it was covered by a rapid River, whose steep Banks hindered the approaching to it. On the West and South Parts, there are prodigious high Rocks (which Nature seems to have contrived on purpose) at the Bottom whereof, are Pits and Gulphs which length of Time has sunk to a very great Depth; where these fail, there is a Ditch of wonderful Labour. The Wall that encompasses the Town, is thirty five Furlongs in Circumference, the lower Part hereof is built of Stone, and the upper of unburnt Bricks; yet the Bricks were strengthened with Stone, which they intermixed, that the looser Substance might be secured by the harder. And lest the whole should sink or settle, there were strong Beams of Timber laid on the Top, on which they erected Balconies which served both to cover the Walls, and to go quite round them.

As *Alexander* was viewing these Fortifications, uncertain what to resolve upon, for it was a laborious Undertaking to fill up those Pits and hollow Caves, without which, notwithstanding, it was impossible to advance the Engines to the Walls, he was wounded in the Calf of the Leg with an Arrow from the Wall, which being pulled out, he called for his Horse, and without binding up his Wound, pursued what he was about. However, as his Leg hung down, the Blood settling, and the Wound growing cold, his Pain increased very much, which made him say, *That notwithstanding he was said to be the Son of Jupiter, he was sensible of the Infirmities of a sickly Body.* Yet he did not retire to the Camp, till he had viewed every thing, and given his Orders thereupon. The Soldiers therefore, as they were commanded, demolished the Out-Buildings, which afforded a great deal of Matter to fill up the Cavities with; others cast in great Trees and vast heaps of Stones, so that thro' the indefatigable Labour of the Soldiers, the Work was compleated in nine Days; and the Towers erected thereon. The King, tho' his Wound was not quite cured, came to view the Works, and having commended the Soldiers for their Diligence, ordered the Engines to be advanced, from whence they discharged a great many Darts against the Garrison. But what most amazed and terrified the *Barbarians*, was, to see the Towers move; for beholding such vast Piles to advance, without perceiving by what Means they moved, they concluded they were actuated by the Power of the Gods. Besides, they could not conceive how such heavy Darts and Spears (which were shot at them from the Engines) could be cast by Mortals.

Despairing therefore of being able to defend the Place, they retired into the Citadel. From hence (being resolved to surrender themselves) they sent Ambassadors to implore the King's Pardon, which being granted, the Queen came to him, attended by a Train of noble Women, who offered him Wine in Golden Cups by the Way of Sacrifice, and having presented to him her little

little Son, she not only obtained Pardon, but was also restored to the Splendor of her former Dignity, retaining the Title of Queen. Some were of Opinion that he granted more to her Beauty than to Piety. It is certain, that the Child she had afterwards (whosoever was the Father of it) was called *Alexander*.

CHAP. XL

Aornos, an inaccessible Rock and Citadel, is besieged and taken by Alexander, those within having abandoned the Place.

FROM hence he detached *Polypercon* with an Army to a Town called *Ora*, the Inhabitants whereof making a disorderly Sally, were beat by him, and drove back into their Fortifications; so that *Polypercon* following them close, entered the Town with them, and made himself Master of it. A great many other inconsiderable Places came into the King's Power, being forsaken by the Inhabitants, who repaired with their Arms to a Rock called *Aornos*. It is said, that *Hercules* in vain attempted to take this Rock, being forced by an Earthquake to leave it. As *Alexander* was at a Loss which way to attack this Place, which was very steep and craggy on all Sides, an ancient Man came to him, offering for a Reward, to shew his Men a Way to the Top of it. *Alexander* hereupon promised him fourscore Talents, and keeping with him one of the young Men as a Pledge, sent him to execute what he had undertaken.

Mullinus the King's Secretary, with some light-armed Soldiers, was appointed to follow this Guide, who designed, by fetching a Compass, to deceive the Enemy, and get up to the Top unperceived by them. This Rock does not by a moderate and gentle Ascent (as a great many do) raise itself to its Height, but stands erect after the Manner of a Butt, being broad beneath, contracting itself as it rises, till at last it terminates in a Point. The River *Indus* runs at the Bottom of it, having very high and steep Banks; on the other Side thereof,

there are deep Gulphs and craggy Hollows that must of necessity be filled up by whoever would take the Place. There was a Wood near at hand, which the King commanded to be cut down for that purpose, causing the Branches to be loped off, that the Men might carry the Stocks with the more ease. He flung in the first Tree himself, the whole Army shouting at the same Time for Joy, and no body refusing now to do what they had seen the King himself perform. These Cavities were by this Means filled up in seven Days Time. Then the King ordered the Archers and *Agrianians* to climb up the Rock. He likewise made choice of thirty of the bravest young Men of his own Band, appointing *Charus* and *Alexander* to be their Leaders. The last of these, he put in mind of his Name, which he bore in common with himself.

At first, all opposed the King's hazarding his Person in so manifest a Danger; but the Signal was no sooner given, than this Prince who was of an undaunted Courage turned to his Guards, and bid them follow him, and was the first to climb the Rock. After this none of the *Macedonians* would stay behind, but of their own Motion, left their Posts and followed the King. A great many of them perished miserably, falling from the Rock into the River, which presently swallowed them up. It was a melancholy Spectacle even to those who were out of Danger; but when they observed by the Disaster of others what they had reason to apprehend might be their own Lot, their Compassion was turned into Fear, and they no longer bewailed the Dead, but their own hard Condition. By this Time they were advanced so far, that they could not retire with Safety, unless they conquered, and the *Barbarians* on their part, rolled down huge Stones upon them, who being terrified with the Danger, and not able to take firm footing on the slippery Rock, were easily bore down the Precipice. However, *Alexander* and *Charus*, whom the King had sent before with the thirty chosen young Men, had made a Shift to gain the Top, and was already engaged in a close Fight with the Enemy;

Enemy; but by reason the *Barbarians* were still possessed of the Summit, they received a great many more Wounds than they gave. Wherefore *Alexander* remembring both his Name and Promise, behaved himself with more bravery than caution, but being attacked on all Sides, he was covered with Wounds, under which at last he sunk and died. *Charus* seeing him lie on the Ground, fell furiously on the Enemy, thinking of nothing but Revenge, and killed several with his Pike, and some with his Sword, but fighting singly against so many, he fell down dead upon the Body of his Friend.

The King no less afflicted than he ought to be at the Loss of two such gallant young Men, and the rest of the Soldiers, caused the Retreat to be sounded. What saved them here was, that they retired leisurely, and with Intrepidity: Moreover, the *Barbarians* being contented to have repulsed the Enemy, did not pursue them. However, tho' *Alexander* had resolved within himself to desist from the Attempt (since there was not the least Probability of Success therein) yet he made a Shew as if he intended to continue the Siege, for he possessed himself of the Avenues, and ordered the Towers to be approached, and caused fresh Men to relieve the fatigued. The *Indians* perceiving his Obstinacy gave themselves up to Mirth, out of an Ostentation, not only of the Confidence they had in their Safety, but also of the Victory. But on the third Night the Noise of the Drums ceased, and the Rock was every where illuminated with Torches, that they might make the safer Retreat in the Obscurity of the Night, through the Precipices of the Rock. The King having therefore sent *Balacer* to inform himself of the Matter, he brought an Account, that the Enemy was fled. Hereupon the King gave the Signal for a general Shout, which struck such a Terror into the disorderly Fugitives, that a great many of them thinking the Enemy at hand, flung themselves headlong down the slippery Rock, and perished miserably: others of them being maimed in some or other of their Limbs, were forsaken by

those who were unhurt. The King having thus rather overcome the Place, than the Enemy, yet he offered Sacrifices to the Gods, as if he had obtained a great Victory, erecting Altars on the Rock to *Minerva* and *Victory*. As to the Guides who were to have conducted the light-armed Soldiers, as we said before, he faithfully gave them what he had promised them, notwithstanding they did not perfectly perform what they had undertook; after which he committed the guard of this Rock and the Country round it to *Sofocostus*.

C H A P. XII.

Omphis, a powerful Prince, gives up himself and his Kingdom to Alexander, but Alexander re-establishes him, and these two Kings make Presents to each other.

FROM hence the King continued his March towards *Ecbolima*, but being informed that some Defiles thro' which he was to pass, were possessed by one *Eryces*, with twenty thousand Men; he left the heavy laden Part of his Army under the Command of *Canus* to be brought up by easy Marches, and taking with him the Slingers and Archers, he went before, and having driven the Enemies from their Post, he opened a Passage to the rest of his Troops that followed him.

The *Indians*, either out of Hatred to their Captain, or to obtain the Favour of the Conqueror, set upon *Eryces* in his Flight, and having killed him, brought both his Head and Arms to *Alexander*; who, notwithstanding he forgave the Fact, yet he did not encourage the Example.

From hence in sixteen Encampments he came to the River *Indus*, where he found every Thing prepared by *Hephestion* for passing the same, according to his Orders. *Omphis* reigned in this Country, he had, during his Father's Life, advised him to surrender himself and Kingdom to *Alexander*. His Father being dead, he sent Messengers to the King to know his Pleasure, whether he should take the Regal Dignity upon

upon him, or in a private Capacity wait his coming; nay, his Modesty was such, that altho' he had *Alexander's* Consent to take the Government upon him, he would not make use of it till his Arrival. He had been very kind to *Hephestion*, and had caused Corn to be distributed to his Troops gratis, but he did not visit him in Person, being unwilling to surrender himself to any but the King; whom (upon Information of his drawing nigh) he went out to meet at the Head of an Army, wherein he had several Elephants at some distance from each other, which a great way off appeared like so many Castles: At first *Alexander* thinking him an Enemy, and not an Ally, ordered the Soldiers to take to their Arms, and the Horse to place themselves on the Wings, and all to be ready to engage. But the *Indian* perceiving the Mistake, caused his Army to halt, and clapping Spurs to his Horse, advanced alone. *Alexander* on his Side did the like, ready to meet him either as a Friend or an Enemy; when they came together their Countenances declared they were friendly disposed, yet they could not express themselves to each other for want of an Interpreter, which being come, the *Barbarian* told the King, That he met him in this Manner with his Army, to yield up to him at once the whole Strength of his Kingdom, without waiting till he had received his Parole of Honour; that he resigned both his Person and Dominions into his Hands, who he knew fought for Glory and Renown, and feared nothing but sullying his Honour. The King being well pleased with the Sincerity of the *Barbarian*, gave him his Right Hand as a Pledge of his Protection, and restored his Kingdom to him. He presented *Alexander* with fifty-six Elephants, and several other Cattle of an extraordinary Size; there were among the rest three thousand Bulls, which are a Rarity in this Country, and much valued by the Kings. Upon *Alexander's* asking him, whether he had more Husbandmen or Soldiers belonging to him? He made an answer, That having two Kings to fight against, he stood in need of more Soldiers than Ploughmen. The two Kings were

Abisares and *Porus*, but *Porus* was the most powerful; both their Countries lay beyond the River *Hydaspes*; however, he was resolved to try the Fortune of the War against the first that should attack him.

Omphis, with *Alexander's* Leave, put on the Diadem, and took the Name of *Taxiles*, which his Father had bore before him, and which descended of course to whoever was King of that Country. Having entertained *Alexander* very splendidly during three Days, on the fourth he gave him to understand what Quantity of Corn he had supplied *Hephestion* with for his Troops, and presented the King and all his Friends with Crowns of Gold, besides which he made a Gift of fourscore Talents of coined Silver. *Alexander* was wonderfully pleased with the generous Disposition of this Prince, and thereupon not only returned to him all his Presents, but also gave him a thousand Talents out of the Booty he carried with him, besides a great deal of Gold and Silver Plate, several *Persian* Garments, and thirty of his own Horses accoutred with the same Furniture he used to mount them with himself. As this Liberality very much obliged the *Barbarian*, so it very much offended his own Friends, in so much that *Maleager* having drunk pretty largely at Supper, said, He congratulated *Alexander* upon his having at last found in *India*, a Person deserving of a thousand Talents. The King calling to Mind how much he had been afflicted for killing *Clitus*, on the Account of his indiscreet Discourse, suppressed his Anger, but told him however, That envious Persons were their own greatest Torments,

C H A P. XIII.

Alexander makes War upon King Porus, by the Persuasion of Omphis, and the Beginning of it is very doubtful.

THE Day following he received Ambassadors from *Abisares*, who according to their Commission, yielded up all that belonged to their Master, to his Royal Will and Pleasure; and after mutual Assurance given

given of Fidelity and Protection, he sent them back to their King. *Alexander* imagining that his Reputation and Fame had by this Time startled *Porus*, and so he might be brought to surrender himself as others had done, sent *Cleochares* to him, to summon him to pay a Tribute and to meet the King on the Frontiers of his Dominions. *Porus* made Answer, That he would not fail to do one of those two Things which was to meet him on the Borders of his Kingdom, but it should be with a good Army.

Alexander was now upon the Point of passing the *Hydaspes* when *Barzaentes*, the Author of the *Arachosians* Rebellion, was brought to him bound, and thirty Elephants which were taken with him, these were a very seasonable Succour at this Time against the *Indians*, for they put more Confidence in these Beasts than in their Army. *Gamexus*, who was King of a small Portion of *India*, and had made an Alliance with *Barzaentes*, was also brought a Prisoner to him. Having therefore committed the Traytor and the little King to a safe Guard, and the Elephants to the Care of *Taxiles*, he came to the River *Hydaspes*. *Porus* was encamped on the other Side thereof to oppose his Passage, having with him Four-score and five Elephants of a prodigious Strength of Body; besides these, he had three hundred Chariots, and thirty thousand Foot, amongst which there were some of those Archers which we have already mentioned, whose Shafts were too heavy to be easily shot off. *Porus* himself was carried upon an Elephant of a much larger Size than the rest, his Arms which were finely adorned with Gold and Silver, were a great Ornament to his illustrious Personage, which was of an unusual Bigness; his Courage was equal to the Strength of his Body, and he was as wise as could be expected in a Nation so uncivilized. The *Macedonians* were not only terrified by the dreadful Appearance of the Enemy, but also by the Largeness of the River they were to pass, which was four Furlongs in Breadth, and being very deep was no where fordable, so that it carried the Appearance of a little Sea. Its largeness did not restrain its impetuous Current, for

it ran with the same Rapidity it could have done in a narrow Channel, and the repercussion of the Waters shewed sufficiently, that there were hidden Rocks in it, but the Appearance of Men and Horses that covered the Bank was still more terrible. There stood those huge Bunks of overgrown Bodies, the Elephants, which being on purpose provoked, filled the Air with a horrible Noise. Thus the Enemy on one Side, and the River on the other, struck with an unforeseen Terror, the Hearts of those who had reason to hope well, and had so often experienced their own Bravery. They could not imagine how their tottering Boats could be steered to the other Side, nor how, when they came there, they could with safety be put to Shoar. In the Middle of the River there were several Islands, to which the *Indians* and *Macedonians* swam, holding their Arms over their Heads; here they had frequent Skirmishes, and both Kings were pleased with these small Trials, thinking thereby to make a Judgment of the Issue of the future general Engagement.

Among the *Macedonians* there were two young Noblemen, whose Names were *Symmachus* and *Nicanor*, remarkable for their daring Courage, which seemed to partake of Rashness and Temerity. The constant Success of their Party had brought them to an utter Contempt of all Danger. Under the Conduct of these two, several brisk young Fellows (having no other Arms than their Javelins) swam over to an Island which was possessed by a good Number of the Enemy; where without hardly any other Weapon than their Courage, they killed a great many of them. This done, they might have come off with Glory, if it had been possible for a successful Temerity to know where to stop; but while with Contempt and Pride they waited till the Enemy was reinforced, they were suddenly surrounded by some who had swam thither unperceived, and oppressed with their Darts at a Distance. Those who escaped the Enemy were either bore down the rapid Stream, or swallowed by the Whirlpools. This Skirmish increased *Porus's* Assurance very much, who from the River Side beheld all that passed.

In the mean Time *Alexander*, who was at a Loss what to do, at last resolved upon this Stratagem to deceive the Enemy. There was in the River one Island larger than the rest, which was very woody, and so very proper to cover his Design. Moreover, there was a deep Ditch not far from the Bank the King possessed, which was not only capable of concealing Foot, but Horse also; that therefore he might draw off the Eyes of the Enemy from watching that Conveniency, he detached *Ptolemy* with all his Cavalry, ordering him to ride up and down at a Considerable Distance from the Island, and now and then by Cries and Shouts to alarm the *Indians*, as if he intended to swim over the River. This was executed by *Ptolemy* for several Days, by which Means he forced *Porus* to draw off his Army to that Place where he seemed to have a Design to pass over. The Island was now out of the Enemy's Sight, and *Alexander* ordered his Tent to be pitched over against the *Indian's* Camp, and his usual Guards to do duty before it, exposing on purpose to the View of the Enemy all the Pomp and Splendor of regal Magnificence. He also caused *Attalus* (who was about own his Age, and not unlike him in Feature and Person, especially at a Distance) to put on his Royal Garments, and make a Shew as if the King was there with them, and no wise contriving to pass the River.

A violent Tempest retarded at first the Effect of this Enterprize, but, afterwards promoted it, Fortune turning to his Advantage whatever seemed to be against him. He was now preparing to pass into the Island we before mentioned (the Enemy being wholly intent on those who with *Ptolemy* were encamped lower down) when on the sudden there fell such a Storm of Rain as was hardly supportable to those who were under cover, so that the Soldiers were forced to quit the Boats, and take refuge again on the Land. The Noise of all this Hurry was drowned by that of the Waves against the Banks of the River, so that the Enemy was insensible thereof.

After a while the Rain ceased at once, but then such thick Clouds succeeded, that they

intercepted the Light, and made it almost impossible for those who were talking to one another to distinguish their Companions Faces. This darkness would have terrified any Body but *Alexander*, especially being to pass over an unknown River, when they were not certain but the Enemy might have possessed themselves of that Part of the Bank they were unwarily making to, without the Benefit of their Eyes, as if they sought for Glory from the Extremity of their Danger. But their Obscurity which would have daunted others, he thought was the Opportunity; he therefore gave the Signal to embark (enjoining a profound Silence) and caused his own Boat to put off the first. That Part of the Bank where they landed was free from the Enemy, *Porus* being still intent upon *Ptolemy*, and all the Boats except one, which was dashed against a Rock, arrived safe, so that he ordered his Men to take to their Arms, and form their Ranks, and march in order of Battle.

C H A P. XIV.

The memorable and bloody Battle of the Indians and Macedonians. The great Courage of Porus when Prisoner, to whom Alexander answers with a Royal Clemency.

ALEXANDER was marching now at the Head of his Army, divided into two Wings, when *Porus* received Advice, that the Enemy had passed the River, and were marching directly to him; at first, thro' the common Frailty of the Mind of Man, he flattered himself with the Hopes that it was *Abisares* his Ally, who was coming to his Assistance, according to Agreement; but by and by the clearer Light made him sensible it was the Enemy, so that he sent his Brother *Hages* with a Hundred Chariots, and three Thousand Horse to make Head against them. These Chariots were the chief Part of his Strength, each of them carried six Men, viz. two who had Bucklers, two Archers disposed on each Side, and the other two were Drivers, who were

were not without Arms, for in close Engagements they laid aside their Reins, and cast Darts amongst the Enemy. However, they were of little or no Use at this Time, for the Rain (as we before observed) having fallen in greater Abundance than usual, had made the Ground slippery and impracticable to the Horses, so that these heavy and almost immovable Chariots stuck fast in the Mire and hollow Places; whereas *Alexander's* Army being lightly armed, and free from all Incumbrance, charged the Enemy briskly. The *Scythians* and the *Daha* gave the Onset, then he ordered *Perdiccas* with his Horse to attack the Enemy's right Wing. By this Time the Engagement was general, and the Charioteers thinking themselves the last Refuge of their Party, with a loose Rein drove furiously in the Midst of the Throng, and equally annoyed both Parties; for at first the *Macedonian* Infantry suffered very much by them, but being driven thro' slippery and impracticable Places, the Charioteers were flung out of their Seats while the affrighted Horses overturned some of them in the Sloughs and Ditches, and precipitated others into the River; a few of them passing thro' the Enemy, came into *Porus's* Camp, who was preparing all things for a vigorous Fight. *Porus* perceiving his Chariots thus scattered all over the Field of Battle, distributed the Charge of the Elephants amongst his Friends, and behind them drew up his Foot and Archers, who likewise had Drums to beat, which served the *Indians* instead of Trumpets. The Beasts are not at all moved at this Noise, their Ears having been a long time accustomed to it.

The Image of *Hercules* was carried at the Head of the Infantry. This was a great Encouragement to them, and it was esteemed a great Crime to desert the Bearers of it, who were by the Laws punished with Death if they did not bring it safe out of the Field; the Fear they formerly conceived of him, while their Enemy, being now turned into Veneration and religious Worship.

The noble Presence of *Porus*, as well as the Sight of these monstrous Animals put the *Macedonians* to a stand for a while; for these Beasts being disposed amongst the Men in the Front, at a Distance carried the Appearance of Towers; and *Porus's* extraordinary Stature was very much set off by the largeness of the Elephant, that carried him, which as much exceeded all the rest in height, as he himself exceeded other Men in tallness. *Alexander* therefore taking a View of the King's Person and his Army, said, 'At last I have met with a Danger suitable to the Greatness of my Soul; I have now not only to do with Beasts, but also with Men of Distinction.' Then looking at *Cenus*, he gave him the following Orders, 'When you see me with *Ptolemy*, *Perdiccas* and *Hephestion*, charge the Enemy's Left Wing, and shall observe us to be in the heat of Action, do you vigorously attack the Right Wing; and for you *Antigenes*, *Leonnatus*, and *Tauron*, do you press hard upon the Centre. Our long and strong Pikes can never be of greater Use than against these Beasts, and their Managers; beat these off of them, and run those thro'. They are at best but a dangerous Succour, and may as easily annoy as do Service; nay, their Rage exerts its Fury chiefly when turned upon their own People, for it is Discipline teaches them to Act against the Enemy; whereas fear drives them amongst their Friends.'

As soon as he had spoke these Words, he clapped Spurs to his Horse, and as he had projected, disordered the Enemy's Ranks, then *Cenus* attacked the Right Wing with great Bravery, and the *Phalanx* at the same Time broke in upon the Centre.

Porus took care to oppose the Horse with his Elephants; however, that slow and unweildy Animal could not equal the Horses Speed; besides which the *Barbarian* Arrows were of no Use to them, for as they were long and very heavy they could not fix them without resting their Bows upon the Ground, which being slippery, deceived their Effort, so that while they were preparing to shoot, they were prevented by the Enemy.

Porus's Orders were now no longer minded (as generally happens where Fear has a greater Influence than the Authority of the Captain). There were at this Time as many Generals as there were scattered Regiments. Some were for uniting all their Troops into one Body, others were for fighting distinctly in separate Corps; some were for making a Stand, others were for wheeling about and attacking the Enemy in the Rear. In fine, there was a General Consultation; notwithstanding which *Porus*, accompany'd by a few (with whom Honour prevailed more than Fear) rally'd his scattered Forces, and advanced against the Enemy, placing the Elephants in the Front of his Army. These Animals were very terrible, and their unusual Noise did not only frighten the Horses (who are naturally fearful) but the Men also, and disordered the Ranks, so that they who a little before were Victorious, began now to consider which Way they should take their Flight. Hereupon *Alexander* sent against the Elephants the *Agrians* and the light-armed *Thracians*, who are better at Skirmishing than maintaining a close Fight. These Men poured in a great Number of Darts and Arrows, amongst the Elephants and their Governors, and the *Phalanx* perceiving their Confusion, pressed hard upon them; but some of these advancing too eagerly against those Beasts, so provoked them by the Wounds they gave them, that they trampled them under their Feet, and were an Example to others to attack them with more Caution; but the most dismal Thing of all was, when these Animals took up the armed Soldiers with their Trunks, and delivered them up to their Governors upon their Backs.

This made the Fight doubtful, the *Macedonians* sometimes pursuing, and sometimes flying from the Elephants, which occasion'd the Battle to continue till the Day was far spent, till at last they chopp'd their Legs with Axes, prepared for that Purpose. They had besides another kind of Weapon, somewhat crooked, and resembling a Scythe, with which they cut off their Trunks. Thus the Fear not only of Death, but of a new

Torment in the same, made them leave nothing unexperienced against them.

At last the Elephants enraged with their Wounds, bore down their own Party, and casting their Governors on the Ground, trampled them to Death. By this Time Fear had so seized them, that instead of being Mischievous, they were drove like Sheep out of the Field of Battle; but *Porus* (notwithstanding he was forsaken by the greatest Part of his People) began to ply those who surrounded him with Darts, with which he was provided, and wounded a great many at a Distance, being himself exposed like a Mark, at which every Body levelled: He had already nine Wounds before and behind, so that having lost a great Quantity of Blood, the Javelins might be said rather to drop from his faint Arm than be delivered. However, the Elephant that carried him (not being yet hurt) made great Havock amongst the Enemy, till the Governor of it, (perceiving the King's Limbs to fail him, and that dropping his Arms he was hardly *compos mentis*) put the Beast to flight, making the best of his Way. *Alexander* followed him as fast as he could, but his Horse being very much wounded fainted under him, and might be said rather to set him gently down than cast him. Being thus obliged to change his Horse, it retarded his Pursuit. In the mean Time he sent the Brother of *Taxiles* the *Indian* King, to persuade *Porus* to surrender himself, and not hold out to the last Extremity; but he, altho' his Strength failed him, and his Blood was exhausted, yet raising himself up at the known Voice, said, *I am sensible thou art the Brother of Taxiles, that Traitor of his Sovereignty and Kingdom.* And at the same Time, cast the only Dart he had left with such a Force at him, that it pierced his Body thro' to the Back. Having given this last Token of his Strength, he began to fly faster than before; but by this Time, the Elephant who had received a great many Wounds, was not able to go any farther, so that *Porus* was obliged to stop, and with some Foot made Head against the pursuing Enemy. *Alexander* being come up with him, and understanding his Obstinacy,

Obstinacy, forbade any Mercy to be shewn to those who made any Resistance. At these Words they pleyed *Porus* and his Men with Darts from all Parts, till at last not being able to bear up any longer, he began to slide down from his Beast. The *Indian* who guided the Elephant, thinking he had a Mind to alight, caused the Beast to kneel down according to Custom; which being observed by the rest, they all did the like, being trained up to do so, by which Means, *Porus* and all his Followers became a Prey to the Conquerors. The King thinking *Porus* was dead, ordered his Body to be stripped; but as they were running to put the same in Execution, and take off his Armour and Garments, the Beast began to defend his Master, and attack the Aggressors, and taking hold of him with his Trunk, put him again upon his Back. Whereupon they presently covered the Elephant with Darts, and killed it, and put *Porus* in a Waggon. But the King perceiving him to lift up his Eyes, was moved with Compassion and said, to him, 'What madness possessed thee to try the Fortune of the War with me, of whom thou hadst heard such mighty Things, especially when *Taxiles* thy Neighbour might have been a sufficient Example of my Clemency to those that are wise enough to submit to me?' To which he made answer, 'Since thou askest me the Question, I shall tell thee with the same Freedom thou grantest

me by the Interrogation. I thought Nobody stronger than myself; for I knew my own Power, and had not yet experienced thine. The Event of the War convinces me thou art the greatest Prince, and I think it no small happiness to hold the next Rank to thee.' Being asked again, how he thought the Victor ought to use him? He replied, 'As this Day's Action shall inspire thee; by which thou art sensible of the Frailty of mortal Happiness.'

This Admonition availed him more than any Intreaty could have done, for considering the Greatness of his Mind, which was altogether fearless, and not in the least impaired by Adversity, he not only took Pity of him, but used him honourably. He ordered the same Care to be taken of his Wounds, as if he had fought for his Service, and when they were cured, he received him into the Number of his Friends, contrary to every Body's Expectation, and in a little Time gave him a larger Kingdom than he had before. Indeed, there was nothing more strongly riveted into his Nature, than a due Regard to true Merit and Glory. It is true, at the same Time he considered Renown more impatiently in an Enemy, than in a Subject; for he thought that the Fame of these, was a Diminution to his own, which he imagined received some additional Lustre from the Greatness of those he overcame.

The End of the Eighth B O O K.

B O O K. IX. C H A P. I.

Alexander passes into India, after having vanquished Porus, and brings to his Obedience several Cities and People, whose Customs and Manners are described.

ALEXANDER, transported with so memorable a Victory, which opened to him a Passage to the East, offered Sacrifices to the Sun; and that his Soldiers might undergo with the greater Chearfulness

the Fatigues of the remaining Wars, he made a Speech to them, wherein he first highly commended them for their past Services, and afterwards acquainted them, that the main Strength of the *Indians* had been overcome

overcome in the late successful Action. That what remained, would be only a noble Booty for them; since the Country they were going to, was particularly celebrated for its prodigious Wealth and Riches, in respect to which the Spoils of the *Persians* were but mere Trifles: That they might now propose, not only to fill their own Houses, but likewise all *Macedonia* and *Greece* with Pearls and precious Stones, Gold and Ivory. Hereupon the Soldiers, who were no less greedy of Wealth, than ambitious of Glory and Honour, and especially because they had never found his Promises fail them, readily offered him afresh their Service. Having therefore dismissed the Assembly full of Hopes, he ordered Ships to be built, that when they had overrun all *Asia*, he might be able to visit the Sea which bounded the whole World. There was a great deal of Timber fit for shipping in the neighbouring Mountains, which as they were felling, they found Serpents of an unusual Size; here were also Rhinoceroes, which is an Animal very rare in other Parts. This Name was given them by the *Greeks*, they being called otherwise by the *Indians*.

The King having built two Cities upon the Banks of the River he had lately passed, presented every one of his Generals with a Crown, and a thousand Pieces of Gold besides. He also rewarded the rest in proportion to their Ranks, or the Service they had done. *Abizares* who had before the Battle with *Porus*, sent Ambassadors to *Alexander*, now sent others to him to assure him, he was ready to obey his Commands, provided he might not be obliged to surrender his Person, he being resolved not to live without the Regal Dignity, nor to Reign in Captivity. To whom *Alexander* made answer, That if it was too great a trouble for their Master to come to him, he would go to him.

Having thus vanquished *Porus*, and passed the River, he advanced farther into the Country, where he found Woods of a vast Extent, wherein were Trees of a prodigious Height, the greatest Part of the Arms equaling in bigness the Stocks of the Trees; for

bending down into the Earth, they grew up again in the same Place, and seemed rather like a Tree growing from its proper Root, than a Bough rising from another Stem. The Air is temperate, by reason that the Closeness of the Boughs mitigate the Excessive Heat of the Sun, and the great Number of the Springs, afford a large Quantity of Water, which refreshes the Ground. However, here were also Multitudes of Serpents, whose Scales glittered like Gold, and there is not any Poison more virulent than theirs; for their Bite was present Death, till such time as the Inhabitants communicated to them a proper Antidote. From hence they passed through Deserts to the River *Hydraotes*, which has a Forest bordering upon it, set thick with uncommon Trees, and very much frequented with wild Peacocks. Decamping from hence, he took a Town not far distant, by Assault, and having taken Hostages for their Fidelity, he enjoyn'd them a certain Tribute, and advanced to another great Town, as they commonly are in that Country. This Town was not only encompassed with a Wall, but also fortified with a Morass. The Inhabitants of this Place came out to fight him, making use of several Chariots joined together; some of them were armed with Darts, others with Pikes, and some with Axes, and they would nimbly leap from one Chariot to another, when they had a Mind to succour their Friends. At first this new Way of fighting somewhat startled the *Macedonians*, who found themselves wounded at a Distance, without the Power of revenging themselves upon their Enemies. And afterwards growing into a Contempt of this disorderly Rout, they surrounded these Chariots, and stuck those who fought in them; and to facilitate the Work, the King commanded them to cut the Traces that joined them together, that so they might attack them singly. Having in this Engagement lost eight thousand of their Men, the rest retired into the Town. The next Day the *Macedonians* scaled the Walls, and took it by Assault; some few had saved themselves by Flight, and being sensible of the Destruction

tion of the Place, they swam over the Moor and carried a dismal Account to the neighbouring Cities, and put them in the utmost Consternation, telling them, there was an invincible Army at hand, commanded by the Gods themselves. *Alexander* having detached *Perdiccas* with a Body of Light-Horse to destroy the Country, sent *Eumenes* with another Body to reduce the Obstinate, and marched himself with the rest to a strong Town, into which the Inhabitants of several others had taken Refuge. The Townsmen dispatched Deputies to *Alexander*, to implore his Mercy, and yet at the same time, prepared themselves for War: For a Sedition happening amongst them, they were divided in their Counsels, some preferring any Condition to a Surrender, while others thought it was to no Purpose to resist. But there being nothing consulted in common, they who were for surrendering, opened the Gates and let in the Enemy.

Notwithstanding the King might with Justice, have punished those who were for encouraging the rest to oppose him, yet he pardoned all in general; and having received Hostages from them, he marched his Army to the next City. As these Hostages were led at the Head of the Army, the Inhabitants from the Walls knew them, as being of the same Nation, and therefore came to a Parley with them, and being informed by them of the King's Clemency as well as Power, they were prevailed upon to surrender themselves, and the other Towns following their Example, put themselves also under his Protection.

From hence he came into the Kingdom of *Sophites*. This Nation, for *Barbarians*, is very wise, and is governed by good Laws, and virtuous Morals. Here they do not rear and bring up their Children according to the Will of the Parents, but by the Approbation of such who are appointed to inspect and examine the frame and make of their Bodies. Where they find any notoriously deformed, or defective in any of their Limbs, they cause them to be killed. In their Marriages, they have Regard neither to Nobility nor Extraction, but only to the

Beauty of the Body; because it is chiefly that they value in their Children. *Alexander* had brought his Army before the Capital of this Nation, where *Sophites* was himself present. The Gates were shut, but no Body appeared either on the Walls, or in the Towers: This made the *Macedonians* suspect the Inhabitants had either abandoned the Place, or else kept out of Sight, on the Account of some Stratagem. But all on the sudden, the Gate was opened, and the *Indian King*, who far exceeded all the rest in Comeliness of his Person, with two Sons already well grown, came forth to meet *Alexander*. His Garment was intermixed with Gold and Purple, and covered his Legs; his Sandals, which were of Gold, were also set with Pearls and precious Stones, with which his Arms were likewise curiously adorned. At his Ears he had Pendants, whose extraordinary whiteness and largeness made them almost inestimable. His Scepter, which was of Gold also, was nearly set off with Beryls. This he delivered to *Alexander*, wishing him all Health and Happiness, and thereby gave him to understand, that he laid himself, his Children, and Nation at his Mercy.

This Country affords a very fine Dog for Hunting; they are said to refrain their Cry, after they have once seen their Game, which is the Lion particular. That he might therefore shew *Alexander* the Strength and Nature of these Dogs; he caused a very large Lion to be brought forth, and only four of them to be let loose upon it. These Dogs presently fastened upon their Prey; then one of those whose proper Business it was, took hold of the Leg of one of them, and pulled it with all his Strength, but the Dog not yielding thereunto, he began to cut it off; notwithstanding which, the Dog kept his Hold, so that the Keeper cut him in another Place, and finding him to adhere still tenaciously to his Prey, he by degrees cut him in Pieces, the Dog keep his Teeth still fixed in the Beast till he died; so great is the Eagerness Nature has implanted in these Creatures for
their

their Game. As it is transmitted to us from our Predecessors, I must confess, I transcribe more than I believe myself; for I cannot affirm for Truth, what I doubt of; and at the same Time, I cannot omit relating what I have received. *Alexander* therefore leaving *Sophites* in possession of his Dominions, advanced to the River *Hypasis*, and there joined *Hephestion* who had subdued another Country. *Phogelas* was King of the neighbouring Nation, who, upon Advice of *Alexander's* Approach, ordered his Subjects to mind cultivating their Land, and then set out with Presents to meet him, resolving to refuse no Injunctions he should lay upon him.

C H A P. II.

Alexander being ready to attack the Gangaridæ and the Pharrasii, in a long Speech exhorts his Soldiers to Perseverance, because they were much fatigued, and had refused to go to the War.

THE King having staid two Days with this Prince, designed on the third to pass the River; which Undertaking was not only difficult, by reason of its great Breadth, but also on the Account of the many Rocks that lay scattered up and down in it. He therefore enquired of *Phogelas*, what was proper for him to know; who gave him to understand, that beyond the River, he had eleven Days Journey through Deserts and Solitudes, after which he would come to the *Ganges*, which is the largest River in all *India*; the furthermost Bank whereof was inhabited by the *Gangaridæ*, and *Pharrasi*, whose King's Name was *Aggrammes*, who guarded the Entrance into his Dominions, with twenty thousand Horse and two hundred thousand Foot; besides which, he had two thousand Chariots, and (which was still more terrible) three thousand Elephants. The King at first looked upon these Reports as so many Incredibilities, and therefore asked *Porus* (for he was with him) Whether this Account was true? who told him, That as to the Strength of

the Nation, there was nothing Romantick in it; but as for the present King, he was so far from being noble, that he was of very mean Extraction; his Father having been a Barber, and had much ado to subsist by his daily Labour, till his Person recommended him to the Queen's Favour, who procured him the first Place in the King's Friendship. After which, this barbarous Wretch treacherously killed his Sovereign, and under the Pretence of a Guardian, seized his Kingdom; then taking off the Children, begot the present King, who was both despised and hated by his Subjects, who were more mindful of his paternal Disgrace, than of his present Fortune.

This Confirmation of *Porus*, made the King very anxious; for tho' he despised the Enemy, and the Elephants, yet he was uneasy on the Account of the difficult Situation of the Places he was to pass thro', and the Rapidity of the Rivers. It seemed to him a hard Task to seek out an Enemy in the Extremity of the World, and force them out of their strong Holds against him. On the other Side, his insatiable Thirst after Fame, and his unbounded Ambition thortened the Distance of the remotest Places, and made him think no Difficulty insurmountable. But then again, he doubted whether the *Macedonians*, who had already marched thro' so many large Countries, who were grown old in the Camp and Service, would be willing to follow him over so many Rivers that lay in his Way, and struggle thro' so many Difficulties of resisting Nature: It was reasonable to think, that they who were already over loaded with Booty, would rather covet to enjoy what they had acquired, than harass themselves any longer to procure more. Moreover, his Soldiers Disposition and his were quite different; for as he had ingrossed in his Thoughts, the Empire of the whole World, he was in a Manner but beginning his great Work, whereas the Soldiers, overcome by their Fatigues and Toils, desired nothing more than an End of their Dangers, that they might enjoy the last Fruits of their Labours. However, Ambition carried it
against

against Reason; having therefore drawn up his Army, he spoke to them in the following Manner.

I am not insensible, Soldiers, that the *Indians* have within these few Days spread several Rumours on purpose to terrify you; but you do not need being told, how groundless these Reports are. Thus the *Persians* heretofore endeavoured to terrify you with the Streights of *Cilicia*, and the Plains of *Mesopotamia*, the *Tigris*, and the *Euphrates*; and yet we forded the one, and, by the Means of Bridges, passed the other. Fame never represents Matters really as they are, but on the contrary, magnifies every Thing. This is plain from our own Reputation and Glory, which tho' founded on solid Truths, is yet more obliged to Rumour than Reality. Who would have thought we could have overcome, as we did lately, those monstrous Elephants that appeared like so many strong Fortifications? Or that we could have passed the River *Hydaspis*? Or grappled with a great many other Difficulties which were much more formidable to hear of than they were in Fact? Believe me, we had long ago fled from *Asia*, if Fable could have frightened us. Can you imagine there should be greater Herds of Elephants than of other Cattle? When at the same Time it is known to be a rare Animal, hard to be taken, and harder to be tamed: It is the same Spirit of Falshood, that has represented your Enemies to be so numerous in Horse and Foot. As for the River, it is certain that the broader it is, the gentler must be its Stream; for it is the being confined within narrow Banks, and the running in a strait Channel, that causes the impetuous Current of the Water. Besides, all Men know, that the greatest Danger is at the landing, the Enemy being ready on the Bank to receive us, so that the Risk is equal in that Case, be the River broad or narrow. But admitting that all these Reports were true; is it the huge Bulk of those Animals; or the Numbers of the Enemy, that affrights you? As to the Elephants, we have lately experienced that they did more Damage to their own Party, than to us, and that with our

Axes, and other Weapons, we can disable their vast Bodies. What Matters it then, whether they are the same Number *Porus* lately had, or three Thousand? Since we see that one or two of them being wounded, the rest immediately fly. Again, it being so difficult a Task to govern a few of them, so many Thousands of them together, must needs interhock one another, where there is not room for their unwieldy over-grown Bodies, either to stand or fly. As for my own Part, I have always had so mean an Opinion of them, that when I had them I never thought them worth making use of, being fully convinced, they were more pernicious to those they were intended to serve, than to the Enemy. But perhaps it is the Multitude of Horse and Foot that terrifies you! as if you had been hitherto used to encounter but with small Numbers, and this was the first Time you had stood the Brunt of a disorderly Rout. The River *Granicus* is a sufficient Witness of the invincible Courage of the *Macedonians* against a superior Number, as well as *Cilicia*, which was drenched with the Blood of the *Persians*, and *Arbela* whose Plains were covered with the Bones of the conquered Enemy. It is too late to look at the Number of your Enemies, after you have laid Waste all *Asia* by your Victories. You ought to have reflected on your small Number, when we passed the *Hellepont*; for at present the *Scythians* follow us, the *Bactrians* assist us, and the *Dabe* and *Sogdians* are engaged in our Service. At the same Time, I do not rely on this Rabble, it is you, *Macedonians*, I trust to; it is your unparallel'd Bravery and Courage I confide in, and is an infallible Pledge and Security for all the great Things I have yet to do. While I am at the Head of such gallant Men, I shall neither count the Number of my own, nor the Enemy's Army: All that I require is, that you will shew me a cheerful Countenance, accompanied with your usual Confidence and Alacrity. We are not now in the Beginning of our Work, but at the close of it. We have already reached the Ocean, and the Bounds where the Sun rises, and unless

less your own Want of Spirit and Sloth stand in the Way, we shall return home with a complete Conquest of the whole World. Do not imitate those bad Husbands, who through their Laziness, lose the Fruits of their Labour. The Reward is much greater than the Danger; the Country you are going to, abounds in Riches, and is at the same Time weakly defended, so that I may be said to lead you not so much to Glory and Honour, as to a noble Booty. It is your due to carry back to your own Nation, the Wealth that the Sea discharges on its Shore; it were a Shame you should leave any Thing untry'd, or unattempted thro' Fear. I therefore not only beg of you, but conjure you by your own Glory, in which you exceed all the rest of Mankind, by the Favours I have bestowed upon you, and your own Merit towards me, in which noble Strife we are still contending, that you will not desert your Companion and Fellow Soldier, not to mention your King. What is past, has been done by my Authority, but for this I shall own myself indebted to you. At the same Time that I ask this of you, you know that in all the Commands I have laid upon you, I always was the first to face the Danger, and have often protected you with my own Buckler. Do not therefore break the Palm you have put into my Hands, which, if not blasted by Envy, will make me equal to *Hercules* and *Bacchus*. Grant me this single Request, and break your obstinate Silence. What is become of that generous Shout, the usual Token of your Alacrity? Where is that cheerful Countenance of my *Macedonians*? Methinks I hardly know you, Soldiers, neither do you seem to know me; but I speak to deaf Ears, and strive in vain to excite and animate the broken Courage of those whose Minds are alienated from me.

As, notwithstanding all this, they persisted still in their dejected Posture, hanging down their Heads.

Wherein, said he. have I unwittingly offended you, that you do not at least vouchsafe to look at me? I fancy myself in a Wilderness, no Body answers me, no Body

so much as gives me the Satisfaction of a flat Denial. Who do I speak to? What is it I request? It is your own Glory and Greatness we assert. Where are now those Men who not long ago were contending about the Prerogative of carrying their wounded King; I am forsaken, destitute and delivered up a Prey to my Enemies. Be it as it may, I will persevere in the Prosecution of my Design, tho' I march alone. Expose me to the Difficulties of Rivers, the Cruelty of Elephants, and to those Nations that strike you with so much Horror; I shall find those that will follow me, tho' you desert me. The *Scythians* and *Bactrians* will accompany me, and they who were a while ago our Enemies, shall be now our Soldiers. I had rather die than reign precariously. Get you gone home, go and triumph for having abandoned your King; for my own part, I will either get the Victory you despair of, or perish honourably.

CHAP. III.

Cæsus answers Alexander in the Name of all the Soldiers, and dies some time after of Sickness.

ALL that he could say, could not force a single Word from any one of them. They expected that the Generals and chief Officers should represent to him, that altho' their Bodies were covered with Wounds, and quite worn out with the continual Fatigues of their long Services, they did not refuse the Duties of the War, but were no longer able to discharge it. However, being stupified with Fear, they kept their Eyes still fixed upon the Ground. After some time there rose among them a voluntary Murmur, and their Grief by Degrees began to shew itself more freely, till at last they burst all out in Tears; so that the King himself, his Anger being now turned into Pity, could no longer forbear Weeping. While the whole Assembly was thus dissolved in Tears, *Cæsus* took Courage and approach'd the Tribunal, intimating he had something to say. When the Soldiers saw him

him take off his Helmet, it being the Custom to do so, when they spoke to the King, they all begg'd of him, that he would plead the Cause of the Army; he therefore expressed himself in the following Manner.

' May the Gods forbid all impious
' Thoughts in us, and sure they do at present. Your Soldiers have the same Inclination towards you which they always had, and are ready to go wherever you command them, to encounter with any Dangers for your Sake, and to spill the last drop of their Blood to recommend your Name to Posterity. If therefore you insist upon it, tho' we are without Arms, Naked and Bloodless, if such be your Royal Will and Pleasure, we are not only ready to follow, but also to lead the Way. But if your Majesty will vouchsafe to hear the unfeigned Representations of your Soldiers, forced from them by the last Necessity, lend, we beseech you, a favourable Ear to those who have always chearfully obey'd your Commands, and shared your Fortune, and do not want Will to attend you wherever you shall think fit to go. Consider, Sir, that your great Performances have not only overcome your Enemies, but likewise your own Soldiers. We have done all that Mortals were capable of, and by frequent Use are better acquainted with the Seas and Countries than even the Inhabitants themselves. We may be said to stand now on the utmost Bounds of the World, but as if this were too little for your great Soul, you are preparing to march to another, and to seek out new *Indies* unknown to the *Indians* themselves. You are for forcing out of their lurking Retreats, those who have taken Shelter with the Serpents and wild Beasts; in fine, you are for carrying your Victories farther than the Sun's piercing Eye can see. It must be owned to be a Thought worthy your unbounded Mind, but at the same Time it is above ours; for your Courage and Bravery will ever be increasing, whereas our Strength is almost at an End. Behold our bloodless Bodies, covered over with Wounds, and disfigured with Scars.

' Our Weapons are blunted and our Arms worn out. We are forced to wear the *Persian* Habit, because we are too remote to have that of our own Country brought to us, so that we are degenerated into a foreign Apparel. Who amongst us has a Breast-Plate? Who has a Horse left? Let a Scrutiny be made how many of us have been able to be followed by our Servants, and what any of us has left of his Booty. Having conquered the World we are destitute of all Things. It is not our Luxury is the cause of this, but we have worn out in War the very Instruments of War. Can you find in your Heart to expose so gallant an Army Naked, and without Defence to the merciless Fury of the Wild Beasts, whose Multitude, tho' it be designedly magnified by the *Barbarians*, yet it is easy to gather from the very false Report itself, that the Number is great. If after all your Majesty is bent on penetrating still farther into *India*, that Part of it that lies to the Southward is not so vast; which being subdued, you will extend your Conquests to that Sea that Nature has appointed for the Bounds of the World. Why should you go the round about Way to that Glory which is near at hand; for here the Ocean is to be found; and unless you take delight in wandering, we are already arrived where your Fortune intended to lead you. I chose rather to say these Things in your Presence, Sir, than in your Absence confer about them with my Fellow-Soldiers; not designing thereby to ingratiate myself with the listening Army, but that you may rather hear their common Sentiments from my Mouth, than be troubled with their Groans and Murmurs.

Cæsus having finished his Speech, there was heard from all Parts a clamorous Noise mixed with Lamentations, which in confused Sounds called *Alexander* King, Father, and Sovereign Lord. Then the other Captains, especially the most ancient, who on the Account of their Age were most to be excused, and had also thereby the greater Authority, made the same Request, so that

the King was not able to chastise their Obstinacy, or mitigate their Anger. Being therefore unresolved what Course to take, he leaped from the Tribunal, and shut himself up in his Tent, forbidding any to be admitted, except those who were used to be with him. Thus he sacrificed two Days to his Passion, and the third he appeared publicly again, and ordered twelve Altars to be erected of square Stone, to remain as a Monument of his Expedition. He also caused the Fortifications of his Camp to be extended, and Beds to be left of a larger Size than the ordinary Stature of Man required, designing to impose upon Posterity by this excessive outward Appearance of Things.

This being done, he marched back the same Way he came, and encamped along the River *Acesines*. Here *Camus* died. The King was afflicted at his Death, yet could not forbear saying, that he had made a long Speech for the few Days he had to live, as if he alone had been to return to *Macedonia*. By this Time the Fleet he had ordered to be built, lay ready at Anchor; hither *Memnon* brought him six Thousand *Thracian* Horse to recruit his Army, besides seven Thousand Foot, which *Harpalus* had sent by him: He also brought twenty five Thousand Arms finely adorned with Gold and Silver, which *Alexander* caused to be distributed among the Soldiers, commanding them to burn their old ones. Designing now to make towards the Ocean with a Thousand Ships, he first reconciled *Porus* and *Taxiles* the *Indian* Kings (who were about renewing their former Resentments) and having settled a good Understanding between them, he left them in their respective Dominions, they had both been serviceable to him in the Building of his Fleet: He also built two Towns, one whereof he called *Nicea*, and the other *Bucephala*, dedicating the latter to the Memory of his Horse, which was dead. Then having given Orders for the Elephants and Baggage to follow him by Land, he sail'd down the River, proceeding every Day near four Hundred Furlongs for the Conveni-

ency of landing his Forces in commodious Places.

CHAP. IV.

Alexander having subdued the Sobii, and some other People, enters into the Country of the Oxydracæ, and the Mallians, puts the Barbarians to Flight, and besieges their City, without regarding the Predictions of Demophoon, the Soothsayer.

IN this Manner he came to the Conflux of the *Hydaspes* and *Acesines*, and took the same Course into the Dominions of the *Sobii*. These People report that their Ancestors belonged to *Hercules's* Army, but being Sick were left here, where their Posterity have remained ever since. They cloathed themselves with the Skins of Wild Beasts, and their Weapons were Clubs; and notwithstanding the *Greeks* Manners were abolished among them, yet there were a great many Monuments still left, that sufficiently declared from whence they descended.

Here the King landed with his Army, and marched two hundred and fifty Furlongs into the Country, which having pillaged and laid waste, he took the Capital Sword in Hand. There were forty thousand Foot of an other Nation drawn up along the River's Side to oppose his landing, which however he effected, and put them to flight, and afterwards besieged the Town, to which they had retired, and took it by Storm; all that were able to bear Arms were put to the Sword, and the rest were sold. After this he lay down before another Place, where he was gallantly repulsed by the Besieged, and lost a great many *Macedonians*; but when the Inhabitants found that he obstinately continued the Siege, despairing of their Safety, they set Fire to the Town, and cast their Wives, Children, and themselves into the Flames, which as they strove to feed and increase, the Enemy endeavoured to extinguish; so that here was a new Species of Contention and Strife, for the Inhabitants destroyed the Town, and the Enemies defended

send it, so great a Change does War make even in the Laws of Nature. The Castle had received no Damage, and the King left a Garrison in it, after which he went round the same by Water, for it was encompassed by three of the largest Rivers in all *India*, except the *Ganges*, which seemed to lend their Streams for its Fortification. The *Indus* washes it on the North Side, and on the South the *Acefines* mixes itself with the *Hydaspes*. The violent meeting of these Rivers makes their Waters as turbulent and rough as those of the Sea; and as they carry a great deal of Mud along with them, which by their rapid Concourse is very much disturbed, they leave but a narrow Channel for the Boats to pass in. *Alexander's* Fleet being therefore vehemently plied by the Waves both at Stem and on the Sides, the Mariners began to furl their Sails, and endeavoured to get off; but they were so disordered by Fear, that the impetuous Swift-ness of the Rivers was too many for them, so that two of their largest Ships were lost in their Sight: As for the small ones, tho' it was impossible also to govern them, they were driven upon the Shore, without receiving any Damage.

The Ship the King was in was carried by the furious force of the Current amongst the strongest Whirlpools, which hurrying the Ship along with their circular Motion, made the Rudder altogether useless. The King had stripped himself, and was just ready to leap into the River, and his Friends were swimming close by ready to receive him; but it seemed almost doubtful where was the greatest Danger, either in swimming or staying on board. The Mariners therefore plied their Oars with all the strength human Force could lend, to break the violence of the Waves, which at last yielded to their importunate Labour, and the Ship was worked out of these raging Gulphs; notwithstanding which they could not gain the Shore, but were stranded on the next Flats. One would have thought it had been a kind of Engagement with the River. *Alexander* therefore having erected three Altars, according to the Number of the Ri-

vers, offered Sacrifices upon them, and then advanced thirty Furlongs.

From thence he marched into the Country of the *Oxydrace* and the *Mallians*, who tho' usually at War with one another, yet at this Juncture were united by the common Danger. They had got together an Army of ninety thousand Foot, ten thousand Horse, and nine hundred Chariots. The *Macedonians*, who thought they had passed thro' all their Dangers, finding a fresh War upon their Hands with the fiercest People of *India*, being struck with an unexpected Terror, began again to Mutiny, and rail against the King, alledging that he would lately have compelled them to pass the *Ganges*, and engage in a War with those strong populous Nations that lie beyond the same; which Enterprize tho' at last he desisted from, yet the War was not at an End, but only changed. That they were now exposed to a savage People, that at the Expence of their Blood they might open him a Way to the Ocean. That they were dragged beyond the Aspect of the Sun and Stars, and forced to those Places which Nature seemed to have a mind to hide from Mortal Eyes. That as he supply'd them from Time to Time with new Arms, so they had continually fresh Enemies to encounter, which admitting that they overcame, what Reward had they to expect but thick Fogs and Darkness, and an eternal Night that lay hovering on the Deep, a Sea replete with infinite Multitudes of hideous Monsters, and stagnating Waters, in which dying Nature seemed to faint away.

The King tho' void of Fear himself, yet was in great Perplexity on the Account of the Uneasiness of his Army, and therefore having called them together, he gave them to understand, that those People they so much dreaded, were altogether raw and undisciplined; that having overcome these Nations they would meet with no farther Obstacle to stop their Passage to the End of the World, and put a Period to their Fatigues and Labours; that he had, in consideration of their Fear, desisted from his Design of passing the *Ganges*, and conquer-

ing.

ing the Nations that lie beyond it, and had turned his Arms another Way, where there was equal Glory and less Hazard; that the Ocean was already within their Sight, and refreshed them with its cool Breezes, he begged therefore of them, that they would not envy him the Glory he so much coveted; since by passing the Bounds of *Hercules* and *Bacchus* they might at an easy rate make his Fame immortal; at least he desired they would suffer him to lead them safely back out of *India*, and not retire like Fugitives.

It is the Property of all Multitudes, and especially of the Military, to be carried away with small Motions, so that as a little Matter raises a Sedition, it is also as easily appeased. There never was a more cheerful Shout given by the Army than at this Time, desiring him to lead them wherever he pleased, wishing the Gods to bless his Arms, that he might equal the Glory of those he rival'd. *Alexander* was overjoy'd at these Acclamations, and therefore broke up immediately to advance towards the Enemy. They were the most warlike People of all the *Indians*, and were preparing to make a vigorous War, having made Choice of a very brave General out of the *Oxydracan* Nation. He was also an experienced Soldier, and had pitched his Camp at the Foot of a Mountain, causing Fires to be made to a great Distance, that his Army might thereby appear more numerous; and would now and then alarm the *Macedonians* when at rest, by the sudden Cries and uncouth Howlings of his Men. As soon as it was light, the King full of Assurance and Hopes, ordered his Soldiers (who had now a cheerful Countenance) to take to their Arms, and put themselves in order of Battle; but the *Barbarians*, either thro' Fear, or by reason of some Divisions among themselves, fled into the Mountains, the King pursuing them to no purpose; however, he took their Baggage.

After this he advanced to the City of the *Oxydracans*, where a great Number had taken Refuge, putting no less Confidence in the Strength of the Place, than in their Arms. The King was just going to lie down

before it, when a Soothsayer advised him to forbear, or at least delay the Siege, because he foresaw that his Life would be in Danger. Hereupon the King looking upon *Demophoon* (for that was the Soothsayer's Name) said to him, If while thou art intent upon thy Art of Inspection, any Body should interrupt thee, I do not doubt but thou wouldst think him impertinent and troublesome; which *Demophoon* agreeing to, Canst thou then imagine, replied the King, that when my Thoughts are taken up with Matters of the greatest Importance, and not with the Intrails of Beasts, there can be any Thing more unseasonable than the Interruption of the superstitious Soothsayer? This said, he without any farther delay, commanded the Ladders to be applyed to the Wall, and while the rest were hesitating on the Account of the Danger, he was the first that scaled the Wall, whose coping was very narrow and without Battlements, as there is commonly at the Top, but was carried on with one continued Head, which defended its Passage. Thus the King might be said rather to cleave to than stand upon the narrow Margin thereof, receiving in his Buckler the Darts with which he was on all Sides warmly plyed at a Distance from the Towers, and the Soldiers were hindered from climbing up by the Clouds of Arrows that were shot at them from above. However, at last Shame overcame the greatness of the Danger, for they saw that by their Delay, the King would fall into the Hands of the Enemies; but their over-eagerness proved a great hindrance to them, for as they all strove who should get up soonest, they so loaded the Ladders that they broke under them, and disappointed the King of the only Hope he had; by this Means standing in the Sight of so numerous an Army, he might be said to be as destitute as if he had been in a Desert.

C H A P. V.

Alexander is wounded in the City of the Oxydracans, into which he had leaped; and after having lost some of his best Captains,

Captains, when his People had taken the City, they found themselves almost dead, and destitute of all Succour.

HIS Left Arm was now so tired with parrying the Strokes that were made at him, that he could no longer make use of it. And when his principal Officers, at the Foot of the Wall called out to him, to drop down and said they would catch him, he did what is almost incredible, and may pass rather for a Prodigy of Temerity than Valour, for he leaped into the Town amongst all his Enemies, tho' at the same Time he could hardly propose to himself the Satisfaction of dying fighting; since before he could rise off the Ground, he might be overpowered and taken alive. However, as good Fortune would have it, he so poized his Body, that he light upon his Feet, which gave him the Advantage of engaging the Enemy standing, and Providence had put it in his Power not to be surrounded. There was an old Tree not far from the Wall, whose Branches being thick clothed with Leaves, seemed to extend themselves on purpose to protect the King; he therefore planted himself against that Tree, and with his Buckler received the Darts that were cast at him; for notwithstanding so many of them attacked him alone at a Distance, yet none dared to come to a close Engagement with him, and there fell more Darts amongst the Branches than on his Buckler.

In this Extremity his mighty Fame did him no small Service, then Despair prompted him to exert all his Bravery that he might die honourably; but as fresh Enemies continually flocked about him, his Buckler was already loaded with Darts, and the Stones had broke his Helmet; at last, tired out with the continual Labour, he fell upon his Knees. Hereupon they who were nearest suspecting no Danger, ran heedlessly upon him, two of which he presently killed with his Sword, after which no Body had the Courage to approach him, but they ply'd him afar off with their Darts and Arrows. Now as he was exposed like a Mark to all their Aims, it was a hard Task in that disad-

vantageous Posture to protect his Body, so that an *Indian* let fly an Arrow at him two Cubits long (for the *Indian* Arrows, as we said before, were of this length) which pierced his Armour a little above his right Side. Having received this Wound, there issued out of it so great a Quantity of Blood, that he let fall his Arms like one expiring, not having Strength enough left to pull out the Arrow. He therefore who had wounded him, being transported with Joy, ran in to strip his Body; but *Alexander* no sooner felt his Hand touch him, than (as I suppose disdain- ing to bear this last Indignity) he summoned together his departing Spirits, and plunged his Sword into his Enemy's naked Side.

Thus three of the Enemies lay dead about the King, the rest keeping at a Distance like Men stupify'd. In the mean Time *Alexander* (who coveted to yield up his last Breath fighting) endeavoured to raise himself up with his Buckler, but finding he had not Strength enough left for that Purpose, he took hold of some of the impending Boughs, and tried to get up by their Assistance, but not having Strength sufficient to support his Body, he fell down again upon his Knees, threatening his Enemies with his Hand, and provoking any of them to a close Fight. At last *Peucestes* having beat off the Enemy in another Part of the Town, kept along the Wall till he came where the King was, who looked upon him rather as a Comfort in his dying Hour, than any way able to save his Life; however he raised himself with his Help, upon his Buckler; then came *Timeus*, and soon after *Leonnatus*, and after him *Aristonius*. When the *Indians* were informed, that the King was within their Walls, they abandoned the other Places, and flocked all thither where he was, and pressed hard upon those who defended him. Of these *Timeus* (after a gallant Behaviour, having received a great many Wounds before) was killed: As for *Peucestes*, notwithstanding he was pierced thro' with there Darts, yet he continued to defend the King's Person, unmindful of himself; and *Leonnatus* whilst he repelled the *Barbarians*, who came upon them in great Numbers, received a griev-

a grievous Blow on the Neck, and fell down at the King's Feet half dead. By this Time *Peucestes* had lost so much Blood, that he was no longer able to support his Buckler. Thus all the Hope was now in *Aristonius*, but as he was also desperately wounded, what could be expected from him against so great a Multitude? In the mean Time, the Rumour that the King was killed, reached the *Macedonians*. What would have terrified others, only served to excite their Courage the more, for now, without having the least regard to the Danger, they broke down the Wall with their Pick-Axes, and having entered the Town, made a mighty Slaughter of the *Indians*, who rather thought of saving themselves by Flight, than of making any great Resistance. They spared neither the Aged, the Women, nor the Children, for they looked upon whomsoever they met, to be the Person that had wounded their King, till at last by an universal Slaughter of the Enemy, they satisfied their Anger. *Glitarcbus* and *Timagenes* relate, that *Ptolemaeus*, who was afterwards King, was present at this Action: But he himself, who most certainly would not deny what would have redounded so much to his Glory, has left in Writing, that he was absent, being employed in another Expedition. So great was the Assurance of those who transmitted to Posterity those ancient Histories, or their Credulity, which is no less a Fault. The King being brought into his Tent, the Surgeons very dexterously cut off the woody Part of the Javelin that stuck in his Body, without stirring the Iron head of it, which, upon laying his Body naked, they found to be bearded, so that there was no other Way to take it out safely, but by opening the Wound. But here again they were afraid of too great an Effusion of Blood; for the Javelin was large, and seemed to penetrate into the noble Parts. *Critobulus*, who of all the Surgeons was the most experienced, was nevertheless timorous, in so dangerous a Case; and unwilling to be concerned, lest his own Life should be in Danger if the Cure did not answer Expectation. The King perceiving

him to weep, and discovering the anxious Solitude he was in, by the Paleness of his Countenance, asked him, What he waited for, and why he delay'd freeing him at least from the Pain he was in, since it was impossible to save his Life? Dost thou fear being thought guilty, if thou dost not cure an incurable Wound? Hereupon *Critobulus* being freed from his Fear, or else dissembling it, begged of him, that he would suffer himself to be held, till he drew out the Iron Head; because the least Motion of his Body during Operation, would be of dangerous Consequence. But the King told him, he did not want to be held, neither need he fear his stirring, and accordingly kept his Body as he was ordered, without the least Motion. The Wound therefore being laid open, and the Head taken out, there succeeded so vast an Effusion of Blood, that the King fainted away, and lay extended like a dead Man. All Means were used to stanch the Blood, but to no Purpose, so that the King's Friends broke out into Lamentations, believing him to be really dead. However, at last the Bleeding was stop'd, and by Degrees he came to himself, and began to know those that were about him. All that Day and the Night following, the Army was under Arms about his Tent, they all confess'd, that their Lives depended on his single Breath, neither could they be prevailed upon to withdraw, till they were informed he was fallen into a Sleep; after which, they returned to their Camp with more certain Hopes of his Recovery.

C H A P. VI.

Alexander's Friends intreat him to take Care of his own Safety, for the Safety of the Publick; but he makes them a generous Answer in persevering to conquer the whole World.

AT the the End of seven Days, which he had employed in the Cure of his Wound; altho' it was not yet closed, as he was informed that the Report of his Death spread

spread farther among the *Barbarians*, he ordered two Ships to be joined together, and placed his Tent in the Middle of them, that from thence he might shew himself to all those who believed him dead. Thus being exposed to the View of all the Inhabitants, he stifled the Hopes the Enemy had entertained from the false Rumour.

From hence he sailed down the River, having first given Orders to the rest of the Fleet to follow him at a certain Distance, lest the Noise of the Oars should hinder him of that Rest that was yet necessary to his infirm Body. On the fourth Day after he embarked, he arrived in a Country abandoned by its Inhabitants, but very fruitful in Corn, and abounding with Cattle. This Place seemed proper both to confirm his own Health, and rest his Army. Now it was a Custom among the *Macedonians*, for the most considerable of the King's Friends, and those who had the Guard of his Person, to do Duty before the Royal Tent when he was indisposed, which Practice being at this Time observed, they all entered his Apartment together. The King was not a little surprized at their general Appearance, and began to be in Pain, lest some unforeseen Accident had happened, and therefore enquired of them, Whether there was any fresh Account of the Enemy's Approach? Then *Craterus*, on whom they had pitch'd to speak in the Behalf of them all, expressed himself in the following Manner. 'Can you imagine, Sir, we could be so alarm'd at the Approach of an Enemy, tho' they were already within our Line, as we are really concerned for your own Safety, especially when we see you yourself so little regard it? Were all the Nations in the World to conspire against us; were they to cover the whole Earth with Men and Arms, and the Sea with Fleets, we are satisfied we are invincible while you are at the Head of us. But which of all the Gods can insure us of this main Support and propitious Star of the *Macedonians*, when you so eagerly expose your precious Person to such manifest Dangers, unmindful of the great Number of Citi-

zens who intirely depend upon your Fate. Who amongst us, either desires to survive you, or can? We are advanced so far already under your Conduct and Command, that it is impossible for any but yourself, to lead us home. Were you still contending with *Darius* for the Empire of *Persia*, no Body could wonder you exposed yourself so resolutely on all Occasions (tho' at the same Time it would be against our Wills) for where there is any Equality between the Danger and the Reward, the Fruit thereof is greater upon Success, as is also the Consolation upon a Miscarriage. But that a sorry Town should be purchased at so dear a rate as your Life, who can bear the Thoughts of it, either of your own Soldiers, or of the *Barbarians* that has any Knowledge of your Greatness? My Soul is struck with Horror, when I reflect on what we all lately beheld. I cannot without trembling, relate how near your invincible Person was being stripped by the Hands of the vilest Wretches, if Fortune had not been so favourable to us, as by Miracle almost, to save you. We can be counted no better than Traytors and Deserters all of us, who could not follow you, neither will any of us refuse to make any Satisfaction for the Crime we could not help being guilty of. If we are not worthy your high Esteem, at least do us the Favour to shew your Contempt another way. We are ready to march wherever you please to command us. Leave us those mean and inglorious Actions, and preserve yourself for those noble Occasions that are worthy your Greatness. That Glory that results from fordid Enemies, soon loses its Lustre, and there cannot be any thing more unworthy your illustrious self, than to be prodigal of your Bravery, where it cannot appear in its full Splendor.' *Ptolemy* and the rest spoke much to the same purpose; and all of them together intreated him to set some Bounds at last, to that Excess of Glory with which he was in a manner loaded; and for the future to have a greater Regard to his Safety, on which that of the

Publick depended. The King was very well pleased with these Testimonials of their Zeal, and having embraced them every one singly, after a more familiar Manner than usual, he bid them sit down. Then taking into consideration their foregoing Speech, he said to them, ' My faithful and most zealous Citizens and Friends, I return you my hearty Thanks, not only that you at this Time prefer my Safety to your own, but also, that from the Beginning of the War, you have let slip no Opportunity of testifying your dutiful and benevolent Disposition towards me; so that I must confess, Life was never dearer to me than it is at present, and that chiefly, that I may long enjoy you. At the same Time I must let you know, that how willing soever you may be to lay down your Lives for me (which Inclination I have deserved, only by that Bravery you now blame) your Thoughts and mine are very different. For you covet to reap the Fruits of my Favour along time, nay, perhaps for ever: Whereas I measure myself not by the Time I have lived, but by the Glory I have acquired. Had I been contented with my paternal Inheritance, I might within the Bounds of *Macedonia*, have spun out my Life in Obscurity and Idleness, to an inglorious old Age: Tho' it must be owned too, that even the Slothful and Lazy, are not Masters of their own Destiny; for while they place this supreme Happiness in a long Life, they are frequently cut off by some unexpected, unrelenting Death. But as for myself, who do not reckon my Years, but my Victories, if I rightly compute the Gifts of Fortune, I have already lived a long Time. For having begun my Empire in *Macedonia*, I made myself Master of *Greece*; I subdued the *Thracians* and *Illyrians*; I give Laws to the *Triballi*, and the *Medes*, I am in Possession of *Asia*, from the *Hellefont* to the Red Sea; and at present am not far from the End of the World, which as soon as I have passed, I design to open myself a new one, and if possible, discover another Nature. I passed from *Europe* to *Asia*, in so short a Time as that of an Hour. Having conquered both Countries in the ninth Year of my Reign, and in the nine and twentieth Year of my Age. Do you think I can make any stop in my full Career after Glory, to which alone I have entirely devoted myself? No, believe me, I shall never be wanting to her on my Part, and wheresoever I shall fight, I shall imagine myself to be on the Theatre of the whole World. Those Places that have been hitherto obscure, shall become famous thro' my Means. I'll open a Passage to all Nations, to those Countries Nature has placed at the remotest Distance. If while I am employed in the Execution of these great Things, it may be my Lot to be killed, what can be more for my Reputation? I am descended from such a Stock, that I ought to covet rather to live, much than long. Let me recommend to your Reflection, that we are come into those Countries where the very Women are celebrated for their Virtue. What Cities *Semiramis* has built! what Nations did she subdue! what mighty Works did she accomplish! we have not yet equalled the glorious Performances of a Woman, and shall we already be seized with a Satiety of Praise? No, no, let the Gods but favour us, and we have much greater Things to do than we have done. But the ready Way to conquer all those Countries we have not yet touched, is to esteem nothing little, where there is a great deal of Glory to be got. Do you but defend me from intestine Mischief, and domestick Conspiracies, and I shall undauntedly face all the Dangers of the War. *Phillip* was safer in the Field, than in the Theatre; he had often escaped the Hands of his professed Enemies, but could not at last secure himself from the Treachery of his Subjects. And if you examine into the Death of other Kings, you shall find more killed by their own People, than by the Enemy. Before I conclude this Speech, I shall lay hold of the present Opportunity to disclose to you a Thing which

I for a considerable Time have had in my Thoughts : Know then that I shall look upon it as the greatest Reward of all my Labours, and chief Fruit of my Victories, if when my Mother *Olympias* dies, she be placed among the Gods. If I am living I shall discharge that Duty myself, but if I die before her, remember what I now commit to your Care.' Having made his Speech, he dismiss'd the Company, but remained several Days encamped in the same Place.

CHAP. VII.

A Revolt of some of the Greeks in the Country of Bactra is appeased. Alexander makes a great Feast for the Ambassadors of the Indians, during which Horratas and Dioxippus quarrel, and next Morning fight a Duel with very different Weapons. Some Time after Dioxippus, provoked by the Calumnies of his Enemies, kills himself with his own Hands.

WHILE these Things passed in *India*, the *Greek* Soldiers, whom the King had disposed in Parties about *Bactra*, falling into a Sedition among themselves, revolted, not so much out of ill-Will to *Alexander*, as for Fear of Punishment; for having killed some of their Companions, they who were the strongest, had Recourse to Arms, and having made themselves Masters of the Citadel of *Bactra*, which was but negligently guarded, they drew the *Barbarians* also into their Party. *Athenodorus* was their Leader, who had also assumed the Title of King; not so much out of an Ambition to Reign, as out of a Desire to return into his native Country with those who owned his Authority. But one *Bicon* of the same Nation, envied his Power, conspired against him, and having invited him to an Entertainment, caused him to be killed by *Boxus* a *Macerianian*. The Day following, *Bicon*, in a General Assembly, persuaded the Major-part of it, that *Athenodorus* had entertained a Design against his Life, which obliged him to be before-hand

with him; however, others suspected his treacherous Designs, and by Degrees this Suspicion spread itself among the rest. The *Greek* Soldiers therefore take to their Arms, intending to kill *Bicon*, if they had an Opportunity; but the chief amongst them, appeased the Anger of the Multitude. Thus *Bicon* being contrary to his Expectation freed from the present Danger, in a little Time conspired against the Authors of his Safety; but the Treachery taking vent, they seized both him and *Boxus*. *Boxus* was put to Death immediately, and *Bicon* was reserved to die upon the Rack. Now it happened that just as they were going to torment him, the *Greek* Soldiers (without any known Cause) ran to their Arms like Mad-Men; so that they who had Orders to torment him, hearing the sudden Up-roar, desisted from their Office, imagining they were forbid to execute the same by this tumultuous Outcry. Hereupon he ran Naked as he was to the *Greeks*, who beholding him in this wretched Condition, were touched with Compassion for him, and ordered him to be set at Liberty. Having thus twice escaped dying, he returned into his native Country with the rest of those who left the Colonies allotted them by the King. This is what happened about *Bactra*, and the Borders of *Scythia*.

In the mean time, a hundred Ambassadors came to the King from the two Nations we before mentioned. They all rid in Chariots, were very tall, and handsome Personages, clad in Linnen Garments embroidered with Gold, and a mixture of Purple. They told him, they delivered up to him, themselves, their Towns and Territories: That he was the first they ever intrusted their Liberty with, which they had for so many Ages preserved inviolate. That the Gods were the Authors of their Submission, and not Fear; which might appear from hence, that they took his Yoke upon them, without making any Trial of their Strength. Hereupon the King having deliberated with his Council, took them into his Protection, enjoining them the same Tribute they pay'd to the *Arachosians*; besides which, he commanded

them to supply him with two thousand five hundred Horse; all which was punctually performed by the *Barbarians*.

After this, he gave Orders for a great Entertainment, to which he invited these Ambassadors, and the little Kings. Here were an hundred Beds of Gold set at a moderate Distance from each other. These Beds were encompassed with rich Tapestries glittering with Gold and Purple: In fine, at this Banquet, he displayed all the ancient Luxury of the *Persians*, together with the new Inventions of the corrupted *Macedonians*; intermixing the Vices of both Nations.

Among the rest that were at this Feast, was *Dioxippus* the *Athenian*, a famous Wrestler, who on the Account of his prodigious Strength, was well known to the King, and much in his Favour. Some envious and malicious Persons reproached *Dioxippus* betwixt Jest and Earnest, That he was a fat, overgrown, useless Monster; and that while they were engaged in Battles, he was only employed in anointing his Body with Oil, and preparing himself for a fresh Meal. *Herratas*, a *Macedonian*, was one who used these reviling Expressions to him, and being drunk, challenged him to fight him with Sword the next Day, and that the King should be judge either of his Temerity, or *Dioxippus's* Cowardice. This latter accepted the Condition, and in a scornful Manner play'd upon the other's military Fierceness. The King finding them the next Day more eager for the Trial of Skill than the Day before, suffered them to fight. On this Occasion there was a great Concourse of Soldiers, and among them many *Greeks*, who were well-wishers to *Dioxippus*. The *Macedonian* appeared compleatly armed, holding in his Left Hand his brazen Buckler and long Spear, and in his Right a Javelin; with his Sword by his Side, as if he had been to engage with several at the same Time. As for *Dioxippus*, he shined with Oil, with which he was anointed, having a Garland on his Head, and a scarlet Cloak wrapt about his Left Arm, and in his Right a strong-knotty Club. The different

Appearance raised a mighty Expectation in the Spectators, for it seemed Madness and Temerity, for a naked Man to engage with one compleatly armed. The *Macedonian* therefore no wise doubting but he could kill him at a Distance, cast his Javelin at him, which *Dioxippus* avoided by a small Inclination of his Body, and before the other could shift his long Spear into his Right Hand, leaped into him, and broke it with his Club: The *Macedonian* having lost both his Weapons, began now to draw his Sword; but *Dioxippus* closing in with him, struck up his Heels and pitched his Head against the Ground, and having taken his Sword from him, clapped his Foot upon his Neck, and was just going to dash his Brains out with his Club, if he had not been hindered by the King.

The Event of this Spectacle was neither greatful to the *Macedonians* nor *Alexander* himself; for he was afraid lest the so much boasted Bravery of the *Macedonians* should thereby fall into Contempt. This made him listen a little too much to the Accusations of the Invidious. A few Days after, at a Feast where he was, they, by Agreement, took away a Golden Cup: The Officers pretending to miss it, came to the King and complained they had lost what they had only hid. Modesty oftentimes does wrong to the Innocent, and an honest Man calumniated will blush more than the Guilty. *Dioxippus* seeing every one look at him, as if they believed him guilty of the Theft, was not able to bear the Affront, but rising from Table, after having wrote to the King, he fell upon his Sword and killed himself. The King very much regretted his Death, which he took to be rather the Mark of a generous Indignation, than the Remorse of Conscience for any Guilt, and especially when the excessive Joy of his Enemies declared his Innocence.

C H A P. VIII.

Alexander having received Presents from the Indian Ambassadors, subdued the Sabracæ, the Musicanî, the Præsti, and other Nations.

Nations. Ptolemy is cured of an empoisoned Wound, by the Help of a certain Herb, the Image of which Alexander sees in a Dream.

A Few Days after the *Indian* Ambassadors went home to their own Country, they returned again with several Presents for *Alexander*, consisting of three Hundred Horses, one Thousand and thirty Chariots, each drawn by four Horses, some Linnen Garments, a Thousand *Indian* Bucklers, and one Hundred Talents of Tin, with tame Lions and Tygers of an extraordinary Size, as also the Skins of very large Lizards, and Tortoise Shells.

The King then commanded *Craterus* to march the Army at no great Distance from the River, on which he was to sail; after which embarking with those who were used to accompany him, he came down the Stream into the Territory of the *Mallians*: From whence he marched towards the *Sabraca*, who are a powerful Nation, whose Government is a Republick. They had raised an Army of sixty Thousand Foot, and six Thousand Horse, which were followed by five Hundred Chariots. They had made choice of three Generals of great Experience in Military Matters, but when such of them as inhabited near the River (the Bank whereof was full of Villages) perceived the whole River cover'd with Ships as far as they could see, and beheld the shining Arms and Armour of so many Thousand Men, they were amazed at the Novelty of the Sight, and believed that some Army of the Gods was come amongst them, or else another *Bacchus*, for that Name was famous in these Parts. The Soldiers Shouts, and the Noise of the Oars, together with the confused Voices of the Mariners encouraging one another, so filled their fearful Ears, that they all ran to the Army, crying out, that they were mad to offer to contend with the Gods; that it was impossible to number the Ships that carried these invincible Men. By which Words they spread such a general Fear throughout their whole Army, that they immediately dispatched Ambassadors to

Alexander, to yield up their Nation to him.

Having taken them into his Protection, he came the fourth Day into another Country, the People whereof had no more Courage than the former; here he built a City which he ordered to be called *Alexandria*, and then entered into the Territory of the *Musican*.

While he was here he heard the Complaints of the *Paropamisada* against *Terialtes*, whom he had made their Governor, and finding him convicted of several Irregularities thro' his Avarice and Pride, he sentenced him to suffer Death. At the same Time *Oxatres*, who was *Prator* of the *Bactrians*, was not only cleared of what was alledged against him, but had also the Extent of his Government enlarged. Having subdued the Country of the *Musican*, he put a Garrison into their Capital, and from thence advanced against the *Presti*, who are also a People of *India*. *Oxycanus* was their King, and had, with a great Body of Men, retired into a strong City. However, *Alexander* took it the third Day after he lay down before it. The Town being taken, *Oxycanus* fled into the Castle, and sent Ambassadors to the King to treat about the Terms of his Surrender; but before they could reach the King, two of the Towers were beat down, thro' the Breach of which the *Macedonians* got into the Castle, which being taken, *Oxycanus* with a few more that made Resistance, were killed.

Having demolished the Castle, and sold all the Captives, he marched into the Territories of King *Sabus*, where several Towns submitted to him; but he took the strongest City by a subterraneous Passage which he had carry'd on within the Place. The *Barbarians* who were unskilled in military Affairs, were amazed to see Men rise out of the Ground in the Middle of their Town, without being able to trace the Way they came. *Clitarchus* says there were fourscore Thousand *Indians* slain in this Country; and a great Number of Captives sold as Slaves. The *Musican* in the mean Time rebelled, and *Pithon* was sent to suppress them, who, accordingly,

accordingly did so, and brought the Prince of the Nation (who was also the Author of the Revolt) Prisoner to the King, who ordered him to be Crucify'd, and then returned to the River, where his Fleet waited for him. The fourth Day after he came to a Town which leads into the Dominions of King *Sabus*. He had lately submitted to *Alexander*, but the Inhabitants refused to obey him, and shut the Gates against him: However, the King despising their small Number, commanded five hundred *Agrians* to approach the Walls of the Place, and retiring by little and little, to draw the Enemy out of the Town, who he concluded would not fail to pursue them, if they once were persuaded that they fled. The *Agrians* according to the Orders they had received, having provoked the Enemy, took to their Heels, and were pursued so closely by the *Indians*, that these last fell into a fresh Body where the King was in Person. Then the Fight was renewed, and out of three Thousand *Barbarians* five Hundred were killed, a Thousand taken Prisoners, and the rest got back again to the Town; but the Issue of this Victory was not so favourable as at first expected, for the *Barbarians* had poisoned their Swords, so that those who were wounded died suddenly, the Physicians not being able to find out the Cause of so present a Death, the slightest Wounds being incurable. The *Indians* were in hopes that the King, who was rash, and regardless of his own Safety, might have been involved in that Danger, but notwithstanding he fought among the foremost, yet he escaped unwounded.

Ptolemy indeed gave him great Uneasiness on the Account of a Wound he had received in the Left Shoulder, which tho' light in itself, was, by reason of the Poison, of dangerous Consequence. He was related to the King, and some believed *Philip* was his Father; it is certain he was born of one of his Mistresses. He was one of the King's Body Guards, and a very brave Soldier; however, he was still more excellent in the Arts of Peace, was moderate in his Apparel, very Liberal, and easy of Access, having nothing

of that Haughtiness that seems natural to those who are descended from the Royal Blood: These Qualities made it doubtful whether he was more loved by the King or those of his Nation: It was on this Occasion that the *Macedonians* first expressed their general Affection for him, which seemed to presage the future Grandeur to which he afterwards raised himself; for they had no less care of his Health than the King, who being fatigued with the Battle, and full of Sollicitude for *Ptolemy* by whom he sat, ordered his Bed to be brought where he was, into which he was no sooner got, than he fell into a profound Sleep. As soon as he waked, he told those who were present, That while he was at rest he dreamed, that a Dragon brought an Herb to him in his Mouth, as a proper Remedy against the Poison: He described the Colour of the Herb, and assured them, he should know it again if any of them should chance to find it. As a great many were employ'd to seek it, some of them found it, and having brought it to him, he apply'd it himself to the Wound, the Pain whereof ceased immediately, and in a short Time the Wound was perfectly heal'd. The *Barbarians* finding themselves disappointed of their first Hopes, surrendered both themselves and City. From hence *Alexander* marched into the next Province called *Parthalia*; *Meris* was King of it, who having abandoned the Town, was fled into the Mountains; *Alexander* therefore took Possession of the Place, and plundered the Country, carrying off a great Booty of Sheep and Cattle, besides a great Quantity of Corn. After this he made choice of Guides who knew the River, and sailed down it to an Island that stood almost in the Middle of the Channel.

C H A P. IX.

Alexander has an extream Desire to see the Ocean, which at length he satisfies; but not without great Danger from the inexperience of the Sailors and Pilots.

HERE he was obliged to make a longer Stay than he at first proposed, because the Guides being carelessly looked after were fled

fled: He therefore sent to seek after others, but none being to be found, the strong Desire he had to see the Ocean, and to reach the utmost Bounds of the World, made him commit his own Life, and the Safety of so many gallant Men to an unknown River, without Guides. Thus they sailed altogether ignorant of the Places they passed by; how far the Sea was distant from them; what People inhabited the Coasts; the Nature of the Mouth of the River; or whether it was proper for their long Ships, for all which they had only their own blind and uncertain Conjecture. The only Comfort in this his Temerity, was his constant good Fortune. Having proceeded after this Manner for the Space of four Hundred Furlongs, the Pilots acquainted him, that they began to be sensible of the Air of the Sea, and they did not believe the Ocean could be far off. He was overjoy'd at this News, and encouraged the Mariners to ply their Oars, assuring the Soldiers, they were near attaining what they all had so long wish'd for, *viz.* an End of their Labours; that now their Glory would be perfect, nothing being left to withstand their Bravery; that without any farther Danger or Bloodshed the whole World would be their own; that their Exploits would equal the utmost extent of Nature; and that they would behold in a little Time what was only known to the immortal Gods. However, he sent a small Detachment ashore, in order to take some of the straggling Natives, hoping to get from them a thorough Information of all Things. After a long Search they found some who lay lurking in their Huts. These being asked, how far the Sea was off? Made Answer, That they never had heard of any such Thing as the Sea, but in three Days Time they would come to a brackish Water which corrupted the fresh. It was plain, that by this Description they meant the Sea, whose Nature they did not understand; hereupon the Mariners with fresh Alacrity ply'd their Oars, and every Day the nearer they grew to their Hopes the greater was their Vigour.

On the third Day they perceived that the Sea began to mingle its Water with that

of the River, and by a gentle Tide confound their different Streams, here they discovered another Island, situate in the very Middle of the River, to which they could approach but slowly, because the Course of the Tide ran against them: Being landed they ran about to lay in Provisions, not dreaming of the Misfortune that was ready to fall upon them. About Three of the Clock the Tide, according to its ordinary Course, began to pour in strongly, and force back the Current of the River. At first it seemed in a Manner but to struggle with it, but running still higher and higher, it drove it back with such Impetuosity that its retrograde Course exceeded the Rapidity of the swiftest Torrents. The Generality of them were entirely ignorant of the Nature of the Sea, so that they look'd upon it to be ominous, and a certain Indication of the Anger of the Gods; but, to their great Terror, the Sea, by its repeated Workings, swell'd so high as to overflow the neighbouring Plains, which before were dry, and as the Flux increased, the Ships were raised higher, till at last the Fleet was dispersed. They who had been sent ashore, surprized at the suddenness of the Accident, repaired to their Ships with the greatest Precipitation; but in all tumultuary Assemblies, Haste is of pernicious Consequence. Some endeavoured to get on board by long hook'd Poles; others, while they place themselves interrupt the Rowers; some again try to make the best of their Way, but not waiting for the Arrival of those who were absolutely necessary for their Purpose, found it a difficult Matter to navigate those heavy and unwieldy Ships; at the same Time other Boats were not able to contain the Multitude of those that inconsiderately flock'd into them; so that the Crowd in this Case, was as detrimental as the Want of Hands in the other. Some cry'd out to stay, others to make off, which Confusion of Orders, not tending to the same Purpose, not only took away the Use of their Eyes, but also of their Ears. The Pilots at this Juncture were likewise useless, their Directions not being heard in so great a Tumult, nor obey'd, by reason of the Fright. The Ships

now

now began to fall foul of one another, and the Oars were broke: In fine, the Disorder was so great, that no body could have imagined it to be the Fleet of the same Army, but a Sea Engagement between two Fleets that were Enemies. The Stems of some Ships were forced against the Sterns of others, and the Damage that was done to those that were foremost, was again receiv'd from those that came after; at last from high Words they came to Blows. By this Time the Inundation had spread itself over all the Fields in the Neighbourhood of the River, the Hills only appearing above the Water, and carrying the Resemblance of so many Islands, whither several betook themselves by Swimming, out of Fear abandoning their Ships.

While the Fleet was scattered here and there, some Ships riding in deep Water where the Vallies sunk low, and others being stranded on the Shoals, according to the Inequality of the Surface of the Ground the Water possessed, they were suddenly surprized with another Terror greater than the first: For when the Sea began to ebb, it carried back the Waters from whence they came, and restored the Land they had covered but a little before. The Ships being thus left upon the dry Land, pitched some upon their Stems, while others fell upon their Sides. The Fields were cover'd with Baggage, Arms, broken Planks and Oars. The Soldiers were so terrified, that they neither dared trust themselves on the Land, nor remain on board, expecting in a little Time greater Evils than those they had so lately experienced. They could hardly believe what they saw and suffered, *viz.* a Shipwreck on the Land, and the Sea in a River. But their Trouble did not end here, for as they were ignorant that the Tide would in a short Time return, and set their Ships afloat again, they expected nothing but Famine and the utmost Calamities. Besides they were seized with Horror at the Sight of so many monstrous Creatures the Sea, had left behind it. The Night now began to draw on, and the desperate Circumstances filled the King himself with Concern; but no Care could get the better of his

invincible Courage: He remained all the Night upon the Watch, giving his Orders, and sent some Horsemen to the Mouth of the River, to bring him Word when the Tide began to return. In the mean while, he caused the shattered Ships to be refitted, and those that were overturned, to be set right again. This whole Night being spent in watching and encouraging his Men, the Horsemen came back upon full Speed, and the Tide at their Heels; at first it came in gently upon them, till increasing by Degrees it raised the Ships; then overflowing all the Fields as before, it set the whole Fleet in Motion.

Hereupon the Banks of the River and Coasts rung with Shouts of the Sailors and Soldiers, who were transported with Joy at their unexpected Safety. They now with Wonder enquired of one another, from whence this vast Sea could return so suddenly? Whither it could retire the Day before? What could be the Nature of this Element, that was sometimes so rebellious, and at others, so subject to the Empire of Time? The King conjectured by what had happened, that the Tide would return after the Sun's rising; he therefore, to prevent it, set out at Midnight, and sailed down the River, attended by a few Ships, and having passed thro' the Mouth of it, advanced four hundred Furlongs into the Sea, obtaining at last what he had so long wished for; then having sacrificed to the tutelar Gods of the Sea, and adjacent Places, he returned back to his Fleet.

CHAP. X.

Alexander returns from the Ocean into the Country of the Arabitæ, the Gedrosii and the Indians, where his Army combats with Pestilence and Famine; however he gives the necessary Orders; and makes afterwards a Sort of Triumph in Imitation of Bacchus, but it proves a bloody one by the Punishment he inflicts on the Satrap Aspastes.

ALEXANDER then sailed up the River, and came to an Anchor the Day following

Following, not far from a Salt Lake, the Nature whereof being unknown to his Men, deceived a great many, who, rashly, ventured to bathe themselves therein; for their Bodies broke out into Scabs, which being contagious, communicated the Distemper to their Companions, but Oil proved a present Remedy for this Evil. He afterwards sent *Leonatus* before to dig Wells in the Country thro' which he was to pass with his Army, (for it was naturally dry and destitute of Water) and he remained with his Forces, where he was, expecting the Return of the Spring. In the mean Time, he built several Cities, and commanded *Nearchus* and *Onesicritus*, very skilful Seamen, to sail with the strongest Ships into the Ocean, and to advance as far as they could with Safety, in order to inform themselves of the Nature of the Sea; which having done, they might return to him, either by the same River, or by the *Euphrates*.

The Winter being now pretty well over, he burned those Ships which were useless to him, and marched his Army by Land. In nine Encampments he came into the Country of the *Arabite*, and from thence, in nine Days more, into that of the *Gedrosii*. These were a free People; however, having held a Council upon the Matter, they submitted to him, and he laid no other Injunctions upon them, but to supply his Army with Provisions.

From hence, in five Days, he came to a River called by the Inhabitants *Arabus*, beyond which there lies a barren Country, very destitute of Water; which having marched thro', he arrived at the Territories of the *Horite*: Here he gave *Hephestion* the greatest Part of the Army, and divided the remaining Part, which consisted of the light-armed Troops, between *Ptolemy*, *Leonatus* and himself. In this Manner they ravaged *India* in three distinct Bodies, and carry'd off a great Booty. *Ptolemy* wasted the maritime Country; the King destroyed the Midland Part; and *Leonatus* the rest. He also built a City here, and peopled it with *Arachosians*.

From hence he came to those *Indians* who inhabit the maritime Parts. They are possessed of a large Extent of Country, but it is very barren and desolate, so that they hold no Manner of Commerce with their Neighbours. Their Solitude adds very much to their otherwise Savage Nature; they never pare their Nails, nor cut their Hair. They adorn their Cottages with the Shells and other Refuse of the Sea. Their Cloaths are made of the Skins of wild Beasts, and they feed upon Fishes dry'd in the Sun, and other Monsters, that the Sea casts upon the Shore.

The *Macedonians* having consumed all their Provisions, first endured a Scarcity, and afterwards Extremity of Hunger, so that they were forced to have recourse to the Roots of the Palm-Tree, which they every where sought for, it being the only Tree the Country produces. But this Food failing them too, they began to kill their Beasts of Burthen, not sparing even their Horses. Thus wanting wherewith to carry their Baggage, they burnt those rich Spoils for which they had marched to the utmost Extremity of the East. The Plague succeeded the Famine, for the new Juices of their unwholesome Food, together with the Fatigue of their Marches, and their Grief and Anxiety of Mind, had caused several Distempers amongst them; so that they could neither stop nor go forwards without certain Mischief. If they stopped any where, they were sure to perish with Hunger, and if they advanced they fell in with those who were grievously afflicted with the Plague. The Fields therefore were covered over with more Bodies that were still languishing and half alive than that were really dead. They who were the least tainted, were not able to keep up with the main Army, it marched with so much Expedition, every one imagining that the farther he advanced, the better he secured his Health. In this wretched Condition, those whose Strength failed them, begged the Assistance of Strangers as well as that of their Acquaintance, to help them up. But besides, that there was no Convenience to bring them along, the Soldiers had

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enough

enough to do to carry their Arms, and the frightful Appearance of the Evil was continually before their Eyes. This made them not so much as look at those who called to them, their Pity being stifled by their Fear. On the other Side, they who found themselves thus abandon'd, obtested the Gods, called upon the King, and conjured their Companions, by every Thing that was most sacred, not to forsake them; but finding that they apply'd themselves in vain to deaf Ears, their Despair turned into Rage, so that they fell to Imprecations, wishing them the same End, and such Friends and Companions in their Need.

The King, as much ashamed as afflicted at being the Author of so much Misery, dispatch'd Orders to *Phrataphernes*, Governor of the *Partians*, to send him Provisions ready dressed on Camels and Dromedaries. He also notify'd his Distress to the Governors of the neighbouring Provinces, who were not backward in their Supplies.

By these Means the Army was at last free from Famine, and came at last upon the Frontiers of the *Gedrosians*, whose Territory was very fruitful, and afforded Plenty of all Things. Here he stay'd some Time to refresh his harrassed Troops, in the Interim he received Letters from *Leonnatus*, importing, that he had fought and overcome eight Thousand Foot, and five Hundred Horse of the *Horite*. *Craterus* likewise sent him Advice, that he had seized and put into Custody *Ozines* and *Zariaspes*, two Noblemen of *Persia*, who were contriving a Rebellion. The King afterwards appointed *Siburtius* Governor of that Province, of which *Memnon* had the Prefecture, he being lately dead of Sickness, and then marched into *Carmania*. *Aspastes* had the Government of this Nation, and was suspected to aim at Innovations during the King's Abode in *India*; but, as he came to meet the King, his Majesty thought fit to dissimble his Resentment, and shewed him the usual Honours, till he got a clearer Information of the Crimes he was accused of.

The Governor of *India* having sent him by this Time, according to his Orders, a

great Number of Horses, and draught Cattle out of the respective Countries subject to his Empire, he remounted and gave fresh Equipages to those who wanted. He also restored their Arms to their former Splendor, for they were not now far from *Persia*, which was not only in a profound Peace, but vastly rich.

As therefore he not only rivalled the Glory *Bacchus* had gained by the Conquest of these Countries, but also his Fame, he resolved, his Mind being elevated above mortal Grandeur, to imitate him in his Manner of Triumph, tho' it be uncertain whether it was at first intended by *Bacchus* as a Triumph, or only the Sport and Pastime of the drunken Crew. Hereupon he caused all the Streets thro' which he was to pass to be strew'd with Flowers and Garlands, and large Vessels and Cups filled with Wine to be placed before the Doors of the Houses. Then he ordered Waggon to be made of a sufficient largeness to contain a great many, which were adorned like Tents, some with white Coverings, and some with other precious Furniture.

The King's Friends and the Royal Band went first, wearing on their Heads Chaplets made of variety of Flowers; in some Places the Flutes and Hautboys were heard, in others the harmonious Sound of the Harp and Lute: All the Army followed eating and drinking after a dissolute Manner, every one setting off his Waggon according to his Ability, their Arms, which were extraordinary fine, hanging round about the same. The King, with the Companions of his Debauchery, was carried in a magnificent Chariot laden with Gold Cups, and other large Vessels of the same Metal. After this Manner did this Army of *Bacchanals* march for seven Days together, a noble, as well as certain Prey to those they had conquered, if they had had but Courage enough to fall upon them in this drunken Condition; nay it had been an easy Matter for a thousand Men, provided they were but sober, to have made themselves Masters of this riotous Army, in the Midst of its Triumph as it lay plunged in the Surfeits and Excesses of a seven

ven Days Debauch; but Fortune that sets the Price and Credit of Things, turned this military Scandal into Glory. The then present Age and Posterity since have with reason admired, how they could in that drunken Condition, with Safety pass thro' Nations hardly yet sufficiently subdued; but the *Barbarians* interpreted the rankest Te-

merity imaginable for a well-grounded Assurance. However all this Pomp and Splendor had the Executioner at its Heels, for the Satrap *Aspastes*, of whom we before made mention, was ordered to be put to Death. Thus we see that Luxury is no Obstacle to Cruelty, and that by being Cruel no one is the less Luxurious.

The End of the Ninth B O O K.

B O O K. X. C H A P. I.

Cleander and other Captains obtain Forgiveness for their Crimes, altho' others, less culpable, are punished. Alexander designs to visit the western Part of Europe. His Liberality to the Son of Abisares, and his Cruelty to Orsines, an illustrious and renowned Satrap.

ABOUT this Time *Cleander*, *Heracon*, *Agathon*, and *Sitalces* arrived at Court, bringing with them five thousand Foot and a thousand Horse; but the Deputies of the Provinces they had governed followed to accuse them, and indeed the Crimes they had committed, notwithstanding the Services they had done the King, especially in the Murder of *Parmenio*, which was so grateful to him, could not be attoned for; for they were not contented with pillaging the Publick, but even plundered the Temples, and left the Virgins and chief Matrons to bevil the Violation of their Honour. In fine, by their Avarice and Lust, they had rendered the very Name of the *Macedonians* odious to the *Barbarians*; but *Cleander's* Fury exceeded all the rest, for he was not contented to defile a noble Virgin but gave her afterwards to his Slave for a Concubine.

The major Part of *Alexander's* Friends did not so much regard the Grievousness of the Crimes that were now publicly laid to their Charge, as the Memory of *Parmenio's* barbarous Murder, which perhaps might secretly plead for them in the King's Breast;

and they were over-joy'd to see those Ministers of his Anger, experience the dire Effects of it themselves. Thus we see that no Power that is injuriously acquired can be of long Duration;

The King having heard their Accusation, said, That their Adversaries had forgot one Thing, and the greatest of all their Crimes, which was their Despairing of his Safety; for they would never have dared to be guilty of such Villanies, if they had either hoped or believed he should have returned safe from *India*. He therefore committed them to Custody, and ordered the six hundred Soldiers who had been the Instruments of their Cruelty to be put to Death. The same Day also the Authors of the *Persian* Revolt (whom *Craterus* had brought along with him) were executed.

Not long after *Nearchus* and *Onesicritus* (whom he had sent to make Discoveries on the Ocean) returned and reported to him several Things they had found out themselves, as well as others, which they had only by hear-say; that the Island that was in the Mouth of the River abounded with Gold, but was destitute of Horses; that

that therefore every Horse that the Inhabitants of the Continent dared to transport thither, was sold there for a Talent; that that Sea was full of Whales which follow'd the Course of the Tide, and in Bigness equalled the Bulk of large Ships; that they were frightened at the terrible Noise made on purpose from on Board the Fleet, notwithstanding which they followed the same, and caused a mighty Sea, when they plunged their huge Bodies under Water, resembling so many sinking Vessels.

The rest they received from the Relation of the Inhabitants, and particularly, that the Red Sea had its Denomination from King * *Erythras*, and not from the Colour of its Waters. That not far from the Continent there was an Island thick set with Palm Trees, and in the midst of the Grove, there was a Pillar erected to the Memory of King *Erythras*, with an Inscription in the Characters used by that People. They added moreover, that of all the Merchant Ships which had sailed thither for the sake of the Gold, not any were ever seen after. The King, desirous to be farther informed, sent them out again with Orders, to steer along the Coast till they came to the *Euphrates*, and then to sail up that River to *Babylon*.

Now he having conceived vast Designs, had resolved after he had conquered all the Eastern Maritime Coast, to pass out of *Syria* into *Africa*, being very much incensed against the *Carthaginians*, and from thence marching thro' the Desarts of *Numidia*, to direct his Course towards *Cadiz*; for it was generally reported, that *Hercules* had there planted his Pillars. From hence he proposed to march thro' *Spain*, which the *Greeks* call *Iberia*, from the River *Iberus*; and having passed the *Alps*, to come to the Coast of *Italy*, from whence it was but a short cut to *Epirus*: He therefore gave Orders to his Governors in *Mesopotamia*, to cut down Timber in Mount *Libanus*, and convey it to *Thapsacus*, a Town in *Syria*, where it was to be employed to build large Vessels, which were afterwards to be con-

ducted to *Babylon*. The Kings of *Cyprus* were also commanded to supply them with Copper, Hemp and Sails.

While he was doing these Things, he received Letters from the Kings, *Porus* and *Taxiles*, to acquaint him with the Death of *Abisares*, by Sickness, and that *Philip*, his Lieutenant, was dead of his Wounds: As also that the Persons concerned in that Action had been punished. Hereupon he substituted *Eudemus* (who was Commander of the *Thracians*) in the room of *Philip*, and gave *Abisares's* Kingdom to his Son. From thence he came to *Persagada*, which is a City of *Persia*, and whose Satrap's Name was *Orsines*, who in Nobility and Riches, far exceeded all the *Barbarians*; he derived his Pedigree from *Cyrus*, formerly King of *Persia*; his Predecessors had left him a great deal of Wealth, which he had very much increased by the long Enjoyment of his Authority. This Nobleman came to meet the King, with all Sorts of Presents, as well for himself as for his Friends; he had with him whole Herds of Horses ready broke, Chariots adorned with Gold and Silver, rich Furniture, Jewels, Gold Plates to a great Value, Purple Garments, and four Thousand Talents of coined Silver. However this excessive Liberality proved the cause of his Death; for having presented all the King's Friends with Gifts far beyond their Expectation, he took no Notice of *Bagoas* the Eunuch, who had endeared *Alexander* to him by his abominable Compliance; being informed by some who wished him well, that he was very much in *Alexander's* Favour; he made Answer, *That he honoured the King's Friends, but not such Instruments as Bagoas, it not being the Practice of the Persians to use the Male Sex after that Manner.* The Eunuch was no sooner acquainted with this Answer, than he employed all the Power and Interest he had so shamefully procured himself, to Ruin this innocent Nobleman. He first suborned some mean Wretches of the same Nation, to accuse him of false Crimes, with these Instructions, not to appear against him till they had received his farther Orders.

* *Erythrus* is the Greek signifies Red.

In the mean Time, whenever he was alone with the King, he filled his credulous Ears with odious Relations, dissembling the cause of his Displeasure, that the greater Credit might be given to his Accusation. However, the King did not immediately suspect *Orsines*, yet he began to be in less Esteem with him than before.

The Plot was carried on so privately against him, that he was wholly ignorant of the latent Danger, and this importunate Favourite was not unmindful of his malicious Design, even in his most familiar Conversation with the King; so that whenever he had enflamed his unnatural Love, he would be sure to charge *Orsines* sometimes with Avarice, and sometimes with rebellious Practices. In fine, every thing was ripe for the Destruction of the Innocent, and Destiny, whose Appointments are irreversible, was now approaching.

It happened that *Alexander* caused *Cyrus's* Tomb to be opened, in order to pay his Ashes the Funeral Rites; and whereas he believed it to be full of Gold and Silver, according to the general Opinion of the *Persians*, there was nothing found in it but a rotten Buckler, two *Scythian* Bows, and a Scimeter. However the King placed a Crown of Gold upon his Coffin, and covered it with the Cloak he used to wear himself, and seemed to wonder, That so great a Prince, who abounded in Riches, was not more sumptuously interred than if he had been a private Person. Hereupon *Bagoas* who stood next to the King, turning to him, said What wonder is it to find the Royal Tomb's empty, when the Satraps Houses are not able to contain the Treasures they have taken from thence? As for my own part, I must confess, I never saw this Tomb before, but I remember to have heard *Darius* say, That there were three Thousand Talents bury'd with *Cyrus*. From hence proceeds *Orsines's* Liberality to you, that what he knew he could not keep with Impunity might procure him your Favour, when he presented you with it.

Having thus stirred up the King's Anger, those whom he had intrusted with the same

Affair, came in, so that *Bagoas* on one side, and the suborn'd Witnesses on the other so possessed the King's ears, that *Orsines* found himself in Chains before he had the least Suspicion of his being accused. This vile Eunuch was not satisfied with the Death of this innocent Prince, but had the Impudence to strike him as he was going to be executed: Whereupon *Orsines* looking at him, said, I heard indeed, that formerly Women reigned in *Asia*, but it is altogether new, that an Eunuch should govern. This was the End of the chiefest Nobleman of *Persia*, who was not only innocent, but had likewise been profusely Liberal to the King. At the same time *Phradates* was put to Death, being suspected to aim at the Regal Dignity; it is certain he began now to be too sudden in his Executions, and too apt to give Credit to false Informations; from whence it is plain, that Prosperity is able to Change the best Nature, it being a Rarity to find any one sufficiently Cautious against good Fortune. Thus he who a little before could not find in his Heart to condemn *Lynceus Alexander*, tho' accused by two Witnesses; and had suffered several others to be discharged, even contrary to his own Inclination, only because they seem'd innocent to the rest, and had been so extravagantly Munificent as to bestow Kingdoms on his conquered Enemies, at last so degenerated from himself, as even against his own Sentiment to bestow Kingdoms on some at the Pleasure of an infamous Catamite, and deprive others of their Lives.

Much about the same Time he received Letters from *Canus*, concerning the Transactions in *Europe* and *Asia*, whilst he was subduing *India*, which imported that *Zopirio* his Governor of *Thrace*, in his Expedition against the *Getae*, had been surprized with a sudden Storm, and perished therein with his whole Army; and that *Scouthes* being informed thereof, had solicited the *Odrysians*, his Countrymen to revolt, whereby *Thrace* was almost lost, and *Greece* itself in danger; for *Alexander* having punished the Insolence of some of the *Satraps*, (who during his Wars in *India* had exercised

cised all Manner of Crimes in their respective Provinces) had thereby terrify'd others, who being guilty of the same foul Practices, expected to be rewarded after the same Manner, and therefore took Refuge with the mercenary Troops, designing to make use of their Hands in their Defence, if they were called to Execution; others, getting together what Money they could, fled. The King being advised hereof, dispatch'd Letters to all the Governors throughout *Asia*; whereby they were commanded upon Sight to disband all the foreign Troops within their respective Jurisdictions. *Harpalus* was one of these Offenders; *Alexander* had a great Confidence in him, because he had upon his Account formerly been banished by *Philip*, and therefore when *Mazeus* died, he conferred upon him the Satrapship of *Babylon*, and the Guard of the Treasures. This Man having by the extravagance of his Crimes, lost all the Confidence he had in the King's Favour, took five Thousand Talents out of the Treasury, and having hired six Thousand Mercenaries, returned into *Europe*. He had for a considerable Time followed the Bent of his Lust and Luxury, so that despairing of the King's Mercy, he began to look about for foreign Means to secure himself against his Anger; and as he had all along cultivated the Friendship of the *Athenians*, whose Power was no way contemptible, and whose Authority he knew was very great with the other *Greeks*, as well as their private Hatred to the *Macedonians*, he flattered those of his Party, that as soon as the *Athenians* should be informed of his Arrival, and beheld the Troops and Treasure he brought with him, they would immediately join their Arms and Counsels to his: For he thought that by the Means of wicked Instruments, whose Avarice set every thing to sale, he might by Presents and Bribes compass his Ends with an ignorant and wavering People.

CHAP. II

Whilst Alexander thought to pacify the troubled State of Greece, and send some of

the Soldiers, whose Debts he had discharged, home to their own Habitations, and to have retained others, a Sedition was raised in the Camp, which he appeased by a severe Harangue to them, and by his Royal Authority.

THEY therefore put to Sea with thirty Ships, and came to *Suinum*, which is a Cape in *Attica*, from whence they intended to go to the Haven of the City.

The King being informed of these Things, was equally incensed against *Harpalus* and the *Athenians*, and immediately ordered a Fleet to be got ready, resolving to repair immediately to *Athens*; but while he was taken up with those Thoughts he received Letters of Advice, that *Harpalus* had indeed entered *Athens*, and by large Sums gained the chief Citizens; notwithstanding which, in an Assembly of the People, he had been commanded to leave the Town; whereupon he retired to the *Greek* Soldiers, who seized him, and that he was afterwards treacherously killed by a certain Traveller. Being pleased with this Account, he laid aside his Thoughts of passing into *Europe*; however, he ordered all the Cities of *Greece* to receive their respective Exiles, excepting such who had defiled their Hands with the Blood of their Fellow Citizens.

The *Greeks* not daring to disobey his Commands, (altho' they looked upon them, as a beginning of the Subversion of their Laws) not only recalled them, but also restored to them all their Effects that were in Being. The *Athenians* were the only People who on this Occasion asserted both their own and the Publick Liberty, for looking upon it as an insupportable Grievance, (as not being used to Monarchial Government, but to their own Laws and Customs of their Country) they forbid them entering into their Territories, being resolved to suffer any thing rather than grant Admittance to those former Dregs of their own Town, and now the refuse of the Places of their Exile.

Alexander having discharged and sent home the oldest of his Soldiers, ordered thirteen thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse

to be pickt out to remain with him in *Asia*, judging that he could now keep *Asia* in Subjection with a small Army, by reason he had good Garrisons in several Places, besides the new Towns he had built and peopled with Colonies, all which he conceived would be a sufficient Bridle upon those who might be disposed to Innovations. But before he made Choice of those he designed to keep with him, he issued out a Proclamation, requiring all the Soldiers to give in an Account of what they owed, for he was sensible that several of them were very much in Debt, and notwithstanding he knew their Luxury had been the cause of it, yet he was resolved to free them.

They thinking it was only an Artifice to distinguish the profuse from the good Husbands, were slow in bringing in their Accounts, whereupon the King, knowing very well that it was their Modesty, and not their Contumacy, that was the Obstacle, ordered Counting-Tables to be disposed throughout the Camp, and ten Thousand Talents to be delivered out. Being by this convinced he was in earnest, they declared their Debts, which were so great, that of so vast a Sum, there was but one Hundred and thirty Talents left; from whence it is plain, that this victorious Army that had conquered so many rich Nations, had brought more Honour than Booty out of *Asia*.

However, it was no sooner known that some of them were to be sent home, and others retained, than they presently concluded, he intended to fix the Seat of his Empire in *Asia*. Whereupon they broke out in such a Fury, that laying aside all Military Discipline, they filled the Camp with seditious Clamours, and addressing themselves to the King, after a more insolent Manner than ever, they unanimously required a general Discharge, shewing at the same Time their disfigured Faces, and their Grey Hairs. Neither the Officers Correction, nor their wonted Respect for their King, had at present any Influence upon them, but with their tumultuous Cries and Military License, they interrupted him when he offered to speak to them; declaring publickly, that they

would not move a Step from the Place where they were, but towards their own Homes. At last, Silence being made (more because they thought they had worked upon the King, than that they were in the least moved themselves) they were desirous to know what he intended to do, when he delivered himself in the following Terms.

‘ What is the meaning of this sudden Tumult? Whence proceeds this insolent and licentious Behaviour? I am afraid to speak, you have bare-facedly infringed my Authority, and I am now but a precarious King, to whom you have not left the Privilege of speaking to you, of taking Cognizance of your Grievances, or admonishing you when you are in the Wrong, nay, I must not so much as look at you. And what is wonderful! now that I have determined to send some of you home, and in a little Time to follow myself with the rest, I perceive those who are to go forthwith in the same Uproar, as they who are to stay till I return in Person. What can be the meaning of this? I should be glad to know which of the two are dissatisfy’d, they whom I dismiss or those I retain. One would have thought the whole Assembly had now had but one Voice, they so unanimously reply’d that their Complaints was general. It is impossible for me (said the King) to believe, that this universal Complaint should proceed from the Cause you pretend, in which the major Part of you are not concerned, since I dismiss more than I shall retain: The Evil must lie deeper, that thus at once alienates you all from me. When was it ever known that a whole Army unanimously agreed to abandon their King? The very Slaves themselves are never so generally corrupted, as to run from their Masters all at once: Some of them will still be ashamed to forsake those they see abandoned by the rest. But why do I (as if I had forgot the Fury that now rages amongst you) strive to administer Remedies to the incurable? I see ’tis in vain to harbour any Hopes of you, and I am resolved to use you not as my Soldiers (for you

' you are no longer such) but as the most
 ' Ungrateful of all Mankind. The Abun-
 ' dance of your Success intoxicates you,
 ' and makes you forget that Condition of
 ' Life which my Indulgence has procured
 ' to you, and in which you deserve to have
 ' grown grey; for I find you can govern
 ' yourselves better in Adversity than in
 ' Prosperity. They who not long since
 ' were Tributaries to the *Illyrians* and *Per-*
 ' *sians*, are now grown so haughty as to dis-
 ' dain *Asia*, and the Spoils of so many Na-
 ' tions; and they who under *Philip* were
 ' half Naked, at present think it hard to
 ' wear purple Garments; their Eyes can't
 ' bear the Sight of Gold and Silver, they
 ' want their wooden Vessels again, their
 ' Bucklers of Ozier and their rusty Wea-
 ' pons; for to speak the Truth, this is the
 ' fine Condition I received you in, besides
 ' a Debt of five Hundred Talents, when all
 ' the Royal Furniture did not amount to
 ' above Threescore. This was the Founda-
 ' tion I had for all my great Atchievements,
 ' on which nevertheless, I have (without
 ' Vanity) raised an Empire of the greatest
 ' part of the World. Is it possible you
 ' should be grown weary of *Asia*, where the
 ' Glory you have acquired, render you al-
 ' most equal to the Gods? You are in
 ' mighty haste to repair to *Europe*, and for-
 ' sake your King, when at the same Time,
 ' a great many of you would have wanted
 ' Necessaries on the Way, had I not dis-
 ' charged your Debts, and that too with the
 ' Booty of *Asia*. Are you not ashamed to
 ' have prodigally spent upon your Bellies,
 ' the Spoils of so many conquered Nations,
 ' and now return destitute to your Wives
 ' and Children, to whom very few of you
 ' can shew any Fruits of your Victories, the
 ' major Part having even pawned their
 ' Arms in hopes of returning home. I shall
 ' sustain a great Loss indeed in such Soldi-
 ' ers, who have nothing left out of such
 ' vast Riches, but what they employ daily
 ' in their Excesses and Debaucheries. Let
 ' the Fugitives therefore have a free Passage,
 ' begone from hence with all Speed, while I
 ' and the *Persians* guard your Rear. What

' stay you for? I detain none of you; deli-
 ' ver my Eyes from the odious Object of
 ' such ungrateful Citizens. No doubt but
 ' your Parents and Children will be mighty
 ' Joyful to see you return without your
 ' King! they will not fail to come out and
 ' meet Deserters and Traitors! depend upon
 ' it, I'll triumph over your Flight, and
 ' wherever I am I'll punish you sufficiently
 ' for the same, if it be but in bestowing my
 ' Favours on those with whom you leave me,
 ' and preferring them to yourselves. You
 ' shall soon be sensible what an Army is
 ' without a Head, and of what Moment
 ' my single Person is.

Then leaping from the Tribunal in the
 utmost Rage, he ran in amongst the armed
 Soldiers, and having taken Notice of the
 most mutinous, he laid hold of thirteen of
 them one after another, and delivered them
 into the Custody of his Guards, none of
 them daring to make the least Resistance.

C H A P. III.

*He dissipates the ill Designs of the Army by
 punishing the Seditious, and gives the
 Guard of his Person to the Persians.*

WH O could imagine that so tumultuous
 an Assembly could have been so soon
 appeased! but they were seized with so
 great a Dread, that even those he was drag-
 ging to be made Examples of, did not dare
 to do any more than the rest. Thus this ex-
 cessive License and Military Violence, was
 at once suppressed, not one of them daring
 to make the least Resistance, but standing all
 like Men astonished, and half dead with
 Fear, they quietly expected what the King
 would determine concerning their Lives.
 Whether this proceeded from the Reverence
 those Nations, who are under a Monarchical
 Government, pay to their Kings, whom
 they Worship like Gods, or from the parti-
 cular Veneration they had for his Person,
 or that the Confidence with which he exer-
 cised his Power, struck an Awe into them,
 it is certain, they gave, on this Occasion, a
 singular Example of their Patience; for
 they

they were so far from being exasperated by the Punishment of their Companions, who they understood had been executed in the Evening, that they omitted nothing that single Persons could have done to express their Obedience, and expiate their Crime. The next Day when they presented themselves, and found they were prohibited entrance, the *Asiatick* Troops being only admitted, the whole Camp was filled with mournful Cries, declaring they would live no longer, if the King persisted in his Anger. But he being of an obstinate Temper in any Thing he had resolved on, confined the *Macedonians* to their Camp, and ordered the foreign Soldiers to be drawn out, who being met together, he, by an Interpreter made the following Speech to them.

‘ When I passed out of *Europe* into *Asia*, I fed myself with the Hopes of adding a great many considerable Nations and Multitudes of Men to my Empire, and indeed I have not been imposed upon by Fame, in the Credit I gave her concerning them, but find that, besides what was commonly reported of them, they afford brave Men, and of an unalterable Affection towards their Kings. I thought at first that Luxury prevailed amongst you, and that by a redundant Felicity, you were drowned in Pleasures. Whereas I perceive you have so much Vigour of Mind and Strength of Body, that you are indefatigable in the Discharge of Military Duties, and at the same Time that you are brave, you do not cultivate Fortitude more than Loyalty. Tho’ this be my first Profession to you hereof, yet I have been a great while convinced of it. It is on this Account that I made Choice of you from the rest of the Youth to serve me, and incorporated you with my own Troops. Your Cloaths and Arms differ in nothing from theirs, but your Dutifulness and Submission to Orders, is what you very much exceed them in. These Considerations made me marry the Daughter of *Oxathres* the *Persian*, not disdaining to have Children from a Captive; then, covering a numerous Offspring I

‘ took *Darius’s* Daughter in Marriage, and encouraged my best Friends by my Example to marry Captives, that by the Means of sacred Bond, I might put an End to all Difference between the Vanquished and the Victorious. Persuade yourselves therefore for the future, that you are my natural Subjects and not Strangers, *Asia* and *Europe* being now but one Kingdom. I have arm’d you after the Manner of the *Macedonians*, and by that Means given Age to foreign Novelty. You are both my Citizens and Soldiers. All Things have now the same Appearance. It is no longer unbecoming the *Persians* to copy the Manners of the *Macedonians*, or of the *Macedonians* to imitate those of the *Persians*. They who live under the same Sovereign ought to have all the same Laws and Privileges.

Having made this Speech, he committed the Guard of his Person to the *Persians*, putting all the Offices thereunto belonging into their Hands, and as they were leading to Execution those *Macedonians* who had been the Cause of this Sedition, it is said one of them, whose Age and Character distinguished him from the rest, spoke after the following Manner to the King.

C H A P. IV.

The Speech of a Macedonian Soldier in Chains. A Conspiracy against Alexander, who dies at length by Poison.

‘ **H**OW long, Sir, will you give Way to the Transports of your Mind, even to suffer us to be executed after this foreign Custom? Your own Soldiers, your own Citizens, are dragged to Execution by their Captives, without so much as a legal Hearing. If you really think we deserve Death, at least do us the Favour to change our Executioners.

Most certainly this was a friendly Advice, had he been capable of hearing the Truth, but his Anger was turned into a Rage; so that perceiving those who were charged with the Prisoners, to be dilatory in their Office, he

he commanded them to drown them in the River bound as they were. Nor did this unnatural Punishment raise any Commotion among the Soldiers; on the contrary, they repaired in Companies to the chief Officers, and the King's Favourites, desiring, That if he knew of any more that were guilty of the same Crime, he would command them to be also put to Death, since they freely delivered up their Bodies to appease his Wrath.

After they came to understand that he had given their Posts to the *Persians*, and that the *Barbarians* were formed into different Regiments, unto whom he had given *Macedonian* Denominations, while they were ignominiously rejected; they were no longer able to contain the Grief that now pierced their very Hearts, they therefore repaired to the Palace in their Shirts, and laid their Arms down before the Gate, as a Token of their Repentance, and with Tears and humble Supplications, begged to be admitted and forgiven, and that he would rather satisfy his Anger with their Executions than Disgraces, protesting that for their Parts they were resolved not to depart till they had obtained their Pardons. *Alexander* being informed of this, caused the Gates to be opened and came out to them, and taking into Consideration all these Testimonials of their Repentance, and beholding their Tears and wretched Appearance, he was so moved thereat, that he could not Refrain weeping with them for some time. In fine their Modesty prevailed upon him to forgive them, and having gently reprimanded them, and by courteous Speeches comforted them again, he broke a great many of them who were no longer fit for the Service, and sent them home magnificently rewarded. Then he wrote to *Antipater* his Lieutenant in *Macedonia*, to assign them the first Places in the Theatre at the publick Spectacles; and withal, that they should sit there with Crowns on their Heads, and likewise ordered, that after their Decease, their Children should receive their Pay. He appointed *Gaterus* to lead them home, giving him also the Charge of *Macedon*, *Thessaly*,

and *Thrace*, in the room of *Antipater*, whom he commanded to repair to him with the Recruits, to serve in the Place of *Gaterus*.

Alexander had perceived for some Time by his Mother's Letters, and those of *Antipater*, that there was not a right Understanding between them. *Olympias* accused *Antipater* of affecting the Crown. On the other Side, *Antipater* represented that she did several Things unbecoming her Character; but finding himself recalled from his Government, he took it so to heart, that he resolved to Poison the King.

Alexander having settled these Matters, came to *Ecbatana* in *Media*, where he made the necessary Dispositions for the Affairs of his Empire, and repeated the publick Shews and Solemnities. While these Things were doing, *Hephestion*, whom the King loved entirely, and like a Brother, died of a Fever. *Alexander* was so sensibly afflicted hereat, that out of indulgence to his Grief, he did several Things no way becoming the regal Dignity; for he caused the unhappy Physician to be hanged, as if he had been negligent in the Cure, and with Cries and Lamentations, flung himself upon the Corpse of his deceased Friend, bewailing his Loss Night and Day, and would hardly suffer his Friends to take him away. There are many other Reports which I do not credit. However, this is certain, that he ordered Sacrifices to be offered to him as to a *Hero*, and employed in his Funeral and Tomb, twelve Thousand Talents.

As he was returning to *Babylon*, several *Chaldean* Prophets came to meet him, and advised him not to enter that City, because he set out thither in an unlucky Hour, which seemed to threaten his Life. But he slighted their Admonitions, and continued his intended Journey; for he was informed that Ambassadors were come thither from all Parts of the World, and waited there for his Arrival. The Terror of his Name, had spread itself so universally throughout the World, that all the Nations seemed to make their Court to him; as to him who was ordained to be their Sovereign. He therefore hastened

hastened his Journey thither, as if he were there to hold a general Diet of all the Kingdoms of the Earth.

Being arrived at *Babylon*, he received all the Embassies very courteously, and sent them home. About this Time, one *Medius*, a *Thessalian*, gave a splendid Entertainment, to which the King was invited with his Friends. Here he had not quite drunk off *Hercules's* Cup, when he gave a deep Groan as if he had been run thro' the Body; and being carried from the Feast half dead, he found himself in such cruel Torments, that he asked for a Sword to put an End to his Pain. His Friends gave out, that too much Wine was the Cause of his Illness, but in Reality it was a Conspiracy, the Infamy whereof was stifled by the great Power of his Successors. For *Antipater* had deliver'd a ready prepared Poison to his Son *Cassander*, who, with his Brothers *Philip* and *Tollas*, used to serve the King at Table; he at the same Time warned him not to communicate it to any but the *Thessalian* and his Brothers. *Philip* therefore and *Tollas*, who were the King's Tasters, had put the Poison into cold Water, which they poured upon the Wine the King was to drink, after they had according to their Office, made an Essay thereof. On the fourth Day, the Soldiers (partly because they suspected he was dead, and it was kept a Secret from them, and partly because they could no longer bear the Deprivation of his Presence) came full of Grief to the Palace, desiring they might be admitted to see the King, which accordingly was granted them.

CHAP. V.

What he said and did before his Death. The Grief of his People, and especially of the Mother of Darius, who suffering herself to be quite weigh'd down by her Sorrow, died soon after him. The Eulogium of Alexander.

AS soon as they saw him, they burst into Tears, and one would have thought they no longer beheld their King, but ra-

ther assisted at his Funeral; and yet the Grief of those who stood about his Bed appeared still greater; which the King perceiving, asked them; where they would find (when he was dead) a Sovereign worthy of such Men? It is a Thing that surpasses all Belief, that notwithstanding his weak Condition, he should be able to keep himself as he did, in the same Posture he had admitted the Soldiers in, till all that Army to the last Man, had saluted him.

Having dismissed this Multitude, he laid down his wearied Limbs, as if he had acquitted himself of the last Debt of Life. Then calling to his Friends to draw nearer (for his Voice began already to fail him) he took his Ring off his Finger, and gave it to *Perdiccas*, enjoining him to convey his Body to *Hammon*; and as they asked him, to whom he bequeathed his Kingdom? He answered, to the most Worthy; but however, he foresaw what Funeral Plays were preparing him on that Account. *Perdiccas* then desiring to know, when he would have Divine Honours payed him? He replied, when they themselves were Happy. These were the King's last Words, a little after which he expired.

Hereupon the Palace was filled with Cries and Lamentations; and by and by, all was hushed again, as if it had been some lonesome Waste; their Grief being now turned into a serious Reflection on what would ensue. The young Noblemen who used to Guard his Person, were no longer able to contain their Grief, nor keep themselves within the Entrance of the Palace, but ran about like so many Mad-Men, filling the whole City with Sadness, and omitting no kind of Complaint that Sorrow can suggest on such an Occasion. The Troops therefore that used to keep Guard without the Palace, as well *Barbarians* as *Macedonians*, flocked thither, nor was it possible in their common Affliction, to discern the Vanquished from the Victors. The *Persians* called him, their just and merciful Lord; and the *Macedonians*, the best and bravest of Kings. They were not contented to utter their mournful Expressions, but also

gave way to Transports of Indignation, that so young a Prince in the very Flower of his Age and Fortune, should through the Envy of the Gods, be so suddenly snatched from Life and Government. They now imagined, they beheld that chearful and resolute Countenance with which he used to lead them to Battle, besiege the Towns, scale the Walls, and reward the Brave. Then the *Macedonians* repented they had ever denied him divine Honours, and owned they were both impious and ungrateful to have denied his Ears the Satisfaction of a Title that was so justly his due.

Having employed a considerable Time in expressing their Veneration, and bemoaning their Loss, at last their Compassion turned upon themselves. They reflected, that they came out of *Macedonia*, and were got beyond the *Euphrates*, and were left destitute in the midst of their Enemies, who despised their new Empire; that the King being dead without Children, and without naming a Successor, every one would be for drawing to himself the publick Strength of the Kingdom. Then they foresaw in their Minds the Civil Wars that did ensue, and that they should be obliged to shed their Blood again, not for the Conquest of *Asia*, but to decide who should be King; that after having desired a Discharge of their lawful Sovereign, their old Wounds must bleed afresh, Aged and Weak as they were, and their Lives flung away to establish the Power of some mean Officer.

While their Thoughts were thus employ'd Night came upon them, and increased their Terror. The Soldiers passed it under their Arms, and the *Babylonians* stood gazing, some from the Walls, and others from the Tops of their Houses, in order to get a true Information of what was doing. No-body dared set up Lights, so that the Use of the Eyes being taken away, they listened with Attention to every Noise and Voice, and as they were seized with groundless Fears, they wandered up and down the narrow Streets and dark Lanes, in great Anxiety, running one against the other in a continual Distrust of each other.

The *Persians* having according to their Custom, cut off their Hair, and put on Mourning Clothes, with their Wives and Children lamented his Death, not as one who had conquered them, and was not long since an Enemy, but as the lawful Sovereign of their Nation, with an unfeigned Affection. Being used to live under kingly Government, they confessed, they had never had a Monarch more worthy to reign over them than he. Nor was their Grief confined within the Walls of the City, but soon communicated itself to the Neighbouring Regions, and spread the Rumour of so great an Evil, over all that large Portion of *Asia* that lies on this Side the *Euphrates*. It quickly also reached *Darius's* Mother, who presently rent her Garments and put on a mourning Dress, tearing off her Hair and flinging herself upon the Ground. She had by her one of her Grand-Daughters, who was bewailing the Death of *Hephestion*, to whom she was married, and now in this general Calamity renewed her own peculiar Grief. But *Sysgambis* alone felt all the Misfortunes of her unhappy Family. She bemoaned her own Condition, and that of her Grand Daughters, and this new Affliction recalled all the past. One would have thought *Darius* was but just dead, and that this distressed Mother was at the same Time performing the Funerals of both her Sons. She wept as well for the Living as for the Dead. For who was there now to take Care of her Grand-Children? Who would prove another *Alexander*? They were at present fallen into a fresh Captivity, and had a-new lost their Royal Dignity. Upon the Death of *Darius* they had found a Protector, but *Alexander* being dead, who would have any regard to them? Here it also came into her Mind, how her Father and fourscore Brothers had been in one Day, barbarously murdered by that cruellest of Kings, *Ochus*. That of seven Children she had herself, there was but one living: And tho' *Darius* flourished for a while, it was only that his Fate might be the more remarkably cruel.

At

At last she sunk under the load of so much Grief, and covering her Head, turned her Back to her Grand-Children, who sat at her Feet, and deprived herself at once both of Food and the Light, and expired the fifth Day after she had thus resolved to die. Her Death is indubitably a great Instance of *Alexander's* Indulgence to her, and of his Clemency and Justice to all the Captives; for she who could reconcile herself to Life after *Darius's* Death, was ashamed to outlive *Alexander*: And most certainly it is plain to all that will do the King Justice, that his Virtues were owing to his Nature, whereas his Vices were the Effects of Fortune, or his Age. He had an incredible Strength of Mind, his Patience under Fatigues was almost excessive; and his Bravery did not only excel that of other Kings, but even that of those who have no other Virtue. His Liberality was such, that he would often bestow more than could with Modesty have been requested of the Gods. His Clemency to the Vanquished shews itself in the many Kingdoms he restored to those he had conquered, or gratuitously conferred on others. He had so habitual a Contempt of Death (which appears so terrible to all the rest of Mankind) that he seemed to bid it Defiance every where. Indeed he had too great a Thirst after Glory and Praise, but that was pardonable in a young Prince who had done such glorious Things. He could not give greater Demonstrations of his dutiful Affection to his Parents than in the Resolution he had taken to place his Mother amongst the Goddesses, and in the Revenge he took of *Philip's* Murderers. As for his Bounty towards his Friends, it was beyond all Expression, as well as his Benevolence to the Soldiers. His Conduct was equal to the Greatness of his Mind, and his Wisdom was far above his Age. He was moderate in those Pleasures that seem incapable of Moderation; in Venereal Delights he kept within the Bounds of Nature, and indulged no unlawful Voluptuousness. These must be owned to be mighty Gifts; now the Failings which are to be attributed to Fortune were, his equal-

ling himself to the Gods, and exacting divine Honours, and his giving Credit to the Oracles on these Occasions, to which we may add, his being transported beyond Measure, against those who refused to adore him; his imitating the Manners of the conquered Nations, which before the Victory he despised. As for his Proneness to Anger, and his Love of Wine, as they were enhanced by the Heat of Youth, so Age would have abated them of course. However, we must allow, that if he owed a great deal to his Virtue, yet he was still more indebted to Fortune, which he alone of all Mankind seemed to have within his Power. How many Times has she snatch'd him out of the Jaws of Death? How many Times, when he had rashly exposed himself to manifest Dangers, did she shew her constant Care of him by bringing him off? And to Crown his Felicity, his Life and Glory had one and the same Period. The Destinies waited for him till he had subdued the East, and visited the Ocean; in fine, till he had done all that Mortality is capable of.

To this great King and mighty Captain a Successor was wanting, but the Burthen was too great for any single Person to bear now he was gone; and to speak the Truth, his very Name, and the Fame of his great Achievements, had established many Kings and Kingdoms throughout the World, and those were powerful who had but the smallest Part of the Wreck of so vast a Fortune.

C H A P. VI.

A Council held by the great Men, and their several Opinions concerning a Successor to Alexander.

BUT to return to *Babylon*, the Guards of the King's Person, called together in the Palace, the chief of his Friends, and the principal Officers of the Army; they were followed by a great Number of Soldiers, who were desirous to know who was like to succeed *Alexander*. The Concourse of Soldiers was so great, that several considerable

derable Officers could not get Admittance; hereupon a Herald made Proclamation, that none should offer to enter but such as should be called by their Names. But no heed was had to the present precarious Power; at first there was nothing but mournful Cries, and the Lamentations seemed to be renewed; afterwards the Expectation of what would ensue put a stop to their Tears, and caused a Silence. Then *Perdiccas* ordered the Royal Chair to be brought forth, and having put therein *Alexander's* Diadem and Robes with his Arms, he exposed them all to the publick View, he also laid in the said Chair the Ring the King had given him the Day before, at the Sight hereof the whole Assembly burst out again in Tears, and mourned afresh. *Perdiccas* then spoke to them in the following Manner: 'I here restore to you the Ring which the King was pleased to give me, and with which he used to sign his Orders, and corroborate all his Acts of Power; and notwithstanding the Gods in their Anger could not contrive any Misfortune that could equal that we at present lie under, yet if we cast our Eyes on the mighty Things he has performed, we shall find it reasonable to believe, that the Gods had adapted so great a Man to the Necessity of human Affairs, and that having discharged the noble Task, they resumed him to themselves as their natural Offspring. Since therefore there is nothing left of him now, but what cannot share in his Immortality. Let us, as soon as may be, acquit ourselves of what we owe to his illustrious Name and Body, without forgetting in what City, and amongst whom we are, and at the same Time, what a King and Protector we are deprived of. We must also, Fellow Soldiers, consult about the necessary Measures to maintain the Victories we have gained. A Head is absolutely requisite, whether you will have one, or many, is at your own Disposal; but this you ought to know, that an Army without a General, is a Body without a Soul. *Roxane* is gone six Months of her Time, it is to be wished she may bring forth a

Son, who with the Approbation of the Gods, may inherit the Empire when he is grown up. In the mean Time it is your Business to determine who you will entrust the Government with till then.' *Perdiccas* having made his Speech, *Nearchus* reply'd, 'That indeed No-body could deny, but *Alexander's* Blood and Offspring would best become the Regal Dignity; but then to wait for a Prince who was not yet born, and pass by one that was, could neither suit the *Macedonians* Temper, nor the present Exigency of Affairs: As therefore *Barsine* had a Son by the King, it was his Opinion they ought to give him the Diadem.'

No-body approved of this Speech, so that according to their Custom, they expressed their Displeasure by the Clashing their Spears and Bucklers, and were pretty near coming to a Sedition upon *Nearchus's* obstinate maintaining his Opinion. Hereupon *Ptolemy* spoke to this Effect.

'It must be owned you have pitched upon a very noble Issue to command the *Macedonian* Nation, in the Son of either *Roxane* or *Barsine*, whom *Europe* would hardly think worthy to be named, as partaking too much of the Captives. Did we conquer the *Persians* only to serve their Offspring? A Thing that even *Darius* and *Xerxes*, who were lawful Kings, had with numerous Armies and vast Fleets in vain attempted, my Opinion, is, that *Alexander's* Seat being placed in the Palace, they who were of his Council heretofore should there meet whenever the Publick Affairs required their Consultations, and that the Officers of all Ranks shall be obliged to obey whatever the Major-Part shall there agree to.'

Some were of *Ptolemy's* Opinion, but the most considerable sided with *Perdiccas*. Then *Aristonius* put the Assembly in mind, that *Alexander* being ask'd, to whom he left his Kingdom? Replyed, to the best and most deserving, and that he seemed to have declared whom he thought most worthy, by giving his Ring to *Perdiccas*; for he was not the only Person that was present at his Death,

Death, but having cast his Eye round the Company, he made choice of him above all the rest of his Friends to bestow his Ring upon. It was therefore his Opinion, that the Sovereignty ought to be conferred upon *Perdiccas*. No-body in the least doubted but what he said was right, wherefore they unanimously ordered *Perdiccas* to come forth, and take up the King's Ring. He was at a Stand between Desire and Bashfulness, and believed that the more backward and modest he shewed himself in what he most coveted, the more obstinate would they be, in pressing him to accept the same after some delay, being uncertain what Resolution to take, at last he got up, and retired behind those who sat next to him; but *Meleager*, who was one of the Captains, taking Courage from *Perdiccas's* backwardness, said, The God's forbid that *Alexander's* Fortune, and the Sovereignty of so vast an Empire should fall upon such Shoulders, at least I am sure, that they who are Men will never suffer it. I do not here speak only of those who are of nobler Extraction than he, but in general Terms, of all the Men of Courage, against whose Consent it is requisite nothing should be done, neither does it matter much, whether you have the Son of *Roxane* (let him be born when he will) or *Perdiccas* for your King; since the latter, under the pretext of Guardianship, will not fail to possess himself of the supreme Power. This is the Reason that he likes no King but him, who is not yet come into the World; and in the great Desire we all express to have a King (which at this Juncture is not only just, but even necessary) he is the only Person that is for waiting the Complement of Months, nay, he already prognosticates 'twill be a Son; and rather than fail, there is no doubt to be made, but he will impose one upon you. Most certainly if *Alexander* had left us him for our King, it would in my Opinion be the only Thing we should be obliged to disobey him in. Why don't you rather fall a Pillaging the Treasury? For there is no dispute but the People is Heir to all the King's Riches. Having delivered himself to this purpose,

he broke thro' the armed Crowd; and those who gave way to his Retreat, followed him to partake of the aforesaid Booty.

C H A P. VII.

Aridæus, Son of Philip, is saluted King by some, at the Solicitation of Meleager, which gave rise to a Civil War.

BY this Time a great Band of Soldiers were got about *Meleager*, and the whole Assembly seemed inclined to Sedition and Discord, when one of the meaner sort, who was altogether unknown to the Major-Part of the *Macedonians* delivered himself in this manner to them, What Occasion is there to have recourse to Arms, or engage in a Civil War, when you have already the King you seek? *Aridæus*, the Son of *Philip*, and Brother to *Alexander* the late King, and who, during his Life, was a Partner with him in the sacred Rites and Ceremonies, and is now his only Heir, is laid aside. What is his Crime? What has he done that he should thus be deprived of the common Law of Nations? If you seek for one like *Alexander*, it is what you can never hope to find; if the next in Right, *Aridæus* is the only Person. Hereupon the Multitude at first grew silent, as if aw'd by Authority, and afterwards cried out with one general Voice, That *Aridæus* ought to be called, and that they deserved Death, who had held the Assembly without him. Then *Pithon*, dissolved in Tears, represented to them, that now, if ever, *Alexander* was to be pityed, for being deprived of the Benefit as well as Presence of such good Citizens and Soldiers, who were so entirely wrapt up in the Name and Memory of their King, that they seemed to have no other Regard.

It was too plain, that by these Words he reflected on the young Prince, to whom they designed the Kingdom, but he thereby procured more Ill-will to himself, than Contempt to *Aridæus*; for while they pitied his Misfortune, they grew favourably disposed towards him. They therefore obstinately declare,,

declare, That they will suffer no other to reign over them, than he who was born to that hope, and immediately ordered *Arideus* to be sent for. Hereupon *Meleager*, who was *Perdiccas's* Mortal Enemy, brought him forthwith into the Palace, where the Soldiers salute him as King under the Name of *Philip*.

However, this was but the Voice of the vulgar Sort, the Nobles were of another Opinion, amongst whom *Pitbon* began to execute *Perdiccas's* Advice, and appointed *Perdiccas* and *Leonnatus* (who were of the Royal Family) to be Guardians to the Son *Roxane* was to bring forth; with this farther Proposition, That *Craterus* and *Antipater* should have the Administration of the Affairs of *Europe*. Then every one took an Oath to be true to *Alexander's* Issue. This made *Meleager* (who was not without cause, apprehensive of future Punishment) withdraw with his Party, but he soon returned again, and bringing *Philip* along with him, he forced his way into the Palace, crying aloud, That *Arideus's* vigorous Age seemed to favour the Hopes the Publick had conceived of the new King; that therefore they ought to make Trial of *Philip's* Posterity, as being the Son and Brother of two King's, and frame their Judgement of him upon their own Knowledge and Experience. The deepest Sea, or most tempestuous Streight, does not stir up more Billows than the Multitude has different Motions, especially if it is wanton with a Liberty they think they are not long to enjoy. Some few were for conferring the Empire on *Perdiccas's* lately chosen, but a great many more were for giving it to *Philip*, than he really expected. They could neither approve nor disapprove of any thing long, one while they repented of the Measures they had taken, and presently after repented that they had repented; however, at last their Affections inclined them to the Royal Issue.

Arideus dreading the Power of the Nobility, had left the Assembly; upon his departure the military Ardour seemed rather to languish than be suppressed, so that being called back again they dressed him in his

Brother's Robes, the very same that lay in his Chair; and *Meleager* having put on his Breast Plate and taken his Arms, followed as if he had the Guard of the new King's Person. The *Phalanx* clashing their Spears and Bucklers, threatened to satiate themselves with the Blood of those who had affected a Crown that no way belonged to them; and were mightily pleased that the Power of the Empire was to remain in the same House and Family; for as the Empire was Hereditary, it of right belonged to the Royal Line, and they were accustomed to pay a Veneration and Respect to the very Name, which no other was worthy of, but he who was born to Reign.

Perdiccas being alarmed at this Proceeding, ordered the Room where *Alexander's* Body lay, to be shut and guarded. He had with him six hundred Men of known Courage: And *Ptolemy* had also joined him with the Royal Band of young Noblemen. However, it was no difficult Matter for so many thousand Men to break in upon them. The King likewise (attended by his Guards, commanded by *Meleager*) forced his way in. Hereupon *Perdiccas* in great Anger called to his Assistance all those who were willing to preserve *Alexander's* Corps from being insulted. But they who had made the Irruption, cast their Darts at him from afar, and wounded several; at last the oldest amongst them took off their Helmets (that they might be the easier known) and intreated *Perdiccas's* Party, That they would forbear coming to an Engagement, and submit themselves to the King, and the greater Number. *Perdiccas* was the first that laid down his Arms, and the rest followed his Example. Then *Meleager* endeavoured to persuade them, not to depart from *Alexander's* Corps; but they mistrusting some Treachery, got out at another part of the Palace, and fled towards the *Euphrates*. The Horse which was composed of the noblest Youth, followed *Perdiccas* and *Leonnatus*, and were for leaving the City, and taking to the open Field. But as *Perdiccas*, did not altogether despair of bringing the Foot also to his Party, he stayed in the City, least

least by carrying off the Horse, he should seem to have separated from the rest of the Army.

C H A P. VIII.

The principal Leaders oppose the Artifices of Meleager. Aridæus, who was desirous of Peace, endeavoured to appease the Tumult, by finding some Medium, that might content both Parties.

IN the mean Time, *Meleager* never ceased putting the King in Mind, That he ought to confirm his Sovereign Authority by the Death of *Perdiccas*, and that if his ambitious Spirit was not prevented, he would not fail to cause Innovations; that he could not forget what he had deserved at the King's Hands, and that no Man could be faithful to him, he feared: The King rather suffered than approved of this Council; however, *Meleager* took his Silence for a Command, and immediately sent Messengers to *Perdiccas* to order him to come to the King, which if he made the least Difficulty to comply with, they were to kill him. *Perdiccas* being advised of their coming, placed himself at the Entrance of his House, accompanied only by sixteen Youths of the Royal Band, and having reprimanded them, and reproached them with being *Meleager's* Slaves, he so terrify'd them with his Resolution and stern Countenance, that they fled in the greatest Consternation. Then *Perdiccas* ordered the young Gentlemen to mount their Horses, and thus with a few Friends repaired to *Leonnatus*, where he was in a better Condition to repel any Violence that might be offered him. The next Day the *Macedonians* took it heinously that *Perdiccas* should be brought in Danger of Death, and were resolved by force of Arms to punish *Meleager's* Temerity. But he foreseeing the Evil, went to the King, and asked him in their Presence, Whether he had not ordered *Perdiccas* to be taken into Custody? Who made Answer, Yes, but it was by *Meleager's* Advice. However, there was no Occasion for their being disturbed thereat, since *Perdiccas* was alive and unhurt.

The King having thus dismissed the Assembly, *Meleager*. (who was frightened at the Separation of the Horse) was now at a loss what Counsel to take, for he found himself in the Danger he had been contriving for his Enemy, so that he spent three Days in considering with himself, what Course he had best to take. All this while the Court had its usual Appearance; for the Ambassadors of foreign Nations took their Audience of the King, the Generals of the Army were there present, and the Soldiers kept Guard at the Entrance. But there appeared an unaccountable Sadness in all their Faces, which was an Indication of the utmost Despair, and being mutually distrustful of each other, they did not dare to accost, or talk to one another, but gave a Scope to their private Thoughts, and by comparing the new King with their former, they were the more sensible of their Loss. They in vain enquired, Where was now that Prince whose Authority and Conduct they had so successfully followed? They complained, That they were left destitute in the midst of their Enemies, and unconquered Nations, who would not fail to revenge the Wrongs and Losses they had sustained, whenever an Opportunity should offer itself.

Their Minds were racked with these Reflections, when News was brought, That the Chivalry under *Perdiccas*, having possessed themselves of the Avenues about *Babylon*, hindered any Corn from being brought to the City. From hence a Scarcity first ensued, and then a Famine, whereupon they who remained in the Town, were of Opinion, that they ought either to reconcile themselves with *Perdiccas*, or give him Battle.

In the mean Time it happened, that they who lived in the Country being apprehensive that the Villages and Villages would be plundered, fled to the City; and the Town's People wanting Provisions, retired into the Country, each Party thinking they should be safer any where else than where they were. The *Macedonians*, fearing some Commotions herefrom, met together in the Palace, and there acquaint the King with what they thought.

thought advisable to be done in the present Juncture, which was, That Deputies should be sent to the Cavalry, to require them to put an End to the Discord, and lay down their Arms. The King therefore dispatched *Pasas* the *Thessalian*, *Amiffas* the *Megapolitan*, and *Perilaus* to them, who having acquainted them with the King's Orders, received for Answer, That the Horse were resolved not to lay down their Arms, till the Authors of the Sedition were delivered into their Hands. This Answer was no sooner reported, than the Soldiers ran to their Arms of their own Accord, and the King being alarmed at the sudden Tumult, came out of the Palace, and told them: There is no good to be expected from Sedition, for they that lie still, will certainly reap the Advantage the Contenders strive for. Besides, you ought to remember, that the Matter lies with your own Countrymen, and that it is hastening to a Civil War, rashly to take from them all Hopes of Reconciliation. Let us therefore try what Effect another Deputation may have; for as the King's Body is not yet buried, I am of Opinion, they will all unite to discharge that last Duty to him. As for my own Part, I had much rather resign the Empire, than maintain it at so dear a Rate as the Effusion of my Countrymen's Blood. And if there is no other Means to come to an Agreement, I beg and beseech you to make choice of one that may be more deserving. Then with Tears in his Eyes, he took the Diadem from his Head, and holding it out in his Right-Hand, offered it to any that thought he was more worthy of it than himself.

This modest Speech gave them mighty Hopes of his Ability, which till then had been eclipsed by his Brother's brighter Parts. They all therefore pressed him to execute what he himself thought proper. Hereupon he dispatched the same Persons again to desire they would receive *Meleager* amongst them as third General. This was easily obtained, for *Perdiccas* was desirous to remove *Meleager* from the King, and reasonably judged, that being but one, he could not be a Match for them two.

Meleager therefore marched out with the *Phalanx*, and *Perdiccas* went to meet him at the Head of the Horse. Both Bodies (after their mutual Salutations) unite as they thought, to live in a perpetual Peace, and right Understanding with one another.

C H A P. IX.

Perdiccas destroys Meleager by a Stratagem, and takes three Hundred Men that followed him.

BUT Fate was now bringing a Civil War upon the *Macedonian* Nation; for a Crown admits of no Partners, and it was at this Time coveted by many. First then they joined their Forces together, and afterwards again divided them. And as they had loaded the Body with more than it could bear, the other Members began to fail, and that Empire that might have maintained itself under one Sovereign, falls to Ruin, while it is supported by many. It is therefore with the greatest Reason, that the Roman People acknowledge they owe their Safety to their Prince, who appeared to them like a new Star, on that very Night that had like to have been their last. And most certainly it was his rising, and not that of the Sun, that restored Light to the darkened World, when having lost its Head, the disordering Members were in the greatest Apprehensions. How many Firebrands did he then put out? How many Swords did he then sheath? How black was the Storm that cleared up at his sudden Appearance? The Empire may therefore be said not only to recover its Strength, but even to flourish through his Means, so that No-body can blame me if I wish, that his Posterity may long enjoy the Sovereign Power, if not for ever.

But that I may now return to the Series of my Narration, which the Contemplation of the publick Happiness made me interrupt: *Perdiccas* placed all the Hopes of his own Safety in *Meleager's* Death, and concluded, that (as he was a vain Man, no way to be relied on, and might be capable of causing

causing sudden Changes, and withall was his mortal Enemy) he ought to prevent him. However, he cloathed his Design with a deep Dissimulation, that he might destroy him when he least suspected it. He therefore suborned some of those that were under his own Command, to complain publickly (as from themselves) that *Meleager* was made equal to *Perdiccas*. *Meleager* being informed hereof, came to *Perdiccas* in great Anger, and related to him what he was told; he seemed surprized at the Novelty of the Thing and began to wonder at it, and complain, and put on an Appearance of Concern thereat; at last they agreed, that the Authors of such seditious Reports should be apprehended.

Hereupon *Meleager* thanked and embraced *Perdiccas*, praising the Confidence he had in him, and his bountiful Disposition towards him. Then they concerted what Measures they should take to punish the Guilty; and they agreed that the Army should be purifyed after the Custom of their Country, and that the late Divisions would be a plausible Pretence for that Purpose. The Kings of *Macedon* used to purify their Army after this Manner: They ripped open a Bitch, and took out her Bowels, and cast them at the two Extremities of the last Field the Army was to be led into, and in the intermediate Space all the Forces were drawn up, the Horse on one side, and the *Phalanx* on the other.

On the Day therefore this Ceremony was to be executed, the King at the Head of the Horse and Elephants, placed himself directly opposite to the Foot, which was commanded by *Meleager*. The Cavalry had no sooner begun to move, than the Foot were seized with a sudden Fear, on the Account of the late Discord, and began to suspect that they were not peaceably inclined, so that they were in some doubt, whether they should not march back again into the City; for the Plain seemed most favourable to the Horse. However, lest they should without a Cause blame the Integrity of their Fellow Soldiers they kept their Post, resolving to defend themselves if they were attacked. Both Bodies were pretty near one another, being

divided but by a small Interval, when the King at the Head of one of the Wings, rid along the Line of the Foot, and by *Perdiccas's* Advice, demanded the Authors of the Division to be delivered up, to suffer condign Punishment; threatening at the same time (if they refused to comply) to fall upon them with all the Troops and Elephants. The Foot were amazed at the unforeseen Evil, and *Meleager* himself had no more Courage or Counsel than the rest, but they thought it the safest Way to wait, and see what the Event would be, rather than provoke Fortune. Then *Perdiccas* seeing the dejected Condition they were in, drew out about three Hundred of them, who had followed *Meleager* when he left the first Assembly, that was held after *Alexander's* Death, and cast them to the Elephants in the Sight of all the Army, so that they were all trampled to Death by those Animals, without *Philip's* either opposing or authorizing the same; it being plain, that he did not design to own any thing to be done by his Order, but what should be plausible in the Event. This was the Omen and Beginning of the Civil Wars amongst the *Macedonians*. *Meleager* was too late sensible of *Perdiccas's* Fraud, but as no Violence was then offered to his own Person, he remained quiet with the *Phalanx*; however, at last, despairing of his Safety, when he saw his Enemies, in order to ruin him, make an Abuse of that Prince's Name, whom he himself had made King, he took Sanctuary in a Temple, where he was slain, without any regard to the Religion of the Place.

C H A P. X.

The Empire of Alexander is divided into several Parts, the Greatest is given to Ariæus, and the Provinces to the Grandees of the State. The Body of Alexander is transported to Alexandria in Egypt.

PERDICCAS having led the Army back again into the Town, held a Council of all the chief Persons, where they

came to this Resolution, that the Empire should be divided, but the King, should hold the Sovereign Authority; that *Ptolemy* should be Satrap of *Egypt*, and of all the Nations in *Africa*, within the Jurisdiction of the *Macedonian* Power. *Syria*, with *Phenicia*, was given to *Laomedon*; *Cilicia* to *Philotas*; *Lycia*, with *Pamphylia*, and the greater *Phrygia*, were assigned to *Antigonus*. *Cassander* was sent into *Caria*; and *Menander* into *Lydia*. The lesser *Phrygia* that joins to the *Hellestont*, was allotted to *Leonnatus*. *Cappadocia* and *Paphlagonia* fell to the Share of *Eumenes*, he was also commanded to defend all that Country to the *Trapezian* Territories, and to make War with *Arbates*, who alone refused to submit to the *Macedonian* Yoke. *Pytho* had *Media*, and *Lyfmacbus*, *Thracia*, with all the Pontick Nations that border upon the *Thracian* Territories. They who commanded in *India*, *Bactriana*, and over the *Sogdians*, and other Nations bordering on the Ocean or Red Sea, were to hold the Power of Jurisdiction, with the same Limitations they had formerly held the same. It was likewise ordained, that *Perdiccas* should remain with the King, and have the Command of those Troops that followed his Majesty. Some have been of Opinion, that the Provinces were thus distributed by *Alexander's* Testament; but we are satisfied that that was only a vain Report, notwithstanding some Authors write so.

Having thus divided the Empire, every one defended his own Portion, and might have secured the Foundations they had laid, if it was possible to set Bounds to immoderate Desires. For they who but a little before were the King's Servants, now under the Pretence of discharging a Power intrusted with them, did each possess themselves of large Dominions; all cause of Strife being taken away, since they were all of the same Nation, and had their respective Territories marked out and distinguished from the others. But it was a difficult Matter for them to be contended with what Opportunity had offered them, for the first Beginnings are despised, when we hope to make

great Improvements. Every one of them therefore thinks it easier to enlarge his Kingdom, than it was to recover it. It was now the seventh Day that *Alexander's* Body lay in his Coffin, without having received the Funeral Rites, all their Cares being diverted from that Solemnity, to settle and form the Publick State. It is observable, that there is no Country where the Heat of the Sun has a greater Influence than in *Mesopotamia*, insomuch that it kills the greatest Part of those Animals that lie exposed in the open Field without Shelter, and parches up every thing, as if they had been burnt by a Fire. Moreover, Springs are here very rare, and by the Malice of the Inhabitants, concealed. They preserve them for their own Use, without letting Strangers know where they are. Notwithstanding this, when *Alexander's* Friends were at leisure to take Care of the dead Body, they found it without the least Taint or Spot of Corruption; nay, that Liveliness that accompanies animated Bodies, had not forsaken his Face. The *Egyptians* therefore, and the *Chaldeans* being ordered to embalm the Corps after their manner, were at first afraid to lay Hands upon it, as though it were still living; but afterwards having intreated him, that it might be lawful for mortal Hands to touch him, they dressed his Body, and filled his Golden Coffin with odoriferous Materials, putting the Token of his Dignity upon his Head.

It was generally believed, that he died of Poison, and that *Jollas*, *Antipater's* Son, being one of those who served him at Table, had by his Fathers Orders, given it him. It is certain, that *Alexander* was often heard to say, that *Antipater* affected the Royal Dignity, and that he was more powerful than a Lieutenant ought to be, and being puffed up on the Account of the *Spartan* Victory, he seemed to lay a Claim of Right to all he had entrusted him with. It was also thought, that *Craterus* was sent with the dismissed old Soldiers to kill him. Now the Nature of the *Macedonian* Poison, is such, that it Preys upon Iron itself, and can be kept in nothing but the Hoof of a Beast.

The

The Fountain from whence this poisonous Liquor flows, is called the *Styx*. This was brought by *Cassander*, and delivered by him, to his Brother *Jollas*, who mixed it with the King's last Draught.

However, these Things were reported they were soon stifled by the Power of those that were aspersed thereby. For *Antipater* invaded not only the Kingdom of *Macedonia*, but also *Greece*, and his Offspring succeeded him therein, he having put to Death all who were any way (though never so remotely) related to *Alexander*. As for the King's Body, it was conveyed by *Ptolemy* (who had *Egypt* for his Portion) first to *Memphis*, and a few Years after, to *Alexandria*, where all Honour is payed to his Name and Memory.

Diodorus Siculus gives the following Account of his Funeral.

In the Year when *Philocles* was Archon of *Athens*, and *Caius Sulpitius* and *Caius Aelius* Consuls at *Rome*, *Arideus*, having finished the Chariot on which the Body was to be drawn, prepared for his March.

But because this Chariot, suitable to the Glory of the Monarch, was not only extremely rich and magnificent, but contrived also with most wonderful Art, and the Workmanship the most curious that had been seen, it will not be improper to give some Description of it.

Hieronimus was the Workman, or Artist, who contrived it; first, he made a Golden Coffin, not cast, but worked out, exactly fitted to the Length of the Body; then half filled it with Aromatics and all sorts of Perfumes, both to give a good Scent, and to preserve the Body. Upon this Coffin was placed a Golden Cover, made exactly fit, and over it was raised a Purple Canopy embroidered with Gold, and near that the Imperial Arms were placed. The Chariot, or Car, which carried all this, had a Golden Roof, made in the form of a Vault, adorned with Skulls covered with Jewels. The Roof was eight Cubits high, and twelve long, and under it was placed a square Throne all of pure Gold. There were two Stags Heads in *Grand* or *Alto Relievo*, on the

Side of the Throne; from which two Gold Rings, two Palms Diameter, hung down; and from them a large Felloon, expressing all the various Colours of Flowers, disposed with inimitable Beauty and Art.

Round the Top of the Chariot, or Car, went a Fringe in form of Network, from which little Bells hung down, yet large enough to be heard at a considerable Distance. In each Corner of the Roof was seen the Figure of a Victory bearing a Trophy. The Roof was supported by Pillars of Gold with Chapters of the *Ionic* Order, and within these Pillars appeared a Lattice Work of Gold, about a Finger thick, and four Tablets, disposed parallel to each other, adorned with the Figures of all sorts of Animals.

On one of the Tablets *Alexander* was represented sitting on a Car, with a Scepter in his Hand, the *Macedonians* attending him on one Side, and the *Persians* on the other, and before him his Armour-Bearers. In the second Table were delineated Elephants armed as for War, following the King, carrying *Indians* before, and *Macedonians* behind upon their Backs, both Nations being in their proper Arms. In the third Tablet appeared Squadrons of Horse, drawn up as in the Line of Battle. And in the fourth Ships were discovered, as if ready for a Sea Fight. At the Entrance of the Vault Lions were placed, who seemed to look on those who approached; betwixt every two Pillars there was a Golden *Acanthus*, or Border, which reached almost up to the Chapters or Foot of the Arches: Over the Roof was a purple Canopy, exposed to the Air, and bearing a Golden Crown, which looked as if made of Branches of Olive; and when the Sun shined upon it, it reflected back so strong a Light, that it seemed to flash against the Beholders Eyes like Lightning. This great Chariot, or Car, was supported by two Axle-trees, which went into four Wheels, of the *Persian* Fashion: The Spokes were all gilt, but that part of the Wheel which touched the Ground, was covered with Iron Plates; all that part of the Axle-tree which appeared,

peared, was Gold, and in the Shape of a Lion's Head biting a Javelin. In the Middle of the Vault was placed a Hinge, and contrived with so much Art, as to prevent the Chariot's rocking from side to side in rough and uneven Ways. The Chariot, or Car, had four Poles, and each had four Ranks of Mules to draw it, so that sixty four Mules were employed in drawing the Car, and those the Strongest, as well as the Handsomest, that could be found; every Mule had a Crown of Gold on its Head, and a Golden Bell hanging at each Jaw, with a Collar of Jewels round its Neck.

Thus rich and magnificent was this Chariot, which drew vast Numbers of People to see it from all Parts, who, doubtless had never seen any Thing equal to it in Pomp and Grandeur; and the largeness of the Train which attended it, was in all Respects pompous and suitable to the Chariot; a vast Number of Pioneers and Labourers levelled the Road thro' which it was to pass, and a great Body of chosen Troops attended to do it Honour.

Arideus, after having spent two Years in making Preparations for this pompous March, brought the Body in this manner to *Egypt* from *Babylon*: *Ptolemy* went with a mighty Army to meet the Body as far as *Syria*, and when he received it, paid all possible Honours to it; he did not send it to the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, but to *Alexandria*, a City built, and so named by *Alexander* himself, and which at that time was one of the Noblest in the World; there *Ptolemy* built a *Mausoleum* for his Body, which in those Days was the Glory of the World for Grandeur and Magnificence; and as soon as the Body was deposited therein, he celebrated his Funeral with heroic Sacrifices, and all sorts of pompous Games.

To the Account of this Funeral of *Alexander*, it may not be improper to add here, that of a most extraordinary Man, at which *Alexander* assisted when he was in *Persia*. This was an *Indian* named *Calanus*, famous among the wise Men of his Country, and who made Profession of a strict Philosophy, notwithstanding which, he suffered himself,

in his extream old Age, to be persuaded to follow the Court.

This Man having lived to the Age of Eighty-three, without having known any kind of Sickness, when he came into *Persia*, was attacked by a Fit of the Cholick, which giving him great Pain he was resolved to put an End to his Life, in a Manner very surprizing; for rather than endure those Pains, which he had all his Life been a Stranger to, and fall into the Hands of the Physicians, to be tormented by their Medicines, and many different Methods of Cure, begg'd the King to order a Funeral Pile to be prepared, and when he was got upon it, to cause it to be set on Fire.

The King at first imagined, that it would be easy to dissuade him from such a terrible Design; but finding, that, notwithstanding all he could say, he continued firm and inflexible in his Resolution, he was constrained to yield to his Request. But as he had a most particular Respect for this Philosopher, he was resolved to honour his Death with a funeral Pomp suitable to his own Magnificence. He commanded the Army to be drawn up in Battalia, with the Elephants, in a great Plain near the City, and ordered certain Persons to sprinkle the Pile, and *Calanus* himself with the most precious Perfumes that could be got. He also sent him a Purple Robe covered over with Jewels, and several Vessels of Gold and Silver, with Pieces of fine Tapestry, to adorn the Pile as for a Sacrifice. In the mean Time *Calanus*, apparelled in this rich Habit, was set on a Horse which the King had sent him, but not being able to ride, he was put in a Litter, where being crown'd with a Chaplet of Flowers, he began to sing Hymns in his own Language, and continued so doing till he had gone thro' the whole City, and was come to the Foot of his Funeral Pile. There having offered his Prayers to the Gods, he sprinkled himself, and observed all the same Ceremonies, which were wont to be used at the Funerals of the Dead; after that, cutting off a Lock of his Hair, before he mounted the Pile, he took leave of all the *Macedonians*, and embrac'd those

those of his Friends, who were present, and touching their Hands, said to them, ' That after having lost his Health, and ' seen the Great *Alexander*, there was no ' thing left worth living for, and especially ' as what he had most feared, and most desired, were now arrived. He said, that ' Pain, and a bad Conscience were the only ' real Evils in Life, and that it had pleased ' the Gods to make him happy in preserving him hitherto from both; but that after so long Enjoyment of Health, since ' Sickness now began to attack his Body; ' that is to say, to ruin the Habitation ' of the Soul, it was a Sign they were not ' willing it should dwell there any longer. ' That he had always endeavoured to keep it ' pure and untainted from all sorts of Vice, ' yet it was impossible, but that by the Contagion of the Body, it had contracted ' some Spots, which he was now going to ' cleanse away by the Fire, the Pain of ' which would be light, as it was going to ' burn the Chains of his Captivity, which ' had kept him so long from taking his ' Flight to Heaven, and seeing his Country ' again. He desired they would rejoice, ' and make good Cheer with the King, of ' whom he took no Leave, because he should ' see him again in a few Days at *Babylon*.

After having spoke these last Words, which were a kind of Oracle or Prophecy of the approaching Death of *Alexander*, he distributed the Presents, which the King had sent him, among his Friends, and then cheerfully mounted the Funeral Pile, from whence he survey'd the Army, then laying himself down at his full Length, and placing himself as decently as possible, he covered his Face. But what completes this Miracle, and what made all that were by tremble with Horror, was, that when the Flames came to lay hold of him, he remained stedfast in the

same Posture, in which he had placed himself, without the least Motion, and without shewing any Sign of Pain, or giving so much as one Groan. When they first set Fire to the Pile, there were heard on all Sides the Sound of Trumpets, and a great Cry raised in the Army, such as is usual at the Beginning of a Battle: And all this Noise was accompany'd by the terrible Cries of the Elephants. *Alexander*, not thinking it decent for him to assist at this Spectacle, retired very pensive to the Palace.

Diverse Judgments were made of this Action, some condemned it as the Product of Madness and Folly; others as the Effect of vain-glory, and a Desire to acquire a Reputation by such a prodigious Proof of Constancy; but many more admired and praised that Courage, which could thus triumph over Pain and Death itself.

The King above all greatly admired him, and honoured his Ashes with a magnificent Sepulture. It is of this *Calanus* that they relate, that when he came to Court, desiring to give some Proof of his Ability, he exposed to the King's View, as an Image of his Empire, a large Ox's Hide tanned and dry, which he threw upon the Ground, and putting his Foot on one End of it, by bringing that down, he raised up all the rest; then going all round the Edge of it, he shew'd *Alexander*, that constantly as he depressed one Part, all the other Parts were lifted up; but afterwards placing himself in the Middle, they were all equally kept down; endeavouring to teach the King by this Example, that he ought not to amuse himself by making Journeys to conquer distant Countries, but to reside in the Centre of his Dominions, by which Means he would hinder the distant Provinces from rising, and hold all his People equally under his Obedience.



THE
ANTIQUITIES
OF
EGYPT.

Of the Situation of Egypt ; its Division into three Parts ; a Description of Thebes, Memnon's Statue, the Phenix, the Pharos, the Alexandrian Library, Joseph's Well, &c.

THIS Kingdom contained formerly, within a very narrow Compass, a prodigious Number of Towns, and an incredible Multitude of Inhabitants ; *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus* mention eighteen thousand of the one, and seven Millions of the other. It is bounded on the North by the *Mediterranean* ; on the South by *Ethiopia* ; on the West, by *Cirene*, and the Desarts of *Libya* ; and on the East, by Part of *Arabia*, the *Red Sea*, and the *Isthmus* of *Tuez* ; and the River *Nile* runs through the whole Extent of the Country. Its Breadth is unequal, being in some Places not much above half a Day's Journey, from the Banks of the

Nile, to the Foot of the Ridge of Mountains, with which it is inclosed on the East and West, and which likewise run the whole Length of the Kingdom. On the Western Side the Plain grows wider in some Places, and extends to twenty-five or thirty Leagues ; the greatest Breadth of the Country is from *Alexandria* to *Damiata*, which does not much exceed fifty Leagues, or one hundred and fifty Miles ; it is called in *Scripture*, the Land of *Ham*, and *Mizraim*.

The Ancients divided this Country into three principal Parts ; *Upper*, *Lower*, and *Middle Egypt*. The first, otherwise called *Thebais*, was the most Southern Part, and lay upon the Confines of *Ethiopia*. The second included what the *Greeks* called *Delta*, and

and all the Country as far as the *Red-Sea*, and along the *Mediterranean*, to Mount *Cafus*, or *Kinocoluxa*, a Town so called, because there the King of *Persia* cut off the Noses of all the Inhabitants. The *Island* was otherwise called *Heptanomis*, from the seven *Nomi*, or Districts, which it contained, and was famous for several Rarities; of which hereafter. *Egypt* was at first divided into several *Dynasties*, or Principalities; according to *Manetho*, an *Egyptian* High-priest, and Keeper of the sacred Archives; there were thirty of them, but under the great *Sesostrius* all *Egypt* became one Kingdom, which was divided into thirty-six Governments or *Nomi*, ten whereof were in *Thebes*, ten in *Delta*, and sixteen in the Country adjacent.

In *Upper Egypt* stood the City *Thebes*, from whence the whole Country is called *Thebais*, which might vie with the noblest Cities in the Universe, not excepting even *Babylon* or *Ninveh*. It was founded by *Bufris*, one of the most antient *Egyptian* Monarchs, celebrated by *Homer* for its hundred Gates, from whence it acquired the Name of *Hecatompolis*. The *Greeks* called it *Diospolis*, to distinguish it from another *Thebes* situated in *Beotia*, and was famous for the Birth of those great Generals, *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas*, as also for that of *Pindar*, that immortal Poet, for whose Memory *Alexander the Great* spared his Descendants, when he took, and sacked that City. The *Egyptian Thebes*, was no less populous than large; and, 'tis said, could send out two hundred Chariots of War, and ten thousand fighting Men, at each of her Gates. *Thevenot* says, it is now named *Sayd*; and that divers Temples and Palaces, still almost entire, and adorned with innumerable Columns and Statues, have been discovered there. One Palace especially is admired, whose Remains seem to have subsisted only to eclipse the Glory of the proudest Structures. Four Walks, which extend farther than the Sight can reach, and embellished on each Side with the Figures of the *Sphinx*,

serve as Avenues to four Porticos of an astonishing Height. A Hall, which probably stood in the Middle of this stately Palace, was supported by one hundred and twenty Pillars, twelve Yards each in Circumference, of a proportionable Height, and intermixed with curious Obelisks, which Time has not yet demolished: Painting, as well as Sculpture, had there display'd all her Art and Riches. Even the Colouring still held, and retained its original Beauty and Liveliness.

Among other Curiosities remaining at *Thebes*, *Thevenot* mentions the Statue of *Memnon*. It is said, that in the Morning, when the Beams of the rising Sun first shone upon this Statue, an articulate Sound might be heard issuing from it, resembling that of a Harp; this was ascribed to the Power of Magic; according to that Verse of the *Roman Satyr*ist,

Dividit magicæ resonant ubi Memnone Chorde.

Thus translated by Mr. *Dryden*.

*Where Memnon's Statue magic Strings inspire,
In vocal sounds, which emulate the Lyre.*

Lower Egypt, whose Shape resembled a Triangle, like the *Greek Letter* Δ , gave Occasion to its being commonly called *Delta*. It forms a kind of Island, beginning at the Place where the *Nile* is divided into two large Branches, through which it discharges its Water into the *Mediterranean*. The most Eastern of these is called the *Pelusian Branch*, as that on the Western Side is called the *Canopick*, from *Pelusium*, and *Canopus*, two Towns situated near them, much about where *Damiata* and *Rosetto* now stand. Between these two large Branches are five smaller, and from these seven Mouths the *Nile* derived the Epithet of *Septemfluvius*, by which it is known in the *Latin Poets*. This Island *Delta* is the best cultivated, the most fruitful, and the richest Country in *Egypt*. Its chief Cities in antient Times were *Helio-
polis*, *Hexacleopolis*, *Naucratis*, *Sais*, *Tanis*,
Canopus,

Canopus, Pelusium, Busiris, and Bubastus, and in latter Times *Alexandria, Nicopolis,* &c. It was in the Country of *Tanis*, called also *Rameses*, and in *Scripture* the Land of *Goshen*, that the *Israelites* had their Abode, and were made to undergo such a severe Servitude.

Heliopolis, which is, in *Greek*, the City of the Sun, was so called from a magnificent Temple there, dedicated to that glorious Luminary; and is the same with *On*, in *Scripture*, of which *Potipherah*, *Joseph's* Father-in-law, was Priest, or Prince. *Herodotus, Tacitus, and Pliny*, mention a Circumstance relating to this Temple, which would be prodigiously astonishing, but that it has the Misfortune not to be true: It is concerning the *Phoenix*. The credulous Ancients believed, that but one of these Birds were existent at a Time in the whole World; that it was produced in *Arabia*; lived between five and six hundred Years, and was about the Bigness of an Eagle. Its Head was said to be adorned with a shining, and most beautiful Crest; the Feathers of its Neck to be of the Colour of Gold; those of its Body Purple; its Tail white, intermingled with Carnation, and its Eyes sparkling like Stars. When it was old, and found its End approaching, it was said to build a Nest, to fill it with Aromatic Spices, and then to die. From the Bones and Marrow of that deceased *Phoenix* a Worm was said to be produced, of which another *Phoenix* was believed to be formed, the first Care of which was to celebrate the Funeral of its Parent. To that End the young Bird was said to make up a Ball, in the Shape of an Egg, with Myrrh, and Abundance of other Perfumes, as heavy as it could carry, which it often tries beforehand. Having thus done, it makes an Hole therein, deposits its Parents Remains in it, and carefully closes it with Myrrh and other Perfumes. This being accomplished, the grateful Bird was said to take up this precious Load on its Back, to fly therewith to this Temple of the Sun in *Heliopolis*, and there to burn it

on the Altar consecrated to that Pseudo-Divinity.

It was at *Heliopolis* an Ox was worshipped as a God, under the Name of *Mnevis*. It was there, likewise, that *Cambyses*, King of *Persia*, the unworthy Son of the great *Cyrus*, exercised his sacrilegious Rage, burning the Temples, demolishing the Palaces, and destroying the most precious Monuments of Antiquity. However, some Obelisks are still to be seen that escaped his Fury, and have been brought from thence to *Rome*, to which City they are an Ornament even to this Day.

Sais was the Burying-place of the Kings of *Egypt*; it was here that *Cambyses* caused the Body of *Amasis* to be taken out of its Tomb, and after having exposed it to a thousand Indignities, in his own Presence, ordered it to be thrown into a Fire, and burnt; which was a Thing equally contrary to the Customs both of the *Persians* and *Egyptians*. In this City, likewise, there was a Temple dedicated to *Minerva*, who is supposed to be the same with the *Egyptian* Goddess *Isis*, which had this Inscription: *I am whatever has been, is, or shall be; and no Mortal hath ever yet pulled off my Veil.* It was also in this City that *Apries*, called *Pharaoh-hophra* in *Scripture*, met with an untimely End; being led Captive thither, after having been defeated by *Amasis*, one of his Subjects, and there strangled in his own Palace.

Alexandria, though built much later than any of the Cities before-mentioned, being founded by *Alexander the Great*, from whom it took its Name, almost vied in Magnificence with the ancient Cities of *Egypt*. It is believed to have been built pretty near the Place where the famous *No*, so much threatened in *Scripture* by the Prophets *Ezekiel* and *Nabum*, stood before: It was about four Days Journey from *Grand Cairo*, and was formerly the chief Mart of all the Eastern Trade. The Merchandise was unloaded at *Portus Muris*, or *Myos Hormos*, a Town on the Western Coast of the *Red-Sea*; from

from whence it was brought upon Camels, to a Town of *Thebais* named *Coph*, and thence conveyed down the *Nile* to *Alexandria*, whither Merchants resorted from all Parts of the West, to deal in that advantageous Commerce.

A Watch-tower was built near *Alexandria*, for the Advantage of Trade, in an Island called *Phearos*, which was joined to the City by a Mole; by the Command and Direction likewise of its great Founder, and served it for an Harbour. This Tower was called by the same Name as the Island; and at the Top thereof was kept a Fire, to light such Ships as sailed by Night, near those dangerous Coasts, which were full of Sands and Shelves: From thence all other Towers designed for the same Use have received their Name, as the *Phearo di Messina*. The famous Architect *Softratus* built this Tower, by the Order of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, whom it cost eight hundred Talents, or eight hundred thousand Crowns; accordingly it was reckoned one of the seven Wonders of the World. Some have extolled that Prince, for his uncommon Modesty, in suffering the Architect to put his Name in the Inscription placed on the Tower; which was very short, and plain, according to the Manner of the Ancients, being no more than this: *Softratus the Cnidian, Son of Dexiphanes to the protecting Deities, for the Benefit of such as sail the Seas.* [And certainly *Ptolemy* must have set very little Value upon that kind of Immortality, of which Princes are generally very fond, since he took no Care to have his Name so much as mentioned in the Inscription of a Work, so likely to render it immortal.] But *Lucian* informs us, that *Softratus*, in order to get the whole Glory of that noble Structure, caused the Inscription with his own Name to be carved in Marble, which he afterwards covered over with Lime, and thereupon put the King's Name. The Lime in process of Time mouldered away; and, instead of procuring the Architect the Honour wherewith he flattered himself, served only to discover to future Ages his vile Fraud, and ridiculous Vanity.

As the Eastern Commerce brought great Riches to *Alexandria*, so Riches did not fail to introduce Luxury and Licentiousness, as they do every-where; inasmuch that the *Alexandrian* Voluptuousness became a Proverb. The Arts and Sciences were likewise industriously cultivated there; as is apparent from that stately Edifice, called the *Museum*, where the Learned used to meet, and were maintained at the publick Cost; and the famous Library, which was considerably augmented by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, and by the Munificence of the Kings his Successors, consisting of four hundred thousand Volumes, which was in the Quarter called *Bruchion*, and had been the Work of so many Kings, was burnt; what an irreparable Loss was this to the Commonwealth of Learning!

Having now given an Account of what is most curious in *Lower Egypt*, we shall next proceed to enumerate what was most remarkable in *Middle Egypt*, or *Heptanomis*, which abounded more with Curiosities than either of the other two. The famous City of *Memphis* was the Capital of this Part of *Egypt*, and was an hundred and fifty *Stadia*, or above seven Leagues in Circumference: It stood at the Extremity of *Delta*, on the West Side of the *Nile*, where the River divides itself into several Streams. On the South of the City was raised an high Mole, and on the Right and Left were dug deep Moats to receive the River; which, where lined with Stonework, and near the City, were fortified with strong Causeys; the whole designed to secure it from the Inundations of the *Nile*, and the Irruptions of the Enemy. A City so advantageously situated, and of such Strength, that it in a manner commanded the *Nile*, and consequently the whole Country became immediately the Residence of the *Egyptian* Monarchs, and their Court; and it kept Possession of this Honour, till it was forced to resign it to its Rival *Alexandria*. It was adorned with many beautiful Temples, especially that of the God *Apis*, who was honoured in this City in an extraordinary Manner. We shall treat thereof hereafter, as well

as of the Pyramids, which stood near this City, and have rendered it so celebrated in History.

Almost over-against *Memphis*, to which it seems to have succeeded, on the Eastern Side of the *Nile*, was built *Grand Cairo*; a City likewise of vast Extent, whose Castle is one of the greatest Curiosities in *Egypt*. It stands on a Hill without the City, is founded upon a Rock, and is surrounded with Walls of a prodigious Height and Thickness. The Way up to the Castle is hewn out of the Rock, and is of such an easy Ascent, that Horses and Camels laden can go up without Difficulty. But the most extraordinary Thing in the Castle is *Joseph's Well*; so called, either because the *Egyptians* are pleased with ascribing whatever is most remarkable in their Country to that great Man, or because they really have such a Tradition amongst them. However that be, this is at least a Proof, that it is a Work of great Antiquity; and, in Effect, it is worthy of the Magnificence of the most powerful *Egyptian* Monarchs. This Well consists, as it were, of two Stories, cut in the Heart of the Rock, to a prodigious Depth. The Descent of the first Story is by Stairs seven or eight Feet broad, to the Number of two hundred and twenty; yet so contrived, that the Oxen, employed to draw up the Water, can go down with all the Ease imaginable. This Well is supplied from a Spring, which is almost the only one in the Country; and the Water is drawn from the second Story, where the Well is, in Buckets, by a Wheel, which Oxen are turning continually: This done, it is conveyed by a little Canal into a Reservoir, or large Basin, which makes, as it were, a second Well, from whence it is drawn up to the Top in the same Manner, and then conveyed in Pipes to every Part of the Castle. As this Well is reckoned by all the Country to be of great Antiquity, and must be confessed to have all the Magnificence which was so natural to the old *Egyptians*, we thought it might very well deserve a Place amongst the many Curiosities of An-

cient *Egypt*. *Strabo* mentions an Engine not unlike that used in this Well, which, by the Means of Wheels and Buckets, threw up the Water of the *Nile*, to the Top of a very high Hill; with this Difference, however, that Slaves, to the Number of an hundred and fifty, were there employed to turn the Wheels instead of Oxen.

Of the Obelisks, Pyramids, Labyrinth, Lake of Moeris, the celebrated River Nile, and the famous Canal between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean.

OBELISKS are quadrangular, or square, high Spires, or Pyramids, of one single Stone, lessening gradually from the Base, till they terminate at last in a Point. Their Use was generally to serve for Ornaments to some publick Place, or Square; and they were frequently full of hieroglyphical Inscriptions, which were mystical Characters and Images, under which the *Egyptians* used to conceal the Mysteries of their Religion, and Theology. The great *Sesostris* erected two of these, in the City of *Heliopolis*, which were of an exceeding hard Stone, brought from the Quarries of *Syene* in the Extremity of *Egypt*, towards *Ethiopia*. Each of these were an hundred and twenty Cubits high, that is, sixty Yards, or an hundred and eighty Feet. The Emperor *Augustus*, having reduced *Egypt* into a *Roman* Province, caused these two Obelisks to be transported to *Rome*, one whereof was broken in Pieces; but he durst not venture to remove a third, which was of a prodigious Size: It was believed to have been made in the Time of *Rameses*; and it is said twenty thousand Men were employed about it; the Emperor *Constantius*, however, being more daring than *Augustus*, ordered it to be transported to *Rome*. Two of these Obelisks are still to be seen there, as well as another of an hundred Cubits, or fifty Yards in Height, and eight Cubits or four Yards in Diameter. *Caius Caesar* had it brought from *Egypt*, in a Ves-

fel of fo strange a Form, that *Pliny* fays the like had never been feen before.

The whole Country of *Egypt* abounded with Obelisks of this Nature; they were, for the moft Part, cut in the Quarries of *Upper Egypt*, where fome are now to be feen half finifhed. But what is moft wonderful is, that the ancient *Egyptians* had the Contrivance, to dig a Canal even in the very Quarry, through which the Water of the *Nile* ran, at the Time when it overflowed; from thence afterwards they raifed up the Columns, Obelisks, and Statues, on Rafts or Floats, proportioned to their Weight, in order to convey them into *Lower Egypt*; and as the whole Country was full of Canals, there was fcarce any Place, whither thofe vaft Bodies might not be carried with Eafe, whose Weight would have made all other Sorts of Engines give way under them.

Next to the Obelisks are the famous Pyramids, thofe ftupendous Structures, which have fo long been the Admiration of the World. A Pyramid is either a folid, or a hollow Body, having a large, and generally a fquare Bafe, from which it leffens gradually to the Top, till it ends, in Appearance, in a fharp Point. Of thefe there were three in *Egypt*, more famous than all the reft, one of which was defervedly reckoned amongft the Wonders of the World; and did not ftand very far from the City of *Memphis*. We fhall fpeak here only of the largeft of the three, which was built upon a Rock, like the others, had a fquare Bafe, leffened gradually to the Top, to which whoever would afcend muft go up by Stairs made on the outside. It confifted of Stones of an uncommon Size; the leaft of them at the Bottom being thirty Feet long, proportionable every Way, all wrought with wonderful Art, and full of Hieroglyphics. It is affirmed by feveral ancient Authors, that each Side was eight hundred Feet broad, and as many high. The Top of thefe Pyramids, which to any one at Bottom feemed but a Point, was a fmall even Square, comprifed of ten or a

dozen mafsy Stones, and about fixteen or eighteen Feet over every Way.

A learned *French* Gentleman, Member of the Academy of Sciences, who took the Pains to go to the Place in 1693, on purpofe to meafure this Pyramid, affirms that the Dimensions thereof are as follow. The Side of the Square Bafe 110 Fathom, or 220 Yards. The Fronts being equilateral Triangles, the Superficies of the Bafe is 12,100 Square Fathoms. The perpendicular Height 77 Fathoms three Quarters; and the folid Contents 313,590 Cubical Fathoms.

It is faid an hundred thoufand Men were constantly employed about erecting this ftately Structure; who were relieved every three Months by the fame Number. Ten whole Years were fpent in hewing out the Stones, either in *Arabia* or *Ethiopia*, and in conveying them to *Egypt*; and it required twenty more to build this immense Fabric, whose Inside contained innumerable Rooms and Apartments. It coft fixteen hundred Talents, which is four Millions, five hundred thoufand *French* Livres, or about three hundred thoufand Pounds Sterling yearly, only in Garlick, Leeks, Onions, and fuch Kind of Fare, for the Subfiftence of the Workmen; an immense Sum, equal to about fix Millions Sterling for twenty Years, whence one may form a Judgment, how infinite the Expence of the whole muft have been.

Such were the famous *Egyptian* Pyramids, whose Shape and monftrous Size have enabled them to triumph both over Time and the different *Barbarians*, under whose Power they have fallen; a Fate, which the Temple of *Belus* at *Babylon*, though a more lofty and magnificent Structure, could not efcape. Would one think that thefe vaft Pyramids were built only for Tombs? and that all this Buftle, all this Charge, and all the Labour of fo many Thoufands, ended in procuring a Prince, in thefe vaft and immense Piles of Building, a little Vault not much above fix Feet in Length, and about three Feet in Depth

Depth and Breadth! Yet this was the Case; and there is still to be seen, in the middle of the largest, an empty Sepulchre, cut out of one entire Stone, of the above-mentioned Dimensions.

Pliny gives us a just Notion of these Pyramids in a few Words, when he calls them a foolish and useless Ostentation of the Riches of the *Egyptian* Kings: He observes also, that, by a just Punishment of their Vanity, their Memory, which they meant to eternize by these stupendous Structures, is buried in Oblivion; Historians not being agreed amongst themselves, about the Names of those Princes, who were at the Charge of erecting these vain-glorious Works. In short, as *Diodorus Siculus* has very well remarked, the more the Skill and Ingenuity of the Architects is to be extolled and admired in these Pyramids, the more blameable and contemptible is the Vanity and Cruelty of those Monarchs, who harra's'd their Subjects about such laborious and useless Undertakings.

But what is most to be admired in these ancient Monuments is the certain and standing Evidence they afford us, of the early Skill of the *Egyptians* in Astronomy; that is, in a Science, which seems incapable of being brought to Perfection, but by a long Series of Years, and a great Number of Observations. When the *French* Gentleman measured the great Pyramid, whereof we have been treating, he found that the four Sides faced exactly the four Quarters of the World; and consequently shewed the true Meridian of the Place. Now, as there is scarce any Reason to question, but that this, so exact a Situation, was designedly chosen, by the Builders of this enormous Pile, above three thousand Years ago, it follows, that there has been no Alteration in the Heavens, with Regard to the Poles of the Earth, during that Length of Time, and consequently that there has been no Alteration in the Meridians.

The *Egyptian* Labyrinth was yet more surprising than the Pyramids, as we are assured by *Herodotus*, who was an Eye-witness thereof. It was situated at the most Southern

Part of the Lake of *Maris*, near the City of *Crocodiles*, or *Arsinoe*. It was not so properly one single Palace, as a magnificent Pile of twelve Palaces, regularly disposed, which had a Communication with each other. Fifteen hundred Rooms, intermixed with Terrasses, were ranged round twelve Halls, in such an intricate Manner, that whoever went to view them was in danger of being lost therein, and of not finding the Way out again. Under this prodigious Pile of Building were subterraneous Structures, of an equal Magnitude, and every Way proportionable thereto, which were designed for the Burying-place of the *Egyptian* Monarchs; and also, for keeping the sacred Crocodiles, to which the *Egyptians*, though a Nation so enlightened in other Respects, were so infatuated as to pay divine Worship.

Notwithstanding the great Magnificence of this Labyrinth, and the Pyramids, the noblest and most wonderful of all the Works of the Kings of *Egypt* was the Lake of *Maris*, and accordingly *Herodotus* prefers it vastly before them, as being of far greater Use and Advantage to the Country in general; the principal End for which all great Works should be calculated. As *Egypt* was more or less fertile, according as it was more or less overflowed by the *Nile*; and as it proved equally fatal to the Lands, whether the Inundation was too high or too low; therefore, one of the *Egyptian* Monarchs, named *Maris*, out of a beneficent Intention to prevent these two Misfortunes, and to remedy, as far as lay in his Power, the unequal Rising of the Waters, in different Years, bethought himself of calling in Art to the Assistance of Nature; which he did by making the artificial Lake, which afterwards bore his Name. Authors are not agreed about the Circumference of this Lake; *Herodotus*, and after him *Diodorus Siculus*, from whom *Pliny* does not differ much, says, it was three thousand six hundred *Stadia*, that is, an hundred and eighty Leagues round; and *Monsieur Bosquet*, in his *Universal History*, asserts the same as an undoubted Truth; one is astonished, says he, to read, what however is certain,

certain, that the Lake of *Meris* was an hundred and eighty Leagues in Compass. But there seems to be no manner of Probability in this Account, which *Herodotus* relates, only upon the Credit of the People of the Country, who were very apt to magnify every Thing belonging to them. It is obvious to any Man of Learning and Understanding, what Reason there is to question the Truth of this Account; wherefore we thought it more adviseable to follow what we find in some Memoirs, concerning the Extent of this Lake, especially as it is conformable to what we find in *Pomponius Mela*. According to these Memoirs then, this Lake was between thirty and forty Miles in Circumference, and in Depth three hundred Feet. Two Pyramids, on each of which was a Statue like a *Colossus*, seated on a Throne, raised their Heads three hundred Feet high in the midst of the Lake; whilst their Foundations were as many Feet deep under the Water; a certain sign that they were erected before the Cavity was filled up with Water; and a Demonstration that, notwithstanding the vast Extent of this Lake, it was the Product of human Labour, and that during the Reign of one Prince.

This Lake had a Communication with the *Nile*, by the Means of a large Canal, four Leagues in length, and fifty Feet wide; which was opened, or shut, as was also the Lake, according as there was Occasion, by large Sluices; to open or shut, which cost fifty Talents, or about eight thousand Pounds Sterling. As this Lake was well stored with Fish, the Grant of the Privilege of fishing therein brought the King in immense Sums; but its greatest Use was with Regard to the overflowing of the *Nile*. When it rose too high, and was likely to be attended with fatal Consequences, the Sluices were opened, and the Waters having free Passage into the Lake, covered the Lands no longer than was necessary to enrich them. On the contrary, when the overflowing was too low, and the People were apprehensive of a Famine, a sufficient Quantity of Water was let out of the Lake, to supply the Oc-

casions of the Lands, whereby the Irregularities of the *Nile* were corrected: And *Strabo* observed, that, in his Time, when *Petronius* was Governor of *Egypt*, notwithstanding the Inundation of the *Nile* was but twelve Cubits, there was a very great Plenty; and even when it rose but to eight Cubits the Country hardly felt any Want; undoubtedly because the Waters of the Lake supplied the Deficiency of those of the Inundation, by the Means of Drains and Canals.

Having thus enumerated the Curiosities of *Upper*, *Lower*, and *Middle Egypt*, we shall proceed to one, which is the greatest Wonder of all the whole Country, but cannot be justly appropriated to any particular Part, as it runs through them all three, and is not confined to any of them, we mean the *Nile*. As there seldom falls any Rain in *Egypt* this River, which waters the whole Country by its regular Overflowings, supplies that Defect, by bringing thither, as a yearly Tribute, the Rains of other Countries.

To render so beneficent a River as useful and advantageous as possible, the *Egyptians* cut numberless Canals all over the Country, of an incredible Length and Breadth. The *Nile* brought Fruitfulness every-where with its wholesome Waters; and at the same Time united the Towns with one another, joined the *Mediterranean* with the *Red-sea*, maintained Trade at Home, and fortified the Kingdom against the Enemy; insomuch that *Egypt* was at once obliged to it for her Subsistence, and Protection. The Fields were delivered up to it, but the Towns raised with immense Labour; and standing like Islands in the midst of the Waters, looked down with Joy upon the Plains, at once overflowed and enriched by the *Nile*. But to be more particular: The Head of the *Nile* was unknown to the Ancients, who erroneously placed it in the Mountains of the *Moan*, in the tenth Degree of South Latitude; whereas our modern Travellers have discovered that it rises from two Sources, which lie in the twelfth Degree of North Latitude, and the sixtieth of Longitude. This cuts off above three hundred Leagues of the Course

the Ancients ascribed to this River; in Effect it was so little known to them, that *Caput Nili querere*, to seek the Head of the Nile, grew into a Proverb, to express an impracticable Undertaking: And it is said that *Cæsar* would have been better pleased with discovering the Source of the Nile, than with the Conquest of *Rome*. This famous River then rises at the Foot of a great Mountain, in the Kingdom of *Goyam*, in *Abyssinia*, from two Springs, or Eyes, to speak in the Language of the Country, the same Word in *Arabick* signifying both an Eye and Fountain. These Springs, according to Father *Lobo*, a Portuguese Missionary, are about thirty Paces from one another, and are each of them as large as an ordinary Well, or a Cart-wheel; so inconsiderable is one of the most famous Rivers in the World at its Rise. The Nile, however, is increased by numberless Rivulets which run into it, and contribute greatly to the enlarging its Stream, till, being become a considerable River, it passes through *Ethiopia*, with innumerable Turnings and Windings, and flows at last into *Egypt*.

But, before it enters that Country, it passes by the *Cataracts*, a Place so called from the prodigious Falls of Water there, which from all Ages have attracted the Admiration of the Curious, and are not to be parallel'd in the whole World, unless it be by that formed by the *Rhine*, near *Schaffhausen*, in *Switzerland*. When the Nile, which at first glides smoothly along the vast Deserts of *Ethiopia*, comes to this Place, the River being pent up and restrained in its Course, by the Narrowness of the Channel, and other Obstacles, which it meets in its Way, grows on a sudden rapid and violent, contrary to its Nature, foaming and raging with the utmost Impetuosity, to find its Waters confined, like the Ocean in a Storm; till, at last, having overcome all Impediments, it rushes forward, and, precipitating itself from the Top of some Rocks, it falls to the Bottom from an immense Height, with such a prodigious Noise, that Travellers ever it may be heard to the Distance of three Leagues: Nay, which is more incredible, History in-

forms us, that the People who inhabit the Country round about, and are called *Catadupi*, are in a manner deafened by the horrid Uproar; and that a Colony of the *Persians*, who were settled there by their Monarchs, when they subdued that Country, not being able to bear the intolerable Din, which utterly deprived them of their Hearing, and absolutely stunn'd them, were forced to be transplanted and removed to a more quiet Settlement. Those who live upon the Spot, having acquired the Dexterity by long Practice, endeavour to divert Travellers by a Sight, rather calculated to excite Terror in them, than to entertain them. Two of them getting into a little Boat, the one to guide it, and the other to throw out the Water, after being tossed with the Violence of the Surges, for a considerable Time, which they humour by artfully turning their little Wherry, so as to prevent the Waves breaking into it, suffer themselves, at last to be hurried away by the impetuous Torrent, through the narrow Passages of the Rocks, as swift as an Arrow; and whilst the Spectator terrified to the last Degree, expects them to be lost in the rapid Flood, the Nile, restored to its natural Course, shews them again at a Distance, on a smooth and calm Water.

The Ancients, being ignorant of the true Cause of the Nile's overflowing its Banks, every Year at a certain Season, assigned several trifling Reasons for a Fact so uncommon and remarkable; but it is now well known, and universally agreed, that the Inundations of the Nile proceed from the great and continual Rains, which fall about that Season in *Ethiopia*, through which that River flows before it comes into *Egypt*. These continual Rains swell the Nile to such a Degree, that it first overflows *Ethiopia*, and then *Egypt*; and that which was before but a large River becomes like a Sea, and lays the whole Country under Water. *Ptolemy*, surnamed *Philadelphus*, King of *Egypt*, who was very inquisitive into every Thing that related to the Arts and Sciences, or the Secrets of Nature, of which this was one of the greatest, having sent thither proper Persons, on Pur-

pose to examine into, and ascertain the Cause, of so extraordinary and remarkable a *Phenomenon*.

Now, according to the concurrent Testimony of such as have been upon the Spot, these Rains begin to fall in the Month of *April*, and continue falling for five Months, that is, till the End of *August*, or Beginning of *September*; wherefore the Increase of the *Nile* in *Egypt*, must necessarily commence about three Weeks, or a Month, after the Rains have begun to fall in *Abyssinia*; accordingly all Travellers observe in their Accounts, that the *Nile* begins to rise in the Month of *May*, but that it is by such slow Degrees, that it does not as yet overflow its Banks: The Inundation does not happen till the latter End of *June*, and lasts the three following Months, as we are assured by *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus Siculus*.

The just Height of the Inundation, according to *Pliny*, is sixteen Cubits, or twenty-four Feet; when the River rises but twelve or thirteen a Famine ensues; and when it exceeds sixteen there is the same Danger. The Emperor *Julian*, in a Letter to *Ecdicius*, Prefect of *Egypt*, takes Notice, that on the twentieth of *September*, in the Year 362, the Height of the *Nile's* Overflowing was fifteen Cubits; the Ancients, however, neither entirely agree with one another, nor with the Moderns, about the Height of the Inundation, but the Difference is not very considerable: It may proceed, either from the Difference between the ancient and modern Measures, which it is hard to reduce to a fixed and certain Standard; or from the Carelessness of the Persons who made their Observations thereof; and of the Historians; or from the real Difference of the *Nile's* Increase, which is not so great when it approaches near the Sea. As the Wealth of *Egypt* depended almost entirely upon the Height of the Inundation of the *Nile*, all the Circumstances and different Degrees of its Increase and Decrease have been carefully remarked; and, by a long Series of regular Observations for many Years successively, it was found, that from

the Inundation itself might be discovered, what Sort of a Harvest the ensuing Year was likely to produce. For this End the *Egyptian* Monarchs had a Column erected at *Memphis*, upon which the various Degrees of the *Nile's* Increase were marked; and from thence Notice was given to all the rest of *Egypt* to what Height it rose; by this Means the People knew before-hand what they were to hope or fear from the next Harvest. *Strabo* mentions a Well, that was made for the same Purpose, on the Banks of the *Nile*, near the City of *Syene*. As great Part of the Wealth of *Egypt* consisted in the Produce of her Land, it was no wonder the Kings, whose Revenues arose in a great Measure from thence, as we may see by the History of *Joseph*, were very careful in having the Increase and Decrease of the River, upon which the Fertility of the Lands absolutely depended, observed with the utmost Exactness.

The same Custom is still retained to this Day at *Grand Cairo*; where, in the Courtyard of a Mosque, there is a Pillar, upon which the Degrees of the *Nile's* Increase are marked, and common Cryers proclaim daily in all Parts of the City how high it rises. The Tribute paid to the *Grand Signior*, for the Lands, is settled according to the Height of the Inundation; and the Day it rises to a certain Height is kept as a great Festival, with Fire-works, Feasting, and all other Demonstrations of publick Rejoicing: And, even in the most ancient Times, the Overflowing of the *Nile* was always attended with an universal Joy throughout all *Egypt*, it being the Source of all her Wealth and Felicity.

The *Egyptians* attributed the Inundation of the *Nile* to their God *Serapis*, and the Pillar, upon which the Increase thereof was mark'd, was religiously kept in the Temple of that Idol, and the Emperor *Constantine the Great*, having ordered it to be removed into the Church of *Alexandria*, they gave out that the *Nile* would never rise more, because *Serapis* was incensed at the Affront done him, in removing that Pillar: They were mistaken however,

however, for the River rose and overflowed as usual the following Years. *Julian the Apostate*, a zealous Encourager and Protector of Idolatry, caused the Pillar to be replaced once more in the Temple of *Serapis*; but it was afterwards taken again from thence, by the Command of the Emperor *Theodosius*.

The Divine Providence, in blessing *Egypt* with so beneficent a River, did not intend that the People should indulge themselves in Idleness, or enjoy so great a Happiness without taking any Pains. There is no great Difficulty in conceiving that, as the *Nile* could not overspread all the Country of itself, it was necessary to use great Labour to facilitate the Overflowing of the Lands; and numberless Canals were to be cut, in order to convey the Waters to all Parts. The Villages, which stood very thick upon high Ground, by the River Side, had each of them their Canals, which were opened at proper Times, to give the Water Passage into the Country. The most distant Villages had Canals also, even to the utmost Limits of the Kingdom; by which Means the Waters were successively convey'd to the most distant Places: It was not permitted to cut Trenches to receive the Waters till the River was at a certain Height, nor yet to open them all together; because then some Lands would be overflowed too much, whilst others would not receive sufficient Benefit from the Inundation. They began, therefore, with opening them first in *Upper Egypt*, after which they were opened in *Lower Egypt*, according to a Roll, or Book, wherein all the Measures were set down with the utmost Exactness. By this Means the Water was husbanded with such Care, that it overspread all the Lands; so that the Countries overflowed by the *Nile* being of such vast Extent, and so deep, and the Number of Canals so very great, it is thought not a tenth Part of all the Waters, which flow into *Egypt*, in the Months of *June*, *July*, and *August*, ever reach the Sea. But as there were Abundance of high Lands, which could not par-

take of the Benefit of the *Nile's* Inundation, notwithstanding all these Canals, they were supplied therewith by the Help of spiral Pumps, which were worked by Oxen, and forced the Water into Pipes, which conveyed it to those Lands; *Diodorus Siculus* speaks of such an Engine, invented by *Archimedes*, in his Travels into *Egypt*, which was called *Cochlea Egyptia*.

There is not any Country in the Universe where the Soil is more fruitful than in *Egypt*, and this its extraordinary Fertility is entirely owing, under Divine Providence, to the *Nile*: For whereas other Rivers, when they overflow Lands, impoverish them, and exhaust their Goodness, the *Nile*, by bringing with its Waters an excellent rich Slime, fattens, and enriches the Ground, in such a manner, that it suffices to make good what the foregoing Harvest had impaired. The Husbandman, as soon as the *Nile* is retired within its Channel, has nothing more to do than to turn up the Soil, and temper it with a little Sand, in order to qualify its great Rankness; this done, he sows it with little or no Trouble, and almost without any Expence, and within two Months it is covered with all Sorts of Grain and Pulse. The *Egyptians* generally sow in *October* and *November*, as the Waters run off the Land, and their Harvest is in the *March* and *April* following. But, what is yet more, the same Land bears in one Year three or four different Sorts of Crops. First, they generally sow Lettuce and Cucumbers; then Corn; and after Harvest divers Sorts of Pulse, which are peculiar to *Egypt*; and of which there is such Plenty, and so excellent are they in their Kind, that they might alone suffice for the Sustenance of the Inhabitants. As the Heat of the Sun is excessive there, and very seldom any Rain falls, it is easy to judge that the Earth would soon be parched, and the Corn and Pulse burnt up, by so intense and scorching a Heat, were it not for the Canals and Reservoirs with which *Egypt* abounds; and which, by Drains made from thence, supply a Sufficiency of Water to moisten

moisten and refresh the Fields and Gardens.

The *Nile* contributes no less to the feeding of Cattle, which is another Source of Riches to *Egypt*, than to the fertilizing her Corn-fields. They begin to turn them out to Grass in *November*, and keep them there till the latter End of *March*; and it is not to be expressed how rich their Pastures are, nor how far the Flocks and Herds, which the Mildness of the Climate, suffers them to keep out Night and Day, grow in a little while. During the Time that the Country is overflow'd, they are fed with Hay and cut Straw, Barley and Beans.

Another remarkable Circumstance, relating to this celebrated River, is, that, according to the Testimony of the Inhabitants, about the Beginning of *June*, and for the four following Months, that is, during the Time that the Inundation covers the Country, the *North East* Wind blows constantly, and keeping back the Waters which otherwise would flow too fast, hinders them from discharging themselves into the Sea, the Way thither being in a manner barred up, if we may use that Expression, by those Winds.

It is hardly possible for any Country to yield a more delightful Prospect than *Egypt* affords at two Seasons of the Year, for which it is likewise indebted to the *Nile*. For on ascending an high Hill, or one of the largest Pyramids, in the Months of *July* and *August*, the Eye is entertained with the View of a vast Sea, out of which numberless Towns and Villages seem to rise, with diverse Causeys leading from one Place to another; the whole beautified with Groves and Fruit-trees, whose Tops only can be seen, which renders it agreeable beyond Expression. To make it yet more so, this Prospect is bounded with Mountains shaded with Woods, which terminate the Horizon at a Distance, and wherein the Eye loses itself with Pleasure. On the contrary, in *Winter*, when it is Winter every-where else, the whole Country seems one beautiful ver-

dant Meadow, whose green Carpet, enameled with Flowers, at once ravishes the Sight, and delights the Smell; whilst, on every Side, Flocks and Herds may be seen dispersed all over the Plain, with infinite Numbers of Husbandmen, Gardeners, Shepherds, and Herdsmen. To add to the Charms of this Scene, the Air is then perfumed by the sweet Odours, issuing from vast Quantities of Flowers, on the Orange and Lemon-trees, which are then in Blossom; besides this, it is so pure, that it is hardly possible to breath one more wholesome, or agreeable: Inasmuch that Nature, which is then in a manner dead in all other Climates, seems to be alive only in this delicious Abode; and the whole, to a Stranger, used to more Northern Countries, looks like Enchantment.

Whilst we are upon the Advantages which *Egypt* gained by the *Nile*, we must by no means omit the Canal, whereby there was a Communication opened between the *Red-sea*, and the *Mediterranean*; as that was not one of the least Benefits which accrued to the Kingdom from that River. This Design, according to some, was first formed by *Sesostris*, and according to others by *Psammetichus*; but whether the one or the other began the Work, *Necho*, Successor to the latter, laid out immense Sums in it, and employed therein a vast Number of Hands; inasmuch that it is said above an hundred and twenty thousand *Egyptians* perished in the Undertaking: 'Tis added, that the Reason of his desisting from this Enterprize, was his being terrified by an Oracle, which told him it was opening a Door for the *Barbarians* to enter and invade *Egypt*: For the antient *Egyptians*, as well as the *Greeks* and *Romans*, gave that Name to all foreign Nations. This great Work, however, was again taken in hand by *Darius*, the first *Egyptian* Monarch of that Name; but he gave it over likewise, because he was told, that the *Red-sea*, lying higher than *Egypt*, must necessarily drown the whole Country. Notwithstanding all these Discouragements, the Canal was at last

last finished under the *Ptolemies*, who kept it open or shut, according as there was Occasion, by the Means of Sluices; in the same Manner as that which kept open the Communication between the *Nile*, and the Lake of *Mæris*. It began from *Delta*, near the City of *Bubastus*; was an hundred Cubits, that is 150 Feet wide, so that two Vessels might pass each other with Ease, deep enough to carry Ships of any Burden; and above a thousand *Stadia*, that is, above fifty Leagues in length. This Canal was of vast Advantage for the promoting Trade; but at present it is in a manner quite filled up, in so much that scarce any Remains thereof are to be seen, whether through the Indolence and Negligence of the *Turks*, who are at present in Possession thereof, or from whatever other Cause, we shall not pretend to determine.

Of the Manners, Customs, Learning and Government of the Egyptians; their Method of educating their Princes, and of administering Justice; of their admirable Laws; and of their Religion, &c.

EGYPT was always look'd upon, by the Ancients in general, as the most celebrated School for Wisdom and Politicks, and the Source from whence all Nations derived their Arts and Sciences; God himself, having given her a glorious Testimony, by the Mouth of St. *Stephen*, when, in speaking of *Moses*, he says, *he was learned in all the Wisdom of the Egyptians*: A Commendation to which nothing can be added. In Effect, the *Egyptians* employed their noblest Labours, and their finest Arts on the Education of Mankind, and on cultivating their Minds: Accordingly, the *Greeks*, being sensible thereof, saw without Regret, her greatest Men, as *Homer*, *Pythagoras*, and *Plato*, nay, even their greatest Law-givers, as *Lycurgus* and *Solon*, &c. travel into *Egypt*, there to finish their Studies, and to draw from that Fountain whatever was most excellent in every Kind of Learning.

The *Egyptians* were the first Nation who rightly understood the Rules of Government: From a Gravity and Seriousness natural to them, they discerned, very soon, that the true End of Policy was to render Life easy, and the People happy. Accordingly, notwithstanding the *Egyptian* Crown was hereditary, their Monarchs were under greater Restraints from the Laws than the meanest of their Subjects. They had particular Rules prescribed them, which had been digested into Order by one of their Predecessors, and composed Part of those Books, which were called *sacred* by the *Egyptians*; in so much that, every Point of their Behaviour being settled and regulated by ancient Custom, they never endeavoured to live differently from their Ancestors. Neither any Slave, nor Stranger was admitted into the immediate Service of the Prince; this Employment being judged of too great Importance, to be intrusted with any other Persons than those who were the most distinguished by their Birth, and had received the most excellent Education; to the end that, as they had the Liberty of approaching his Person Day and Night, he might not hear any thing, from Men so qualified, which was unbecoming the Royal Dignity; nor have any Sentiments instilled into him but such as were noble and generous.

What would be reckoned a prodigious Tyranny now-a-days, the Kings of *Egypt* suffered without the least Uneasiness, not only the Quality and Quantity of Victuals and Drink to be assigned; but even permitted all their Hours, and almost every Action of their Life to be under the Regulation of the Laws. For Instance, at the Break of Day, when the Mind is to be suppos'd to be most disencumber'd from Cares, and the Thoughts most clear, they read their Letters; in order to form a more just Judgment of the Affairs which were to come under their Consideration and Decision. The next Thing, as soon as they were dress'd, was to go to the Temple, and offer up their Devotions. There, surrounded by their whole Court, and the Victims,

Victims, which were daily sacrificed, being placed before the Altar, they assisted at the Prayer, pronounced aloud by the Pontiff; wherein he implored of the Gods Health, and all other Blessings for their Sovereign, because he governed his People with Clemency and Justice, and made the Laws of his Kingdom the Rule and Standard of his Actions. The Pontiff then entered into a large Detail of his Virtues, and observ'd that he was religious to the Gods, and affable to Men; that he was temperate, just, magnanimous, sincere, an Enemy to Lies; liberal, and Master of his Passions; never punishing so much as Crimes deserved, and yet rewarding Services beyond what any one could think they merited. He next mentioned the Faults which Monarchs might happen to commit; but at the same Time supposed that they were never guilty of any, but through Surprise or Ignorance, and loaded with Eximinations those Ministers, who gave them ill Counsel, and either suppress'd or disguis'd the Truth. Such was the *Egyptian* Method of instilling Instruction into their Sovereigns, and it was hardly possible to invent a better; it was thought that Reproaches would sour their Tempers; and that the most effectual Way to inspire them with Love of Virtue, was to point out their Duty to them, in Praises bestow'd agreeably to the Sense of the Laws, and delivered with Gravity and Reverence before the Gods. After Prayers and Sacrifices were ended, the Counsels and Actions of great Men were read to the King, out of the sacred Books; that their Maxims might inspire him with the Desire of governing his Subjects conformable to them, and of maintaining those Laws, which had render'd his Predecessors and their People so happy.

Their Table was only covered with the most common Food, because Eating and Drinking were never designed in Egypt, to please the Palace, and indulge a sensual Appetite, but only to satisfy the Wants of Nature. In short, so plain and temperate was

the King's Diet, that, as *Diodorus Siculus* justly observes, any one would have sworn, the Rules by which his Servants were governed in providing it, had rather been the Directions of some able Physician, who was particularly studious and careful of his Prince's Health, than the Dictates of any Law-giver. The same Simplicity was visible in all the King's other Expences: and we read in *Plutarch* of a Temple at *Thebes*, on one Side of whose Pillars was an Inscription, full of Imprecations against the Monarch who should first introduce Luxury, and expensive Living into *Egypt*.

The principal Duty of Princes, and wherein they most resemble the *Almighty*, is the doing Justice to all Men. Accordingly, the Kings of *Egypt* apply'd themselves particularly to the Discharge of this Duty; being fully persuaded, that not only the Repose of private Persons, but the Happiness of the State depended upon this Care.

To the End, therefore, that Justice should be exactly and impartially administered, thirty Judges were selected out of the principal Cities, in order to form a Body, fit to determine the Affairs of the whole Kingdom. This we suppose to have been the *dernier Resort*, the highest Court of Judicature, from which there was no Appeal, like the *House of Lords* with us; for it is not to be imagined, but there were inferior Judges to administer Justice in every Province, since otherwise it must have been highly inconvenient, not to say intolerable, for the meaner Sort of People to be obliged always to repair to the Capital, for the Redress of any Grievance, or the Recovery of any Debts. The King in filling up the Vacancies, which happened from Time to Time, among the Judges, chose Men who had the best Reputation for their Honesty and Integrity, and placed at their Head the Person who was the most distinguishing for his Knowledge in the Laws, and for his Zeal for the Administration of Justice, and who was, at the same Time, the first in the Esteem of the Publick.

Each of these Magistrates had a handsome Income assigned him, by the Royal Bounty; to the End that, not being incumbered with Domestick Cares, they might apply their whole Time to the seeing the Laws put in Execution; and, being thus honourably subsisted by the Prince's Generosity, they administered Justice *gratis* to the People in general, who have a natural Right to it, and amongst whom it ought to have a free Circulation.

In order to guard against Surprise, all Affairs were transacted in their Assemblies by Writing. The Truth could not be laid open with too much Plainness, as that alone was to have the Sway, and direct their Judgment; because neither the Rich nor the Poor, the Powerful nor the Weak, the Learned nor the Ignorant, could find any other Relief or Security, but therein. The President of this august Assembly wore about his Neck a Collar of Gold, enrich'd with precious Stones; from which hung down a Figure without Eyes, the proper Emblem of *Truth*, which was to prevail in all their Determinations. When the President put on this Collar, the Assembly understood it as the Signal to enter upon Business; and after an Affair was discussed, the President passed Sentence, in Favour of the Party who had Justice on his Side, and consequently was to succeed in his Cause, by applying or holding out the Image towards him; which was as much as to say, *Thou hast the Truth on thy Side*, and was the usual Form of giving Judgment.

Authors have observed, that what was most excellent, in the *Egyptian* Government, was, that every individual Person grew up from his Infancy in a firm Resolution to conform to the Laws; and this those Authors ascribe to the Excellency of those Laws; but, however that be, certain it is, that the Introduction of a new Custom into *Egypt* was a Prodigy; that every Thing ran on there in the old Channel; and the Exactness, with which Points of little or no

Importance were conformed to, contributed very much to the due Observance of those of greater Moment. And to this alone, in a great Measure, it was owing, that the *Egyptians* might boast, that their Laws and Customs were observed for a greater Length of Time, or, in other Words, that their ancient Constitution flourished longer in full Vigour, than that of any other Nation.

Willful Murther was irremissibly punished with Death, whatever the Condition of the murdered Person was, whether he was a free Man or a Slave; and herein the Equity and Humanity of the *Egyptian* Laws had visibly the Advantage over those of the *Romans*; whose Practice it was, to leave the Life, or Death of the Slave, absolutely at the Disposal of the Master; a Custom so inhuman, that it is surprizing how it could obtain so long amongst so generous a People! Since it must be evident to any one, how unfit a Judge an incensed Master was, to dispose absolutely of the Life or Death of his helpless Slave.

Perjury was likewise capitally punished, because it attack'd both the Gods, whose Majesty was trampled upon, by calling them as Witnesses to a false Oath; and Men, in breaking the strongest Cement of human Society, which is Sincerity and Honesty; insomuch that it must have been of the most dangerous and pernicious Consequence to have suffered it to escape with Impunity.

The Calumniator or false Witness was condemn'd, without Mercy, to undergo the same Punishment as the Person accused was to have suffered, had the Accusation been legally proved. A Law highly just, and fit to be copied after by all Nations whatsoever; besides that, it is exactly consonant to the Laws of God.

If any Person was unjustly attacked, and another, who saw it, neglected or refused to save him, when it was in his Power so to do, the Person, so neglecting to rescue his Fellow-subject, was punished with the Ri-

gour of an Assassin. But if it was not possible to relieve the unfortunate Person, the Author of the Violence was at least to be prosecuted, and the Person who neglected this Duty was to incur a certain Penalty. An excellent Law, whereby the Subjects were made a continual Guard and Protection to each other; and the whole Body of the Community were united against the Designs of wicked Men.

Another excellent Maxim in the *Egyptian* Government was, that no Man was by any means suffered to be useless, or, which is the same Thing, a Burthen to the State. Every particular Person was obliged to enter his Name, and Place of Abode, in a publick Register, which was to remain in the Hands of the Magistrates; and wherein he declared his Profession, and in what Manner, and how he lived. To prevent any one's imposing upon the Magistrate herein, whoever gave in a false Account of himself in any of these Respects, his Imposture was punished with immediate Death.

To prevent the borrowing of Money, which is the Parent of Sloth, Frauds, Chicanes, and Injustice, or, at least, not repaying it when borrowed, King *Amyctis* enacted a very judicious Law, wherein he surpass'd, in Prudence, the wisest and best governed and equitable States. The *Egyptians*, without doing any Injury to the personal Liberty of their Citizens, or ruining their Families, pursued all knavish Debtors, with perpetual Fears of Infamy for their Dishonesty. It is well known what a prodigious Regard the *Egyptians* paid to the Bodies of their dead Relations, in embalming them with great Care, and respectfully keeping them in Sepulchres made for that Purpose, if they were rich enough, or else in their Houses, for many Ages. It was upon this Observation King *Amyctis* founded his Law; whereby no one was permitted to borrow any Money, without leaving with his Creditor the Body of his Father for his Security; which, being embalmed, was easily to be removed from

one Place to another. But then it was reckoned equally impious, and infamous, not to redeem so precious a Pledge; and the Man, who died without having discharg'd this Duty, was not only denied the customary Honours paid to the Dead, and to be deprived of Burial, either in his Father's Sepulchre or any other; but, whilst he lived, he was not allowed to bury any Person descended from him; so that by this Means the whole Sepulchre of the Debtor was in the Power of the Creditor.

The Generality of the *Egyptians* were indulg'd in the Liberty of Polygamy, or the having many Wives; this Indulgence however did not extend to the Priests, who were not permitted to marry more than one Woman: And to prevent, in some Measure, the Injustice which might arise from the permitting the Multiplicity of Wives, by treating the Children of the one with more Favour than those of the others, when once a Man had taken a Woman to Wife, whatever her Condition was before, whether she was free or a Slave, her Children were all deemed free and legitimate, and consequently were entitled to their Share of their Father's Substance.

One Custom, however, relative to this Head, which was practis'd amongst the *Egyptians*, shews the profound Darkness, into which Nations, the most celebrated for Wisdom, have been plunged. This was the Intermarriages of Brothers with their Sisters, which were not only authorised by their Laws, but were even, in a manner, made a Part of their Religion; having their Sanction from the Example and Practice of *Osiris* and *Isis*, the two Deities the most antiently, and most universally adored in *Egypt*.

No People shewed a more particular Respect and Veneration for old Age than the *Egyptians*; the younger being obliged to rise to the more antient, and to resign the Place of Honour to them, upon all Occasions: It was from this Country the *Spartans*

tans adopted the Law, which paid the same Honour to grey Hairs.

But the Virtue, which was held in the greatest Esteem amongst the *Egyptians*, was Gratitude, or an Acknowledgment of Favours and Benefits received: The Glory which has been given them, of being the most grateful of all Men, shews evidently that they were likewise the most serviceable; Benefits being the Bond of Concord, whether publick or private. They who acknowledge Favours love to return them; and Ingratitude being once banished, the Pleasure of doing Good is so pure, so much without any Alloy, and has so many Charms, that it is impossible not to be sensible thereof. But there was not any Sort of Gratitude which gave the *Egyptians* so pleasing a Satisfaction, as that which they paid to their Sovereigns: They honoured their Monarchs, whilst living, as so many visible Representations of the Deity, and, at their Deaths, they mourned for them as the Fathers of their Country. These Sentiments of Tenderness and Respect proceeded from their having imbibed a strong Persuasion, that it was the Gods themselves who had placed them upon the Throne, and given them so distinguished a Preference to all other Mortals; as also, that Kings were invested with the noblest and greatest of Characters, as the Will and Power of doing Good to others were united in their Persons.

The next in Rank to the Kings, in *Egypt*, were the Priests, whose Privileges and Revenues were very great. Their Lands were exempted from all Sorts of Imposts, of which some Traces may be seen in *Genesis* xlvii. 26. where it is said, *And Joseph made it a Law over the Land of Egypt unto this Day, that Pharaoh should have the fifth Part, except the Land of the Priests, which became not Pharaoh's.* We see also there, *Verse* 22. that, during the seven Years Famine, they were farther exempted from the Necessity of selling their Lands, by having a Maintenance assigned them immediately from the King: *Only the Lands of the Priests bought he not; for the Priests had a Portion assigned them of*

Pharaoh, and did eat their Portion which Pharaoh gave them; wherefore they sold not their Lands.

The King usually honoured the *Egyptian* Priests with the greatest Share in his Confidence and Government; and that for a very good Reason, because they had a better Education conferr'd upon them, were furnished with clearer Lights, and, above all, were more firmly devoted to the King's Person, and the publick Welfare, than any of the rest of his Subjects. They were at once the Depositaries of Religion and the Sciences; and to this they were indebted to the great Respect shown them both by Natives and Foreigners; by whom they were equally consulted, about whatever was most sacred in the Mysteries of Religion, and most profound and occult in the Sciences.

The *Egyptians* pretend, that they were the first who instituted Festivals, and Processions in Honour of the Gods; amongst the rest, one was celebrated in the City of *Bubastus*, to which People resorted from all Parts of *Egypt*; inso-much that so great was the Concourse, that above seventy thousand Persons have been seen there at a time, besides Children. Another Festival, call'd the Feast of *Lights*, was solemnized at the City of *Sais*; and those Persons, whose Affairs would not suffer them to go thither, were obliged to set up Lights in their Windows throughout all *Egypt*.

As to their Sacrifices; various Animals were offered up therein, according to the different Provinces where the Ceremony was performed; but one common and general Rite was observed in all the Sacrifices whatsoever; which was the Imposition of Hands upon the Head of the Victim, and loading it at the same time with Imprecations, praying the Gods to divert upon the Victims, whatever Calamities might be impending over *Egypt*. It was to this Country *Pythagoras* was indebted for his favourite Doctrine of the *Metempsychosis*, or the Transmigration of Souls from one Body to another. The *Egyptians* believed, that as soon as a Man died his Soul underwent a sort of Judgment,

and that, according as he had behaved himself in this World, his Soul was either permitted to re-animate another human Body, or was condemned to be imprisoned in the Body of that Beast, whose Nature was most correspondent to his Actions whilst upon Earth; for Instance, the Tyrant's in that of a Wolf, or a Tyger; the Drunkards in that of a Swine; and the sensual Letcher's in that of a Goat, &c. there to expiate and make Atonement for its past Transgressions; and that, after a Revolution of three thousand Years, it again animated a human Body.

The Priests had in their Possession the sacred Volumes, wherein were contained at large the Principles of Government, and the Mysteries of Divine Worship. Both were commonly concealed under Symbols and Emblems; which render'd Truth more venerable when shadowed under these mysterious Veils, and excited the Curiosity to pry therein the more strongly. The Figure of *Harpocrates*, in the *Egyptian* Sanctuaries, with his Finger upon his Mouth, seemed to insinuate, that such Mysteries were inclosed therein, as were by no means fit to be permitted to the Inspection and Discovery of the whole World; and the Figures of a *Sphinx*, which were placed at the Entrance of all Temples, gave the same Intimation. Every one knows that Pyramids, Obelisks, Pillars, Statues, in a word, all the publick Monuments of the *Egyptians*, were usually adorned with Hieroglyphicks; that is, symbolical Writings, either express'd in Characters unknown to the Vulgar, (and called, perhaps, for this Reason, sacred Letters) or represented under the Figures of Animals, under which an hidden and parabolical Meaning was couch'd. Thus, the Figure of an Hare signified a lively piercing Attention, because the Sense of hearing is exceeding quick in that Creature; and the Statue of a Person without Hands, and with Eyes fix'd upon the Ground, represented him who was to discharge the Office of a Judge. In short, it would require

a whole Volume to treat fully of all the several Parts of the Religion of the *Egyptians*; wherefore we shall confine ourselves to the two principal Articles thereof, which are the different Deities worshipped by them, and their particular Manner of treating their dead Bodies.

As to the first of these Articles, never were any Nation more superstitious than the *Egyptians*; they had an infinite Number of Deities, of different Orders and Degrees; but the two which were the most universally adored were *Osiris* and *Isis*, which have generally been thought to be the *Sun* and *Moon*; and indeed the Rise of Idolatry was owing, in all Probability, to the Worship of those two glorious Luminaries.

Besides two superior Deities, the *Egyptians* paid divine Honours to Variety of Beasts, as the Ox, the Dog, the Wolf, the Hawk, the Crocodile, the Ibis, the Cat, the *Ichneumon*, &c. Many of these Creatures were only the Objects of the Superstition of some particular Town; insomuch that whilst one City made one Sort of Animals the Objects of their Worship, their next Neighbours frequently held them in the utmost Abomination; nor was this any Wonder, since the one perhaps worshipped the sworn Enemy to the others Divinity, as the *Ichneumon* is to the Crocodile. This, one may easily imagine, must necessarily be the Source of continual Wars between Towns so differing in their Worship.

As numerous as the Gods of the *Egyptians* were, each Town or District were even very zealous for the Honour of their respective Deities. Amongst us, says Cicero, it is by no means strange, or uncommon, to see Temples robb'd, and the Statues of the Gods taken away; but it was never heard in Egypt, that any Person ever abused a Crocodile, an Ibis, or a Cat; her Sons would have suffered the utmost Torments, rather than they would have been guilty of such a Sacrilege. It was Death for any Person to kill any of these Animals designedly; nay, which is more,

more, whoever happened to kill an *Ibis*, or a *Cat*, whether designedly or not, was sure to meet with the same Punishment. Of this *Diodorus Siculus* gives us a remarkable Instance, whereof he was himself an Eye-witness, during his Residence in *Egypt*. A *Roman* happened inadvertently and undesignedly to kill a *Cat*, of which the People being informed, they ran in a furious Rage to his House, and seized upon him; and neither the Authority of the King, who immediately detached a Body of his Guards to his Relief, nor the Terror of the *Roman* Name, were sufficient to rescue the unfortunate Offender. Nay, such was the Respect which the *Egyptians* had for these Animals, that once, when there was an extreme Famine, they chose to eat one another, rather than to lay hands upon these pretended Divinities.

But of all the Animals to whom the *Egyptians* paid divine Worship, none could come in Competition with the Bull *Apis*, called by the *Greeks*, *Epapbus*. They went so far as to erect magnificent Temples to him; wherein they paid him the most extraordinary Honours; and, after his Death, all the *Egyptians* in general went into Mourning for him; and his funeral Obsequies were celebrated with a Pomp which is hardly credible; inasmuch that, under the Reign of *Ptolemy Lagus*, the Bull *Apis*, dying of old Age, the Funeral Charges, exclusive of the ordinary Expence, amounted to above fifty thousand Crowns.

After the last Honours had been paid to the deceas'd God, their next Care was to provide him a Successor, and they searched all *Egypt* over for that Purpose. He was known by certain Marks, which distinguish'd him from all others: He was to have a white Spot, in the Form of a Crescent, upon his Forehead; the Figure of an Eagle upon his Back; and that of a Beetle upon his Tongue. When he was found the Mourning gave way to Joy; nothing was to be heard of but Feasts and Rejoicings all over *Egypt*, the new God was conducted to *Memphis*, to take Possession of his new Dignity, and he was in-

stall'd with a great Number of Ceremonies. One of these Brute-deities had but a short Enjoyment of his Divinity; for *Cambyses*, on his Return from his unfortunate Expedition against the *Ethiopians*, finding all *Memphis* full of Transports and Joy, and believing it occasioned by his ill Success, (as being conscious that he had render'd himself excessively odious to them by his Barbarity) order'd the Magistrates before him, and demanded the Reason of these great Rejoicings; and upon their telling him, it was because they had found their God *Apis*, he would not believe them, but, falling into a Rage, caused them to be put to Death, as Impostors who insulted him in his Misfortunes. He then sent for the Priests, who made him the same Answer; upon which he replied, that since their God was so condescending and familiar as to appear amongst them, he would himself be acquainted with him, wherefore he commanded him to be forthwith brought into his Presence. This being done, when, instead of any Object that could command Respect, and resembled the Majesty of a God, he saw nothing but a Calf, or a young Bull, he was astonished to the last Degree; and, falling again into a Rage, he drew his Sword, and wounded the poor Beast therewith in the Thigh: Then, reproaching the Priests for their Stupidity, in worshipping a Beast as a God, order'd them to be severely whipp'd; and commanded all the *Egyptians* in *Memphis*, that were found celebrating the Festival of *Apis*, to be immediately slain. The wounded and deified Brute was conducted back to his Temple, where he languished for some Time, and then died of his Hurt. This was but a pitiful Manner of revenging his Resentment against his People, on the poor dumb Beast.

But the *Egyptians*, not contented with worshipping an infinite Number of Idols, and almost all manner of Brute Beasts, as we have already observed, pushed their Extravagance so far, as even to ascribe a Divinity to the Fruits of their Gardens. For this they are ingeniously satyrized by the *Roman* Poet *Juvenal*;

Thus Englisbed by Mr. Dryden.

Who has not heard, where *Egypt's* Realms are nam'd,
What Monster-gods her *frantick* Sons have fram'd?
Here *This* gorg'd with well-grown Serpents, there
The *Crocodile* commands religious Fear:
Where *Ammen's* Statue magick Strings inspire,
With vocal Sounds that emulate the Lyre,
And *Tebes*, such Fate, are thy disastrous Turns!
Now prostrate o'er her pompous Ruins mourns,
A *Monkey-god*, prodigious to be told!
Strikes the Beholder's Eye with burnish'd Gold:
To *Godship* here, blue *Triton's* scaly Herd,
The *River-progeny* is there prefer'd:
Through Towns *Diana's* Power neglected lies,
Where to her Dogs aspiring Temples rise:
And should you *Leeks*, or *Onions* eat, no Time
Would expiate the sacrilegious Crime;
Religious Nations sure, and blest Abodes!
Where ev'ry Orchard is o'er-run with Gods.

Various Reasons have been assigned for the Worship paid to Animals by the *Egyptians*; the first of which is entirely fabulous: It being pretended, that the Gods, when a Rebellion was rais'd against them by the *Titans*, those Gigantick Sons of the *Earth*, retir'd into *Egypt*, and conceal'd themselves there under the Forms of different Sorts of Animals; and that this gave Birth to the Worship which was afterwards paid to those Animals.

The second Reason, assigned for the Adoration of these Animals, is the Benefit which accrues to Mankind from each of them; Oxen were servicable to them by their Labour; Sheep by their Wool and their Milk; and Dogs by their Usefulness in Hunting, and Guarding their Hories; from whence their God *Anubis* was represented with a Dog's Head: The *Ibis*, a Bird, very much resembling a Stork, or a Crane, was worshipped, because it put to flight the winged Serpents, with which *Egypt* would otherwise have been grievously infested; the *Crocodile*, an amphibious Creature, living equally upon Land or Water, of a prodigious Size, (as being above seventeen Cubits, or eight Yards and an half long, according to *Herodotus*); and endued with a surpassing Strength in water.

able thereto, was deified, because it defended *Egypt* from the Incursions of the wild *Arabs*; as was the *Icbneumon*, a Sort of Water-rat, because it prevented the too great Increase of the *Crocodiles*, which otherwise might have proved fatal to the *Egyptians* themselves. This small Beast, the sworn Enemy to that monstrous Animal, renders this Service to the Country these two Ways; *first*, it watches when the *Crocodile* is absent, and breaks its Eggs, though it never eats them. *Secondly*, when the *Crocodile* sleeps upon the Banks of the *Nile*, which it always does with its Mouth open, this nimble little Creature, which lies concealed in the Mud, leaps with one Spring into the Mouth, and, getting down to its Intraills, gnaws a Passage both through them and through its Belly, the Skin whereof is very tender, and makes its Escape with Safety; remaining thus victorious over so terrible an Animal merely by its Address and Subtily.

Philosophers, not satisfied with Reasons, too weak to account for such strange Absurdities, as dishonoured Paganism, and made them secretly Blush, have invented a third Reason, since the Establishment of *Christianity*, for the Worship paid by the *Egyptians* to Animals. They pretended that the Veneration was not paid to the Animals themselves, but to the Gods, whose Symbols they were, and in whom the Worship terminated.

Of the Manner in which the ancient Egyptians treated dead Bodies; their Method of embalming their Dead; their particular Way of trying and judging them; an exact Description of some ancient Egyptian Mummies, that are still to be seen in the Cabinets of the curious.

COME we now to the extraordinary Manner in which the *Egyptians* treated their dead Bodies, and the particular Ceremonies observed by them at their Funerals; all of which highly deserve the Readers Attention.

The Honours with which all Ages and Nations have treated dead Bodies, and the religious Care taken by them to provide Sepulchres, for their deceased Friends and Relations, seem to argue an universal Persuasion, that those Remains were deposited in Sepulchres only as in Trust; and that, in due Time, they were to restore the Treasure committed to their Custody. But whether this Belief obtained universally amongst all Nations, or not, certain it is, according to *Herodotus*, that it was an Opinion generally received amongst the ancient *Egyptians*, that the Soul, after its quitting the human Body, passed successively, if vicious, into the Bodies of different Animals, whether Beasts, Birds, or Fish; and that, after a Revolution of three thousand Years, it was again permitted to animate the Body of a Man. From hence it appears evidently, that it was from the *Egyptians*, *Pythagoras* adopted his Doctrine of the Transmigration of Souls, which he afterwards propogated, and strenuously defended amongst the *Greeks*.

We have already observed in making Mention of the Pyramids, what magnificent Sepulchres the *Egyptians* erected, for the Repositories of their Dead. The Reason of this was, that they considered their Sepulchres in a two-fold Light; not only as so many Monuments, consecrated to the Memories of great Princes, Heroes, or Patriots, in short, of Persons any ways eminent for their Virtues; but as the Mansions where Bodies were to remain during a long Succession of Ages: Whereas the Houses wherein they dwelt whilst alive were called *Inns*, as being Places where Men were to reside only as Travellers, during the Course of a Life too transitory for them to settle their Affections in any Manner upon such Habitations.

To proceed now to the Ceremonies observed by the *Egyptians* in their Funerals; when any Person of the Family died, all the Relations and Friends threw off their usual Habits, put on Mourning, and abstained from Baths, Wine, and all manner of high Living: This Mourning held forty or fifty

Days, probably according to the Quality of the Person deceased. The first Business entered upon was the embalming the Body, and of this there were three Sorts: The most magnificent was bestowed upon Persons of a distinguished Rank, and the Expence amounting to a Talent of Silver, or three thousand Livers. Many Hands were employed in this Ceremony; some with Instruments, made expressly for that Purpose, began with taking out of the Body every Thing which was susceptible of Corruption; as the Brain, the Intestines, and the Excrements. As the Evacuation, which could not avoid being attended with some Dissections, seemed to have something inhuman and cruel therein, the Persons employed fled as soon as the Operation was over, and the Standers-by pursued them with Stones: Those, who embalm'd the Body were honourably treated; they filled it with Myrrh, Cinnamon, and all Sorts of Spices; and, after a certain Time, the Belly was wrapped up in Folds of the finest Linen; which they pasted on with the thinnest Gum, and then chafed over with the most exquisite Perfumes. By this means it is said, that the entire Figure of the Body, the very Lines of the Face, and the Hairs on the Lids and Eye-brows, were preserved in their natural Perfection. The Body, being thus embalmed, was delivered to the Relations, who inclosed it in an open Chest, or Coffin, fitted exactly to the Size of a deceased Person; after which they placed the Body standing upright against the Wall either in Sepulchres, if they had any, or in their Houses. These embalmed Bodies are now what we call *Mummies*, which are daily brought from *Egypt*, and the Cabinets of the Curious. This is an undeniable Evidence of the uncommon Care the *Egyptians* took of their dead Bodies; their Acknowledgments, and Gratitude to their deceased Relations were in a manner immortal. Nor was this their extraordinary Care useless, even to those who survived; for Children, by seeing the Bodies of their Ancestors thus preserved, recalling to mind those

those Virtues for which the Publick had honoured them, and were excited to a Love of those Laws, which such excellent Persons had left, for their Observance and Security. Some Traces of these Ceremonies may be discovered in the funeral Honours paid by *Joseph* to his Father *Jacob*, and afterwards by the Children of *Israel* to *Joseph* in *Egypt*.

We have already observed, that the Publick paid their Acknowledgments to the Virtues of the Deceas'd, and for this there was very good Reason; since, before any Body could be admitted into the sacred Asylum of the silent Tomb, it was obliged to undergo a very solemn and formal Trial, by very impartial Judges; and this Solemnity in the *Egyptian* Funerals is one of the most remarkable Circumstances, which is to be met with in all ancient History. It is a great Comfort to a dying Man, to leave a good Name behind him; and this is the only human Blessing, of which it is not in the Power of Death to deprive us: But the wise *Egyptians* would by no means suffer Praises to be bestowed indifferently upon all the Dead; this Honour was to be obtained from the publick Voice, and the Manner of conferring it was as follows:

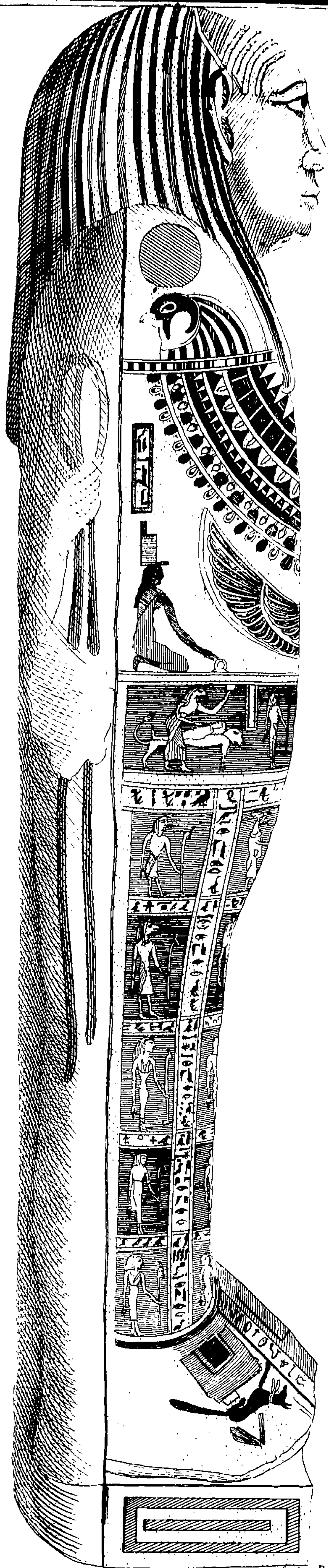
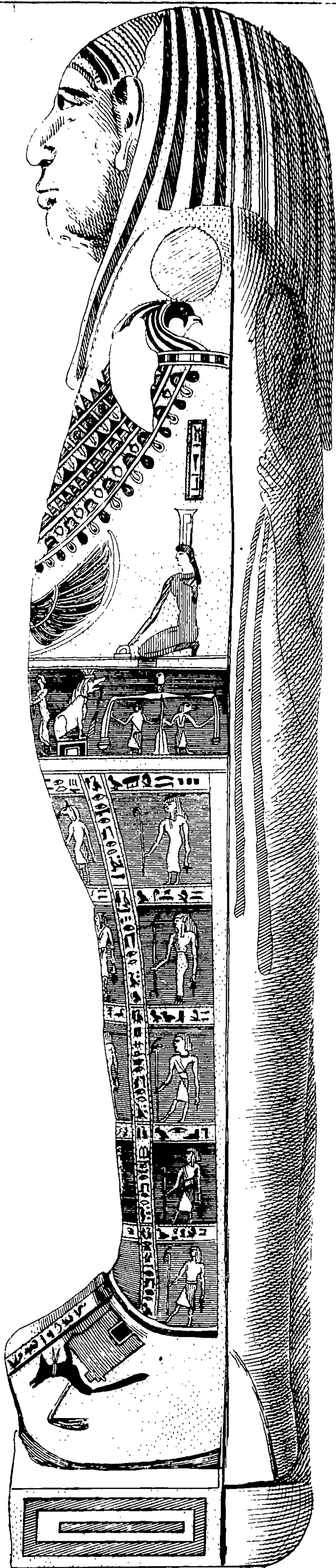
The Assembly of the Judges met expressly for that Purpose, on the farthest Side of a Lake, to which they were carried over in a Boat, the Steersman whereof was called, in the *Egyptian* Language, *Charon*: And from the Name of this Steersman, and the Circumstance of the Judges being carried over a Lake in a Boat, *Orpheus*, who had been in *Egypt*, invented the Story of the *Stygian* Lake, and *Charon's* Ferry-boat, in which all the Dead were wafted over to receive Judgment, according to their Actions in this Life; and pursuant thereto were either condemned to severe Punishments, or rewarded with an Abode in the *Elysian* Fields. To return from whence we have digressed, as soon as any *Egyptian* was dead, he was brought to his Trial, and an impartial Account was given, by the Persons appointed for that Purpose, of the whole Tenor of his Conduct whilst alive: If it had been regular, and commend-

able, he was allowed the usual funeral Honours, and his Memory was respected; but on the contrary, if it was proved that the Life of the Deceas'd had been impious and scandalous, his Memory was branded with Infamy, and his Body deprived of the Rites of Sepulture. 'Tis easy to imagine, that the People must be sensibly affected with Laws, whose Power extended beyond Death; and every one, moved with the Disgrace inflicted on the dead Person, was afraid both of entailing Dishonour upon his own Memory, and bringing a Reproach upon his Family.

But what was most astonishing, in this publick Enquiry into the Conduct of the Dead, was, that the Throne itself could not protect any one from it: Kings were spared during their Lives, because the publick Peace was concerned in this Forbearance; but their exalted Rank did not exempt them from undergoing the same Trial as the rest of the Dead; and some of them have been deprived of Sepulture.

It is to be presumed that the *Israelites* adopted this Custom from them, since we see in the *Chronicles* of their Kings, that the Bodies of some of their wicked Princes were not deposited in the Monuments of their Ancestors. This Practice gave their Monarchs to understand, that, notwithstanding their Royalty placed them above the Reach of human Judgment, whilst they were alive, they must come to it at last, when Death had reduced them to a Level with the meanest of their Subjects.

When a favourable Sentence had been passed upon the Person deceased, the next Thing was to proceed to the Ceremonies, previous to the depositing the Body in the Sepulchre; and the first of these was the pronouncing a Panegyrick or Eulogy of the deceased. Herein no mention was made of his Birth, because every *Egyptian* was esteemed noble; and no Encomium was reckoned either valuable, or real, which was not founded upon the personal Merit of the Person defunct. He was therefore only commended on Account of his having improved himself in his younger Years,



Years; by receiving readily the excellent Education bestowed upon him; and for having behaved with Piety towards the Gods, and Justice towards Men; and for being endued with Affability, Sweetness of Temper, Modesty, Moderation, and all the other Virtues which are required to form the Character of a good Man. Then the whole Assembly joined in their Prayers to Heaven, that the Deceas'd might be admitted into the Society of the Righteous, and might be made Partakers of their eternal Happiness.

Having thus given an Account of the extraordinary and singular Ceremonies, observed at the Funerals of the antient *Egyptians*, we believe it will not be unacceptable to our Readers, if we give them a View and Description of some of those remarkable Monuments of *Egyptian* Antiquity, called *Mummies*, that is, embalmed Bodies, with the *Loculi ferales*, or Coffins, wherein they are contained, which are now to be seen amongst us in the Cabinets of the Curious.

The first, we shall offer to the Consideration of our Readers, was found about sixteen Years ago, by some wild *Arabs*, in one of the ancient Burial-places of the *Egyptians*, called *Cryptæ*, or Catacombs, in the Fields of *Sakara*, or *Sacara*, a Town about three Leagues from *Grand Cairo*, and noted for the Numbers of Mummies that have been discovered there. It consists of two distinct Parts, the Body or Mummy itself, and the *Locus feralis*, or Coffin, wherein it was contain'd.

As to the Body it has nothing about it that differs much from those that are still to be seen in the Cabinets of the Curious, in various Parts of *Europe*, being embalmed, and wrapt up in innumerable Fillets, or Linen-Bandages, where the Effigies of the Deceased has very probably been printed, according to the *Egyptian* Custom, upon a Cover of plaistered Linen, laid over the Face; though it is now greatly impaired: There are also still some faint Remains of an *Hawk* or *Eagle's* Wing around the Cheeks; as is to be seen on many Mummies.

As to the Coffin, it is made of the true Sycamore, by some called the wild Fig-tree, which, as is found by Experience, will last an almost incredible Number of Years, without decaying. Of this Tree all the wooden Monuments of the *Egyptians* were made and all the *Loculi*, or Coffins of Mummies, that have ever been brought into *Europe*: As were also the wooden Patterns, for embalming the Dead; and the Cases, or square Boxes, wherein the Bodies of the embalmed Animals were kept. All the Joinings of this Coffin are fastened by wooden Pins let into Holes, bored on Purpose to receive them, so that the upper and lower Parts are united; whence some have imagined, that when this Mummy was embalmed, either the *Egyptians* did not know the Use of Iron; or, if they did, they were afraid of using it, lest it should cause the Wood to decay the sooner. The whole Length of the Body is five Foot two Inches; and the Length of the Coffin, together with the Basis whereon it stands, six Foot three Inches: Its Breadth, across the Shoulders, is one Foot eleven Inches.

Having thus described the Substance whereof this Coffin is made, and its Dimensions, the next Thing to be considered is, the Manner how it is painted, and the Figures represented thereupon; which render this a truly valuable Monument of Antiquity. This Custom of painting the Coffins of the Dead was peculiar to the ancient *Egyptians*, and *Ethiopians*; and it was from the latter, that the *Egyptians* seem to have learned the Art, which is, by first covering the Wood with Plaister, and then laying on Water-colours, much in the same Manner as painting in *Fresco*: And these liquid Colours penetrated or soaked into the Body of the Plaister, in so much that they became, in a Manner, inseparable from each other.

That this Custom of drawing the Effigies of the Deceased, upon a Ground of Plaister, was in Use amongst the *Ethiopians*, as well as the *Egyptians*, till the Time that *Cambyſes* attempted the Invasion of that Country, is evident from *Herodotus*, in his *Thalia*; where, speaking of the Ambassadors sent by that Monarch

Monarch into *Etiopia*, he says, that, amongst other Things shewn them there, was the Manner of burying their Dead. His Words are to this Effect: "After drying the Corpse, either after the Manner of the *Egyptians*, or some other Way, they cover it all over with a Plaster which they adorn with Paintings, and represent thereon the Effigies of the Deceased as much to the Life as possible." And *Diodorus Siculus*, as we observed before, in treating of the same People, says, "Some keep the Bodies of their Ancestors in their Houses, in Cases of Glass; not thinking it right, that the Knowledge of the Features, and Likeness of their dead Relations, should be concealed from their Kindred." And the same Author, speaking of the *Egyptians* treating their Dead after the same Manner, says: "When the Corpse comes from the Embalmers, the very Eye-lashes, Brows, and Features are so well preserved, that the whole Form of the Body is retained without any Alteration, and the exact Likeness or Effigies of the Deceased, whilst alive, may be known: Wherefore many of the *Egyptians* keep the Bodies of their Ancestors in magnificent Repositories, in order to behold the compleat Images of those who had been dead, perhaps many Ages before they themselves were born: There they may not only see the Lineaments of their Faces, but also the very make of their Bodies; all of which they contemplate with great Delight."

From these Passages, with many others which might be quoted, there is sufficient Reason to presume, that the Face painted on this Coffin, as well as those on the Coffins of all other Mummies, was originally designed to represent the Effigies of the embalmed Person within it. There had been a Beard fastened to the Chin of this Portrait, but no Marks thereof are to be seen now; excepting an Hole, through which a wooden Peg has been driven. The Face of this Mummy, or, to speak more properly, the Face represented on the Coffin, is both singular and curious; its Features being truly *Egyptian*,

not unlike those of a *Negro*, but the Complexion altogether red; whence it may be conjectured that the Deceased was an *Isiamean*, or *Ethiopian*.

The next Point upon which we are to enter, is to give a Description, and offer an Explanation of the Figures and Ornaments, drawn upon the Coffin of this Mummy; which may not only give us an Insight into many Particulars, relating to the *Egyptian* Mythology, but may confirm and illustrate diverse Passages, which occur in ancient Authors. First, on the Top of the Coffin, which altogether exhibits the Form of an embalmed Man; over the Head, not to be seen but in a View above, is drawn the Figure of a Female, with a *Corona* or Diadem round her Head, and lying on her Back, with her Face turned side-ways, and her Arms extended. In each Hand she holds what seems to be a Sickle, which shall be described in another Place; and under her Arms are Wings, divided into three Rows of Plumes of two Colours, Blue, and Light-green. The extrem Parts of her Body are naked; but from her Waist downwards she is clothed in a green Garment; and from the Top of her head, and joining to it, rises a round *Tutulus*, or Turret, on which is placed a Globe, painted Green, and indented, as it were, with a Ring of a Yellow, or light Colour.

From all these Circumstances, this Figure seems evidently to represent *Isis*; as it exhibits the combined Properties of Nature, of which she was the Goddess. For, first, by the Turret on her Head, she physically symbolizes the *Earth*; the Globe, of a green Colour, is also another Symbol thereof.

Secondly, the Ring of Light, encompassing the Globe, was probably designed to represent the *Placid* of the *New-Moon*, and shewed that she was the *Moon* also: In which Particular this Figure has a strong Resemblance of the Description which *Apollonius* gives of *Isis*, when that Goddess appeared to him, in a pompous Manner, in a Vision. As to the rest of the Body, namely, the extended Arms, and Wings, &c. we shall endeavour

to explain the Meaning thereof very soon, in another Place. The rest lie over the upper Part of the Head, from whence two Lappets hang down on the Breast, over the Shoulders, painted with alternative Stripes of Yellow, and deep Blue.

Below the Neck, under the Lappets, are twelve Sweeps, or Semi-circles; within the *first* of which five Tufts, or Tassels appear, with a Plant between each of them. Within the *second* are three Water-lilies, like Roses, within alternate Fields of deep Blue, and Scarlet. Within the *third* are five Leaves; of what may be imagined the *Persea*, under which is a Scarlet Ligature, bordered with Yellow, or Gold. Within the *fourth* are other Water-lilies, like Roses. Within the *fifth* are the same Kind of Leaves of the *Persea*, with another Scarlet Ligature like the former. Within the *sixth* is drawn something resembling a Chain, or a Kind of Felloons, composed of what seems to represent two Sorts of precious Stones, Sapphires, and Rubies, set within yellow Borders, or Gold, and fastened to the Breast with small Buttons of the same. Within the *seventh* are still a greater Number, as the Sweep increases, of the Leaves of the above-mentioned *Persea*, under which runs another Ligature of Scarlet, bordered with Yellow, or Gold. Within the *eighth* are more Water-lilies, like Roses, set within alternate Fields of deep Blue and Scarlet. Within the *ninth* there seems to be again the Representation of Tufts or Tassels, with the Figure of some Plant alternately between them. Within the *tenth* is another Row of Leaves of the *Persea*, under which again passes a Ligature of Scarlet, bordered with Yellow, or Gold. Within the *eleventh* is a Row, consisting of Flowers, in Blossom, of a green Colour, with a Mixture of Red, not unlike the Form of a Poppy; some have thought it the *Arum Egyptiacum*, the Form being the same, but it differs from it in Colour. Within the *twelfth*, and last, is a Row of Pendants representing precious Stones, Emeralds, Sapphires, and Rubies. These are the magnificent Embellishments of the *Enkod*, or Breast-plate; three of which

may be reckoned *symbolical*, and the others *ornamental*.

Of the *symbolical* Embellishments are the Lilies, like Roses, in the *second*, *fourth* and *eighth* Rows. These indeed were peculiar to the *Egyptians*, and grew in the Nile; for *Herodotus*, describing the Vegetables of that River, says, *There are other Lilies, like Roses, which grow in the River*: So that these on the Mummy seem to typify the Productions of their deified River, brought to Maturity by the kindly Heat and Influence of their principal God, *Osiris*, or the Sun. The second Kind of *symbolical* Ornaments are the green Leaves, of a moderate Breadth, with a proportionable Length, and ending in a Point, in the Shape of a *Tongue*. These, as we have observed, may be imagined to represent the Leaves of the *Persea*; “which Plant, says *Plutarch*, of all others in *Egypt*, “was, in a particular Manner, consecrated “to the Goddess *Isis*,” because its Fruit is of the Shape of an *Heart*, (the Symbol of *Egypt*) and its Leaves of the Form of a *Tongue*. The third Kind of the *symbolical* Ornaments seems to be those Flowers, like Poppies, in the *eleventh* Row, with a green Plant, or Bud, alternatively between them; such being often represented on the *Mensa Isiaca*, or Table of *Isis*: They may only be Representations of the *Lotus*, in Bud, and in Blossom; another remarkable Vegetable of the Nile, produced by the Influence of the Sun.

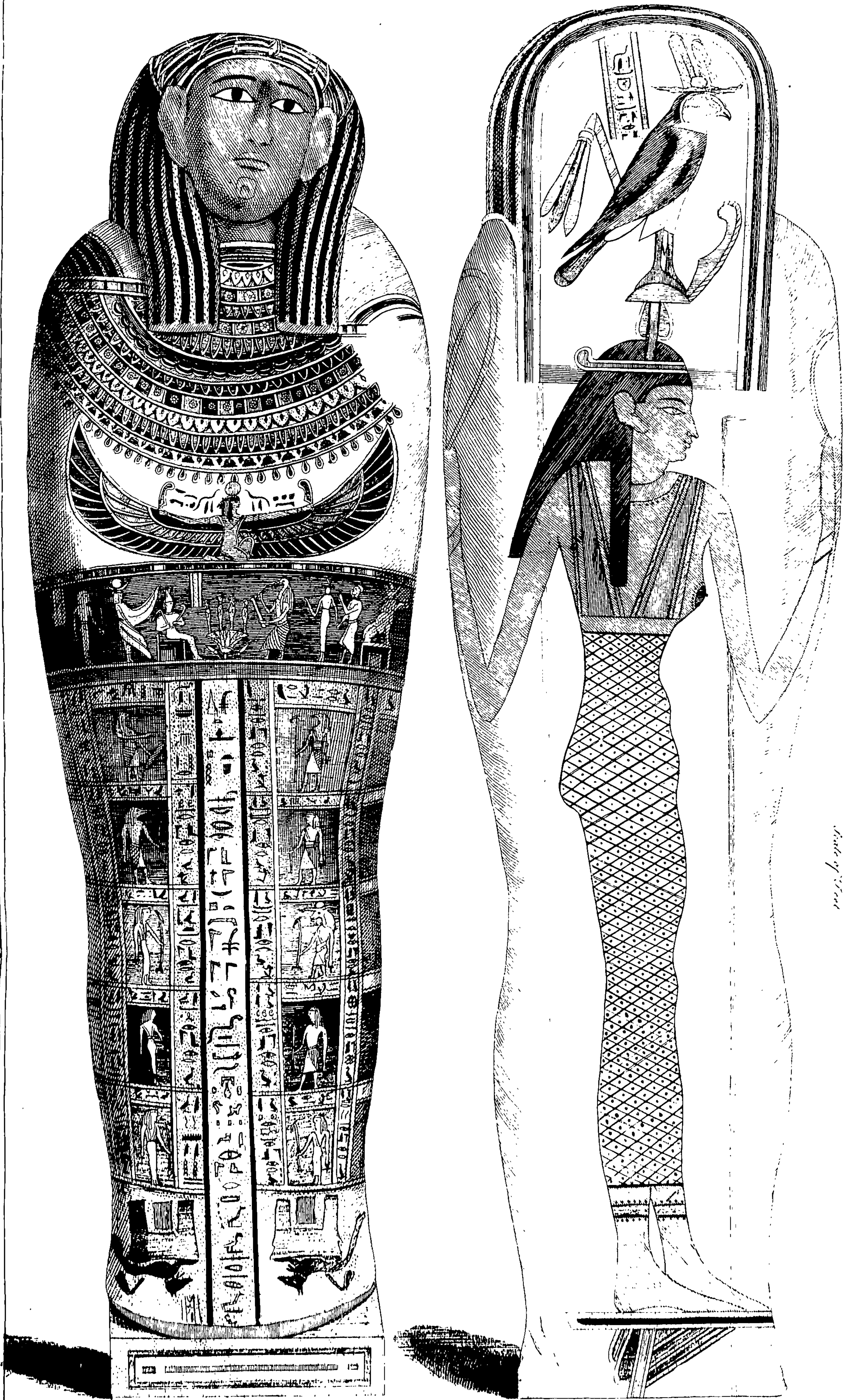
We shall now proceed to what is represented immediately below the *Enkod*, or Breast-plate, namely, another female, resting on one Knee, with the other raised, and with extended Arms, holding in each Hand what seems to be the *Fala Mjoria*, or Sickle, between which are several sacred Characters. Her Face is bare, and her Breast, Arms and Feet naked; but from her Neck downwards she is clothed with a green Garment, which reaches below her Knees. On her Head she bears a Globe of a fiery Colour, and her Hair which is of a dark or black Colour, and hangs down her Neck and Shoulders, is tied with a *Crown*, or Diadem. From her

Shoulders proceed Wings, divided into three Rows of Plumage, of various Colours; the upper and lower Row being of deep Blue, and the middlemost Green; and each Row as well as each Feather, is shaded and divided with Yellow.

This Female, we may again safely pronounce to be *Isis*, who here, as well as in the other already described, typifies and represents the *Earth*, as comprising within it the four Elements. Now, the Physical Reason, why the ancient *Egyptians* drew *Isis* as a Female, was, as we are informed by *Plutarch*, because they imagined her to be the *female Part of Nature*, wherein was contained the Origin of every Thing. *Aristotle* says, they esteem the whole Nature of the *Earth* to be *female*; wherefore they call her *Mother*. That this Figure of *Isis* is a compound Symbol of the *Earth*, as comprehending within it the four Elements, seems in a Manner pointed out by the Colours upon this Figure: For, *first*, the middle Part of her is covered with *Green*, which may allude to the *Grass, Trees, and other green Vegetables*, within the *temperate and torrid Zones*; which may not improperly be called the middle Part of the *Earth*: *Secondly*, the Extremities of her Body are naked; which may also be to typify the extreme Parts of the *Earth* towards the *Poles*, which are *barren and naked*. So that upon the whole, by this Figure of the *Earth*, the *Egyptians* seem, very properly, to represent the natural Situation, and vegetative Production of the Zones, as they are either nearer to, or farther removed from the Sun. As to the three Rows of Plumage, these, together with the Globe on her Head, seem to represent the other three Elements; the upper and lower of *deep Blue* seem to have been designed for the *Air*, because the *Earth* is encompassed all round by the *blue Sky*, or the Region of the *Air*. The middle Row of pale *Green* seems likewise to have been designed for the *Water*, that being the natural Colour of the *Sea*; as the fiery Globe on the Head of this *Female* seems a proper Type of the *Sun*, or the Element of *Fire*. As to this *Female's* dark-coloured

Hair hanging down her Neck and Shoulders, *Apuleius*, in the Vision he had of *Isis*, describes her Hair in the very same Manner, as it is represented on our Mummy; and *Porphyry* lets us into the Physical Meaning of this dark-coloured Hair, namely, that it is designed to symbolize the Duskynefs of the *Air*: Wherefore, if we may suppose the yellow or illuminated Spaces between the Plumage to be designed for the *Solar Light*, this female Figure will be a physical Type of the *Earth, Air, Water, Fire, Light, and Darknefs*; in short, of every thing visible, or that has Relation with our terraqueous Globe.

The next Thing, that appears below the *Female* already described, is an entire symbolical Picture, highly deserving the Attention of the Curious: The whole seeming a two-fold Representation of *Death* and *Judgment*. To express *Death*, there is a *Cadaver*, or dead Body, drawn, stretched out on a Bier, or *Necrophorcion*, as the *Greeks* called it; which is in the Shape of a Lion. On the outside stands a Figure, dressed in a plaited Garment, of an human Shape, all but the Head, which is that of an *Ibis*, or *Egyptian Stork*; having in the Left-hand a golden Cup, and seeming to point with the Right towards the Left-side of the dead Body. Now, it is evident, that the ancient *Egyptians*, at the Decease of their Friends, used to deliver the Corpse into the Hands of certain Persons, whose Business it was to perform the Office of embalming them. *Diodorus Siculus* says, “ It was customary amongst
“ the *Egyptians*, after the Relations of the
“ Deceased had agreed upon a Price, to deliver the Corpse into the Hands of the
“ Embalmers; the Chief of whom causing
“ the Body to be laid flat on the Ground,
“ pointed out how much of the Left-side,
“ towards the Bowels, was to be opened;
“ when the Person who was to perform the
“ Dissection, holding in his Hand an *Ethiopian Stone*, (with which the Operation
“ was made) cut as much of the Flesh as
“ was required by Law.” From this Passage it may be conjectured, that the Figure
of



This Print of the Hieroglyphical Figures represented on the Coffin of
the Ancient Egyptian Mummy belongs to Captain WILLIAM LETHBRIDGE

of this Mummy in the plaited Garment represents the chief Embalmer, whom *Clemens Alexandrinus* calls the Adorner, and who, he says, bears in his Hand a Cup for Libation, called, in *Greek*, *Spondeion*. Now this Figure on the Mummy answers the Description both of *Diodorus*, and *Clemens*, in every Respect; for the Cup for Libation is plainly to be seen in his Left-hand, and as to his pointing out, how much of the Left-side, towards the Bowels, was to be opened, that seems also to be expressed on the Mummy: And the Reason of this Embalmer's having on his Shoulders the Head of the sacred Bird *Ibis*, seems probably to have been to denote his Office was sacred; for it is to be supposed that they had no other Way of shewing that the Function or Office of any one was sacred, but by placing on their Shoulders the Head of some one of the Animals that were esteemed sacred. Now that the Office of the Chief Embalmers was deemed sacred is confirmed by the same *Diodorus Siculus*, who says, they were called, in *Greek*, *Taricheutai*, and were much honoured by the Priests of *Egypt*, and, as sacred Persons, were admitted within their Temples.

These are the Particulars of the first Representations of *Death*, beyond which hangs a Kind of a square Veil, or Sheet, with yellow and green Stripes, which possibly may be designed for an *Egyptian* Phylactery; from which the *Jews*, probably, took their *Arban Canfob*, which is an Amulet, or Charm, they constantly wear under their Cloaths, to this Day, to guard them from Evil. Beyond this, on the Front-part of their Coffin, is exhibited the second Representation, namely, that of *Judgment after Death*; in describing which, we shall begin with the principal Figure *Osiris*, who seems to be in the Character of *Pluto*, as the *Greeks* afterwards called him; and is to be supposed in the infernal Regions, sitting in the Chair of *Jupiter*, or the *Sun*. In his Left-hand is something crooked at the Point, probably designed for the Sceptre of *Olympus*, and in his Right is the *Flagellum*, or Flail. He is cloathed in a yellow Garment, without any

Shade; and on his Head is a *Mitre*, from whence issue *two Horns*, of a yellow or gold Colour, and he is drawn with a *Beard*. This Figure is infinitely curious, as having, in every Respect, the characteristical Marks of the *ancient Egyptian Bacchus*; notwithstanding, as we have just before observed, he sits here, as Judge of the infernal Regions, in the Character of *Pluto*. As to our Conjecture of his being represented as the *ancient Egyptian Bacchus*, sitting in *Jupiter's* Chair, with the Sceptre of *Olympus* in his Hand, there is one Passage in the *Greek* Poet *Nonnus*, which seems to strengthen it, where he says, “ I have heard, that of Old *Jupiter* “ gave his Chair, with the Sceptre of *Olympus*, and his Thunder, as a Gift, to *Zagreus*, the more ancient *Diorysius*; and the “ Vine to the Wine-faced *Bacchus*.” Now, that the Chair on which *Osiris*, or *Pluto*, is represented sitting, is designed for that of *Jupiter*, or the *Sun*, seems, in some measure, pointed out on the Mummy; the under Square thereof being uniformly of the same fiery Colour, with almost every other Symbol of the *Sun* thereupon; and the fiery Part being the undermost, to represent the *Sun's* Absence, this Scene of *Pluto* being laid in the Region of the *Manes*. Next, as to the *two Horns* of Gold, issuing from each Side of his Head, or rather of his *Mitre*, there is a particular Passage, in *Sidonius Apollinaris*, which seems particularly to agree with this Circumstance represented on our Mummy; when, speaking of the *Egyptian Jupiter*, he says,

————— *Caput aurca rumpunt
Cornua, & indigenam jaculantur Fulminis Ignem,
&c.*

Besides, *Eusebius*, describing the *Egyptian Bacchus*, or *Osiris*, quotes some of the Verses of *Orpheus*, wherein he is represented with two golden Horns, like those of a Bull, issuing from the Sides of his Head: And *Hieronymus Aleander*, in his learned Treatise, *Tab. Marmor*, p. 23, says, that the Ancients placed golden Horns on the Head of *Bacchus*, as a Symbol of the *Sun's* Beams; from whence, continues he, the *Greeks* called him

Cbrusokeron. Another physical Reason, for the painting him with such Horns, is given by *Diodorus Siculus*, when, speaking of the *Grecian Bacchus*, he says, there was another *Diomysius*, who existed for many Ages before the *Grecian*, whose Name was *Sabafius*; and adds, that he was the first who taught Men how to yoke Oxen, and to plow, and sow the Ground; for which Reason, continues he, they represent his Image with *Horns*.

The next Particular, remarkable in this Image of *Osiris*, or *Pluto*, is the *Mitre* on his Head; a Circumstance of which *Diodorus* takes Notice, when, speaking of *Bacchus*, he says, that one of his other Marks was his wearing a *Mitre*, for which he was stiled *Mitrophorus*. This the *Greeks* took from the *Egyptians*, for on most *Osiris*, on *Egyptian* Monuments, in *Britain*, and we believe, elsewhere, he is represented with a *Mitre* upon his Head. But what is more curious in this Image in his *Beard*, which indeed is one of the chief characteristical Marks of the ancient *Egyptian Bacchus*, to distinguish him from the *Grecian* or younger *Bacchus*, who had not any *Beard*. To prove this, we have the express Testimony of *Diodorus Siculus*, who says, “ There were two
“ Gods named *Bacchus*, wherefore the *Greeks*
“ painted him with two Faces: The most
“ ancient of them was called *Diomysius*, and
“ wore a Beard, because, in ancient Times,
“ it was customary for Men to let them
“ grow; whereas the younger *Bacchus* was
“ drawn young and smooth-faced.”

From all these Passages, it is worthy Observation, that these two characteristical Marks, the *Horns* and *Beard*, on the Image of *Osiris*, on this Mummy, whereby he is distinguished to be the most ancient *Bacchus*, are of no small Importance, for clearing up that perplexing Jumble, which a Multitude of Authors have made, in confounding the elder and younger *Bacchus* with each other: And it is humbly to be imagined, that had the great *Sir Isaac Newton*, and other modern Authors, seen and examined this, and such like Monuments of the *Egyptians*, he never would have asserted that *Sesostris*, whom

he makes to be *Sbisbak*, was also *Osiris*, or the *Egyptian Bacchus*; neither would others have confounded the ancient *Bacchus* with the younger so frequently as they do. *Sir Isaac* has indeed hereby, in a new and very surprising Manner, made the *Egyptian Osiris* contemporary with *Reboboam*; into which strange and singular Opinion he must certainly have been led, by reckoning the *Bacchus* of the *Greeks* the only *Bacchus*; without considering that there had been a much more ancient *Bacchus*, many Ages before the *Bacchus* of the *Grecians*, whose characteristical Marks, different from those of the other, we not only find plainly described by the *Greek* Authors, but may see actually confirmed so to be, both by this Mummy, and by diverse other illustrious Monuments of the *Egyptians*, still remaining amongst us. To conclude, the Habit, on this Figure of *Osiris*, is represented without any Kind of Shade, or Variety of Colours; which corresponds exactly with what *Plutarch* asserts of the *Egyptian Osiris*, when, speaking of the Garment of *Isis*, he says, *In the Garment of Osiris, there is neither any Shade, or Variety of Colour.*

The next Thing, represented on this *symbolical Picture*, is the Figure of a *Lotus*, expanded or blown, upon its Stalk, from the Root whereof a compressed one, like a *Papaver*, or *Poppy*, appears on each Side. On the Top of the expanded one, before *Osiris*, stand four embalmed human Creatures, one with the Head of a *Man*, another with that of a *Dog*, the third with the Head of a *Wolf*, the fourth with that of an *Eagle*, or *Hawk*. First, as to the *Lotus* which is expanded or blown, and the two which are compressed, or shut, they seem to have been reckoned, by the *Egyptians*, as Symbols of the Sun's Rising and Setting; for *Dioscorides*, as he is quoted by *Cuperus*, says, “ The *Lotus* is produced
“ in *Egypt*, growing in the Fields, which
“ had been overflown, on a Stalk, like that
“ of a *Bean*, small in Blossom, and white
“ like a *Lily*. They report that it shrinks,
“ or shuts itself up, when the Sun sets, but
“ opens at his Rising; that it hides its Top
“ in the Water in the Evening, but rises
“ out

“ out of the Water in the Morning.” We have also the Authority of *Proclus* and *Pliny* for this Particular.

As to the four embalmed Animals, standing on the expanded *Lotus*, facing *Osiris*, this may be presumed to be nothing but a physical Symbol of the different Properties or Powers of the same *Sun*; for it is certain, that the *Egyptians* feigned God, or the *Sun*, as sitting upon a *Lotus*, whereby they typified his Dominion and Pre-eminence over all earthly Things. As to the four Animals upon the *Lotus*, where, symbolizing as many Properties or Powers of the *Sun*, they seem so to be, because they are of the Number of those sacred Animals, which, all who have treated of the *Egyptian* Theology, agree to be Types of the Properties of that God. Whence they are very often joined on the *Mensa Isiaca*, and other conspicuous Monuments of the *Egyptians*. Besides, they are very similar to the Description given by *Kircher*, and *Witsius*, of four Figures, called by them *Hemphthæi Numinis Stipalores*, or the Guardian Attendants of the God *Hemthæ*, by *Plutarch* termed *Emet*, the same with *Sol*, or the *Egyptian Osiris*, who were the four chief Messengers or Angels (as *Witsius* styles them) sent by that God, to execute his Commands. The first of these was called *Horus*, and was represented in the Shape of a Boy: The second had the Face of a Dog, and was named *Kunoprofopos*: The third had the Head of an Hawk, was termed by the *Egyptians* *Tbaustus*, and was remarkable for having the Horn of *Jupiter Hammon*: And the fourth was represented with the Aspect of a Lion, and was styled *Mumpha*. As to the last Particular of the Lion's Head, it is the only Circumstance, excepting the Horn of *Jupiter Hammon* before-mentioned, wherein the Description does not exactly agree with the Representation on the Mummy; one of the Figures on the Mummy having the Head of a Wolf, and not of a Lion. It is to be imagined, therefore, that there were not only more of these *Stipalores*, or Guardian Attendants of *Osiris*, than are mentioned by *Kircher*, and *Witsius*; but that it was abso-

lutely left to the Determination of the Person, who originally consecrated the Mummy to these different *Egyptian* Deities, to represent thereon which-soever he pleased, therefore some might chuse that with the Head of a Wolf, and others that with the Head of a Lion. This will appear more evident immediately, with regard to the Head of the Wolf, and the Dog, from a Passage in *Macrobius*, which seems to account for such a Representation; for, in speaking of the Manner in which the Image of *Osiris*, or the *Sun*, was sometimes represented in *Egypt*, he mentions its being drawn with the Head of a Lion, a Dog, and a Wolf. The Wolf, he adds, is a Symbol of past Time, and the Dog of future Time; and indeed, it must be owned, that these Symbols of Time are very aptly applied to the *Sun*, since the periodical Revolutions and Motions of that glorious Luminary are the only certain Measures of Time.

Having thus given an Account of the Representation of *Osiris*, in the Character of the old *Egyptian* Deity, called by the *Greeks*, *Pluto*, and of the *Lotus* opened and shut, with the Animals standing thereon, the next Point to be considered is, with what Design they are supposed to be placed in the infernal Regions. In order to illustrate this, we shall begin with the Figure of *Osiris*, or *Pluto*, whom we may suppose to sit there as Judge; perhaps also he was designed to be there represented as Judge of the Soul, and Actions, of the very Person whose Body was contained within the Coffin. What gives room for this Conjecture is, the Appearance of a Figure, which seems to have been designed for an *Agatho-dæmon*, or good Genius, leading in an human Creature before the Judgment-seat of *Osiris*; where the sacred Scribe of the *Egyptians*, distinguished by the Volume, or Roll of Paper, in one Hand, and the *Schoinos* in the other, just as he is described by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and with the Head of an *Ibis*, seems recounting before *Osiris*, or *Pluto*, the supreme Judge of the Shades, the Deceased's Actions, supposed to have been weighed in the Balance, which appears

appears represented in the same symbolical Picture.

Now that the *Egyptians* believed *Osiris*, and *Isis*, or *Ceres* and *Bacchus* as the *Greeks* called them, were the supreme Governors of the Shades, is plain from the Testimony of many ancient Authors. *Herodotus*, in particular, speaking of the ancient *Egyptians*, says, *That the Egyptians believed Ceres and Bacchus had the Dominion of the infernal Shades.* It is also confirmed by *Servius*, that *Sol*, or *Bacchus*, descended into *Hell*, or the Region of the *Manes*; and *Natalis Comes* says, that *Lucian* thinks *Pluto* was so called, because he abounded in the Dead. Now that *Osiris* was the same with the *Grecian Pluto*, and the Judge of the Dead, is made appear beyond all Doubt, by a most circumstantial Passage in *Plutarch*; for, speaking of *Osiris*, he says, "That *Osiris*, Governor and Prince of the Dead, is no other than the same whom the *Greeks* call *Hades* or *Pluto*;" which is explaining what the Priests were unwilling to reveal, and only hinted in an obscure Manner.

Beyond what has been already described, as has been before observed, is the Representation of a Balance, or Pair of Scales, erected and supported in the Middle by a Kind of crooked Posts, like a Tree, and two human Figures, one on each Side of the Post. That on the Right-hand has on its Shoulders the Head of an *Hawk*, and the other on the Left that of a *Wolf*, both turned contrariwise to each other: This, perhaps, was designed to symbolize the opposite good and bad Principles, a Doctrine which, as *Plutarch* tells us, the *Egyptians* believed, before any other Nation whatsoever, the *Hawk* representing the good, or *Osirian Being*, and the *Wolf* the bad, or *Typhonian Being*. Each of these seem, by putting the Scales down towards their own Side, to claim, as it were, the Soul of the Deceased as his own; and the Balance seems to intimate, that, after the Actions of the Deceased are weighed the sacred Tribe already mentioned enumerates them before *Pluto*, the supreme Judge of the Shades, that he may pass Sentence on

the Deceased, who seems to be led in by the *Agatho-dæmon* before the Tribunal of *Osiris*.

The next Particular to be observed in this symbolical Painting is, the Figure immediately behind the Chair of *Osiris*, which represents a Female standing erect, with Wings consisting also of three Rows of Plumage, one pointed downwards, and covering the Thigh, as is very often seen on the *Mensa Isiaca*, and the other raised and extended: In her Hand, above the Wing, is a small Sickle; and on her Head she supports a Globe of a pale Colour, placed in the midst of a Crescent, or Horns. This Figure seems evidently to be another Representation of *Isis*, the *Grecian Ceres*, and *Proserpine*; for *Proserpine*, as *Porphyry* says, is represented with Horns, as well as *Bacchus*, and is said to accompany *Osiris* or *Pluto* into the Region of the Shades. This Figure also is a combined Symbol both of the Earth and Moon, and agrees very well with the *Egyptian* Theology; for by the Crescent, and small pale Globe, she is both *Proserpine*, and the *Moon*; but by the female Form, and the Sickle, in a *physical* Sense, she is *Isis*, or the *Earth*. As to the first, we have an express Demonstration thereof in *Plutarch*, who says, "That the *Egyptians* assert *Isis* to be no other than the *Moon*, and her Images shew her so to be, she being represented with Horns, to typify her different Phases." Besides, there are two Figures like this on the Mummy, with Wings covering the Thigh, to be seen on the *Mensa Isiaca*, or Table of *Isis*, with a Crescent and Horns, both of which *Pignorius* explains to be designed as Symbols of the *Moon*.

Beyond this complex Figure of the *Moon* and *Earth* is another Female, designed for one of the *Agatho-dæmones* of the *Egyptians*, or what they call the *Genii Averrunci*, whose Office it was to drive away Evil; wherefore, she holds in one Hand the Amulet for Conservation, and in the other the Diviner's Rod. Now there seems to be two Proofs on the Mummy, that most of the fore-mentioned Scene is laid in the Region of *Hades*, or the Shades. First, at the Entrance, where the *Balances*, and Good and Evil

Evil Genii appear, there is the Figure of a voracious female Animal, as appears by her Tears, sitting on a Basis, whose under Square is of the same red and fiery Colour with the other Representations of the Sun on the Mummy. The Mouth is wide open; and she seems in the Action of Howling; and appears plainly to be the same whom the *Greeks* and *Romans* afterward called *Persephone*, and *Proserpine*, and whom *Pluto* is feigned to have ravished, and carried into *Hell*: Before this female howling Animal is represented something like a Goose's Feather, or a Pen, placed at the Entrance into the Region of the Shades. It is surprising, how well the whole of this agrees with the Mythology of the Ancients; and how strong an Evidence it is, (amongst many others on this Mummy) that the *Greeks*, and the rest of the *Pagan* World, had their Theology from the ancient *Egyptians*: For in the first Place, *Proserpine* is here represented like a female Animal; and in the same Manner did the *Greeks* represent their *Cerberus*, or *Hecate*, only they drew her with three Heads. This, by the by, gives room to judge, that in all Probability this Mummy is more ancient than the Fable itself of the *Grecian Cerberus*; and that the *Cerberus* of the *Greeks* and *Romans* was *Canis* in the female Sense, that is, a Bitch, is plain from that Passage of *Euripides* in *Plutarch*, *Hecates Simulacrum Luciferae fies Canis*. *Natalis Comes* says, she was called *canicida* & *carnivora Dea*, a Dog-killing and Flesh-devouring Goddess, because Dogs were sacrificed to her; and as to her Howling, there is one remarkable Passage in *Apuleius* to explain it; for, in asking the Goddess *Isis* in what Manner she would be pleased to be invoked, he demanded, amongst many other Names appropriated to her Divinity, whether she chose to be called upon by that awful one of *Proserpine*, terrible on Account of her nightly Howlings; *seu nocturnis Ululatibus horrenda Proserpina*: And *Sophocles* observes, that *Proserpine* obtained Howlings and Tearing of the Hair, &c. to be performed in Honour of her, in-

stead of Sacrifices, for *Proserpine* was the Queen of the Dead; whence *Horace* says;

Mista Senum ac Juvenum densantur Funera;
nullum Sæva Caput Proserpina fugit.

As to the Pen, placed before that female Animal, upon the Mummy, it is certain that the Ancients (as Mr. *Lloyd* observes) were of Opinion, that *Proserpine* wrote down, on the Posts of the Gates of *Hell*, the Names of all those who were summoned out of this Life into another World; for which Reason *Statius* says;

Nec dum illam aut trunca lustraverate obvia
Taxo
Eumenis, aut furvo Proserpina poste notarat.

And again in his *Sylvarum*, ii. 6.

—Obliquoque notat *Proserpina vultu*.

The next Proof, that the *Greeks* and *Romans* derived their Theology from the *Egyptians*, is the plain Image of *Proserpine* in an human Form, with other characteristical Marks, painted on the Mummy, over the Place where the Balance, and the good and bad Principles are. Some of these are so curious, as to deserve very well the Attention of the Learned; if we consider, that over the first Part of this symbolical Picture, where the dead Body is laid stretched out upon a Bier, *Isis*, with a *Tutulus* or Turret upon her Head, seems to be drawn in the Character of the Goddess, whom the *Greeks* afterwards called *Cybele*, or the *Earth*; but over the other Part of the Picture, where the Deceased is represented as judged, and consequently the Soul is supposed to be arrived at the Place of its eternal Abode, the Image of *Proserpine* is placed, in an human Form. This seems to intimate, according to the Mythology of the *Egyptians*, that when the Deceased was in the State of Death, before Judgment, and consequently was supposed not to have passed over in the *Barris*, or Boat of *Charon* (which mythological Story,

Story, *Diodorus* tells us, the *Greeks* took from the *Egyptians* they reckoned him in the Dominion of *Cybele*; wherefore the Image of that Goddess is represented above the Corpse or the Bier, as we have before observed. But when it is supposed to be arrived at the Place of its eternal Abode, in the Regions of *Pluto* and *Proserpine*, the Figure of that Goddess is represented above it in an human Form, and with all her characteristic Marks, whereof it is proper to give a particular Description in this Place.

On her Head she carries a Vessel, which is to be supposed transparent, and within which appears something of a long & Form, and an Orange Colour, with a Speck or two of Green in the middle; which Vessel may probably be what the *Greeks* afterwards called *Coros*: And as to the Figure of an Orange Colour, it may be designed to represent the mutilated Sceptre so often mentioned by *Perphyry*, when he treats of the *Egyptian* Mythology, in his Description of *Proserpine*. This mutilated Sceptre, he says, typifies *Pluto's* Government of the Shades; as may also the green Specks, the Seeds of Vegetables, or Grain latent within the Bottom of the Earth. Hence was it that the *Egyptians* feigned that *Isis*, or the Earth, locked up the privy Parts of *Osiris* within a Chest; and the same Author, in treating of the symbolical Images of *Proserpine*, says very expressly, "That she carries in them the Symbols of young Plants proceeding from their Seeds on Earth," which Seeds are the very Representation on this Mummy. The same Author says also, that *Proserpine* is that preserving Power of the Seeds; and *Pluto* that Sun, which, in the Winter Solstice, roves amongst the hidden and unknown Regions under the Earth. Hence, continues he, comes the Fable of the Rape of *Proserpine*, whom *Ceres* eagerly follows into the Region of the Shades.

From all these Passages we have good Reason to judge, that the Vessel on the Head of *Proserpine* upon the Mummy, is that mystical *Coros*, or sacred Chest of the *Egyptians*,

and the Figure within it a Symbol of that mutilated Sceptre, or the Privities of *Osiris*, so frequently mentioned by ancient Authors. Its Orange Colour is the same with whatever is designed to represent Flesh on the Mummy, and very much the Complexion of the *Egyptians*: nay, the same Author adds, in express Terms, that the *Egyptians* typify the Efficacy of the Seeds of the Earth, under the Form of a *Præputium*, which *Proserpine* carries about with her. This was one of the Mysteries revealed, in the Ceremony of Initiation or Admission into the *Adyta* of the *Egyptian* Priests, when, it was proposed to them as a Condition necessary to be comply'd with, previous to their Entrance, to take upon them the Stigma of this mutilated Member, by Circumcision; and *Clement Alexandrinus* says, that *Pythagoras* was circumcised, in order to be initiated, and to learn the mystical Doctrine of the *Egyptians*. Hence came the Procession of the *Egyptian* *Bacchantes*, in which the sacred Chest of *Osiris* was carried before them; it is also to be imagined, that hence came the *Totaphors* of the *Jews*, mentioned by *Stalger*, as derived from the *Egyptians*; and *Samuel Petitus*, describing some of these Amulets, says, they were in the Form of a *Pennis*, of a bak'd Clay, and were worn by the Way of *Bulæ*, hung to a String. He adds, that God prohibited the *Jews* from wearing them any longer, as they had done in *Egypt*; wherefore he exchanged them into Amulets of another Nature, as *Fronlets*, &c. From hence also was the mystical Worship of the *Phallos*, amongst the *Macedonians*, *Celæbians*, *Syræans*, *Phœnicians*, and *Greeks*, and indeed amongst every Nation who took their Religion from the *Egyptians*: From hence also was the Origin of Circumcision amongst many of those People.

As these are all the Particulars relating to the symbolical Picture on the Coffin, it may not be amiss to make one Remark thereon, which may, perhaps, be of some Consequence; it is this: That it is worth examining, whether by this whole Representation,

of the *Egyptian Pluto*, *Proserpine*, the *Genii*, the *dead Body* on the *Bier*, the *opposite good and bad Principles*, the *Balance*, &c. any Thing more was designed than an Allusion to the particular Ceremony, or Custom, among the *Egyptians*, of judging their Dead, before they were deemed worthy of Burial, as is fully related by *Diodorus Siculus*; or whether it be an Evidence, as far as the Nature of the Thing will admit, that the Whole was designed as an Allusion to the Belief the *Egyptians* entertained at the Time of embalming this Mummy, of the *Immortality of the Soul*, of a future Existence after Death, and of an *intellectual Judge*, who was to pronounce the Deceased worthy, or unworthy of *eternal Bliss*, according to the Tenour of his Conduct upon Earth. This is a Question to be determined by the Learned, till which is done, the latter Opinion seems most eligible. For, that the *Egyptians* believed the Soul's Existence in a separate State after Death, and that those of good Men were to live, after their Decease, in the Society of the Just, is evident from a very remarkable Passage in *Diodorus Siculus*, where, in mentioning the Ceremonies used at the Funerals of the *Egyptians*, he says, that
 “ After speaking the Panegyrick of the De-
 “ ceased, and enumerating his praise-worthy
 “ Actions and Virtues, they pray to the
 “ Gods of the infernal Shades, to receive
 “ him into the Society of the Righteous,
 “ and admit him into the Enjoyment of their
 “ eternal Happiness. They give out, con-
 “ tinues he, that the Person buried is to
 “ live with the Righteous, in the Regions
 “ of *Dis* or *Pluto*.” These Passages are very express, as to the *Egyptians* believing that the Souls of good Men were to exist in a separate State, in the Society of the Blessed; and that they had a Notion of eternal Happiness. It appears evidently that they entertained this Belief, as well as that physical and fabulous Opinion, that *Pluto* and the Sun roved in the Winter in the Region of the Shades. That they believed the *Immortality of the Soul* before the Time of *Herodotus*, is

very plain from a Passage in that Author, where he not only says, that the *Egyptians* believed that Doctrine, but that they were the *first* who asserted it; in which, however, we fancy he is mistaken, unless he only meant that they were the first of the Heathens who embraced that Opinion; which, however is not certain.

Below the emblematical Picture are ten different Compartments bounded by yellow Stripes or Borders, wherein are certain sacred Characters of the *Egyptians*. Two Sorts of emblematical Figures are contained within these Compartments; of which some seem to be certain of the *Egyptian* Deities, and others there *Genii Averrunci*, or the *Hemphrei Numinis Stipatores*, already mentioned, that is, the Guardian-attendants of their God *Osiris*. These Figures are both Male and Female, and the Fields wherein they stand are of three Colours, Green, Blue, and Red.

In the first Compartment within a green Field, on the Right-side of the Mummy, is the Figure of a Man, in whose Left-hand seems to be a Volume or Roll of *Papyrus*, or *Egyptian Paper*, whereof we shall speak hereafter, like that in the Hand of the sacred Scribes in the symbolical Picture already explained. On his Neck is the Head of an *Ibis*, which sort of Figures being frequent amongst the *Egyptians*, the *Greeks* called them in general *Ibimorphoi*; and on the top of his Head is what may be presumed to be a Flame, issuing from beneath a small Globe: From all which Circumstances we take this Figure to have been designed for a Representation of the *Egyptian Hermes*. As to his being drawn with the Head of an *Ibis*, the Figure of *Hermes* was commonly painted in the same Manner, which might be only to denote that his Person was esteemed sacred, as has been observed before, in explaining of the Figure of the chief Embalmer; and as to the Flame issuing from under the Globe, it is frequently to be seen over the Heads of sacred Persons, on the *Mensa Isidea*, and was probably designed to symbolize a Spirit.

as the Globe, or Star above it, might be to typify his *Apotheosis*, or being ranked amongst the Gods; and a Volume of *Papyrus* in his Hand, to represent his Invention of Letters, and Eloquence. For *Hermes*, says *Diodorus Siculus*, was admired above all others, on account of his Eloquence; and because of his Invention of Letters, Astronomy, and Harmony, was ranked amongst the Gods.

In the opposite Compartment, which is likewise Green, stands another Figure, on whose Shoulders is the Head of the *Hierax*, or Hawk, holding in one Hand a *Baculus*, or Wand, which some have imagin'd the Diviner's Rod; and in the other the *Phylacterion*, or Amulet for Preservation. Such Figures as this, which seems to be designed as another Representation of one of those *Stipatores*, or Guardian-genii of *Osiris*, so often before mentioned, the *Greeks* afterwards called *Hierocephaloi*; but they were termed *Tbausti* by the *Egyptians*, according to *Wilkins*, as has been already observed on another Occasion.

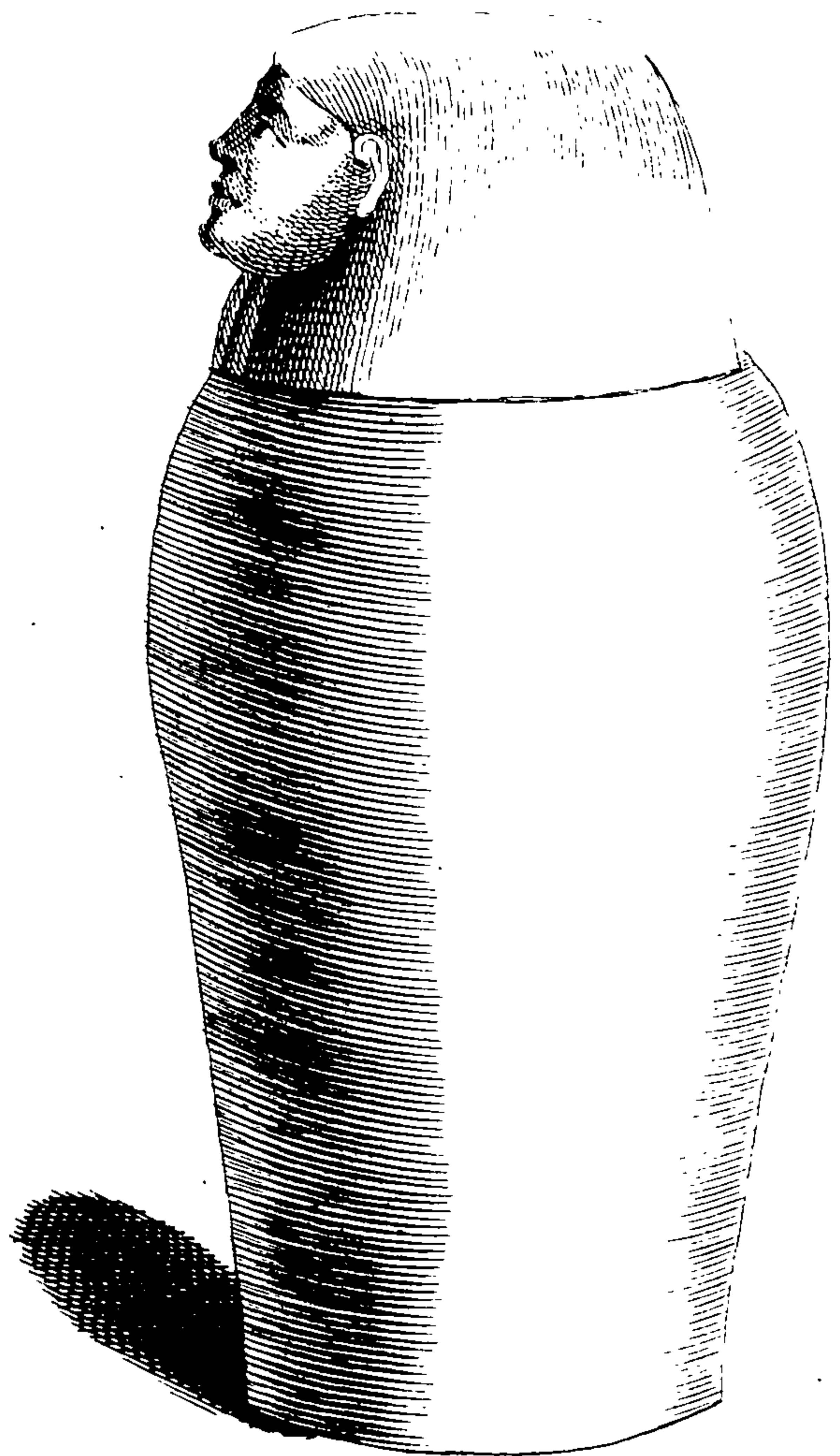
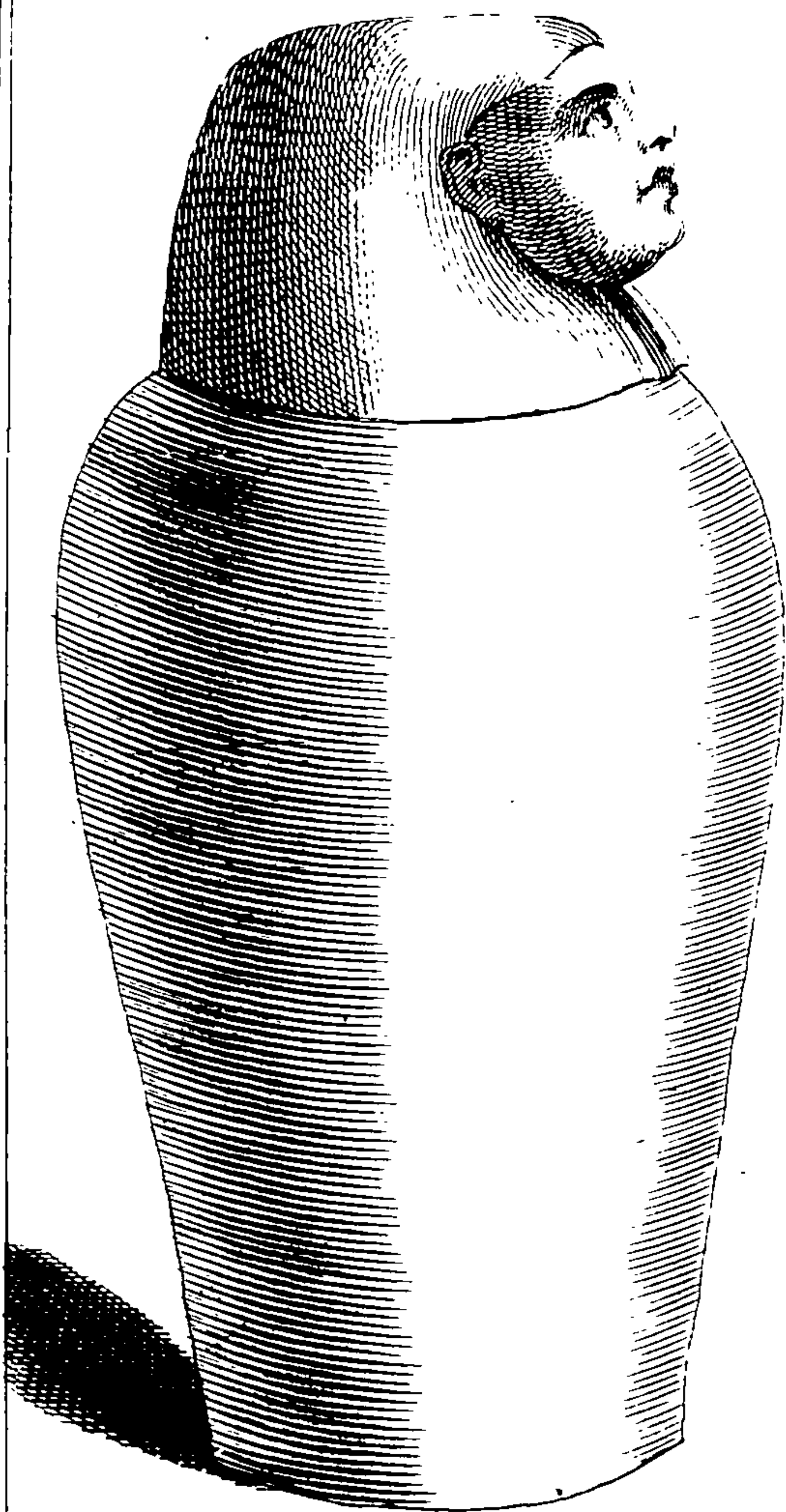
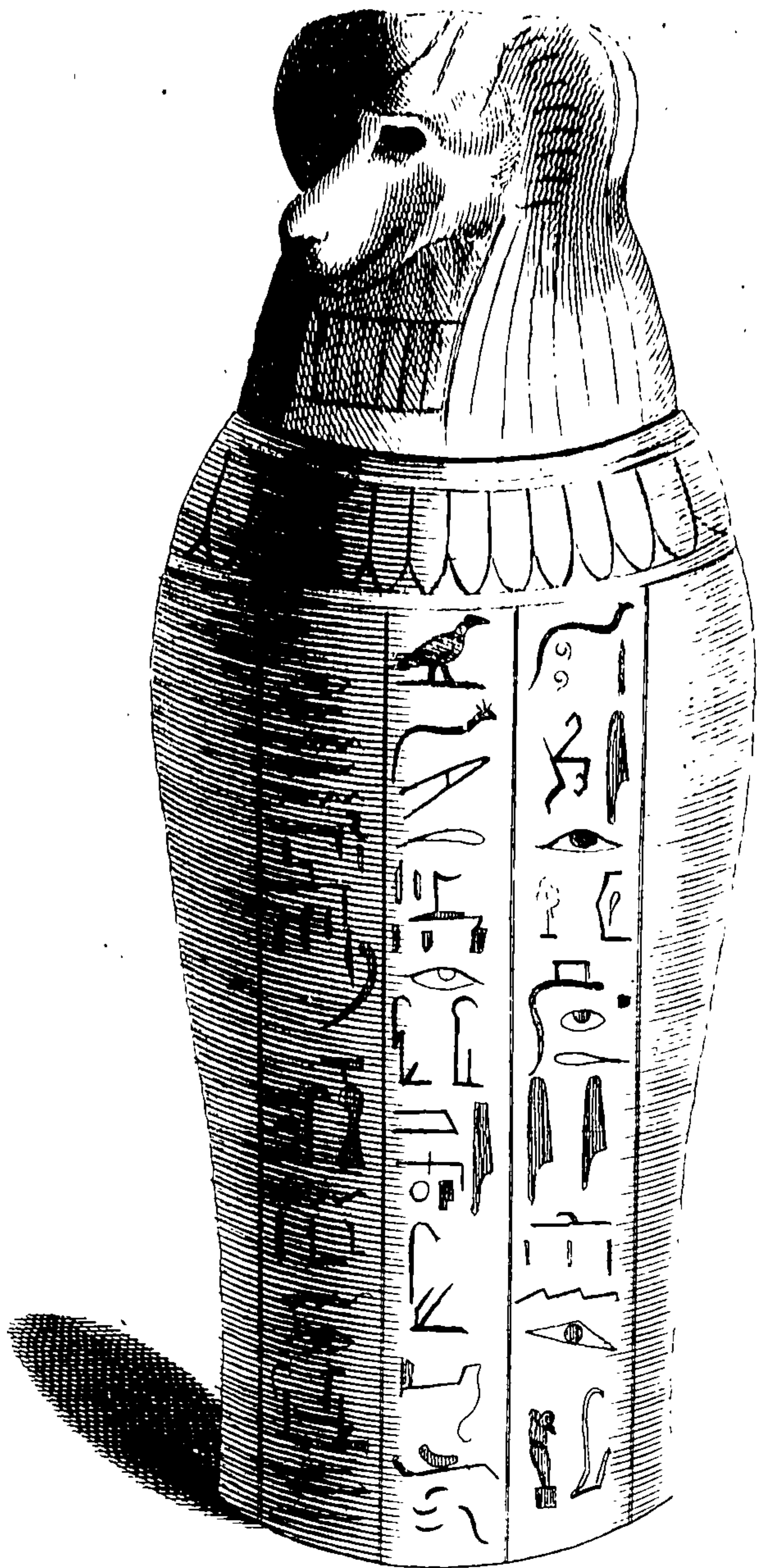
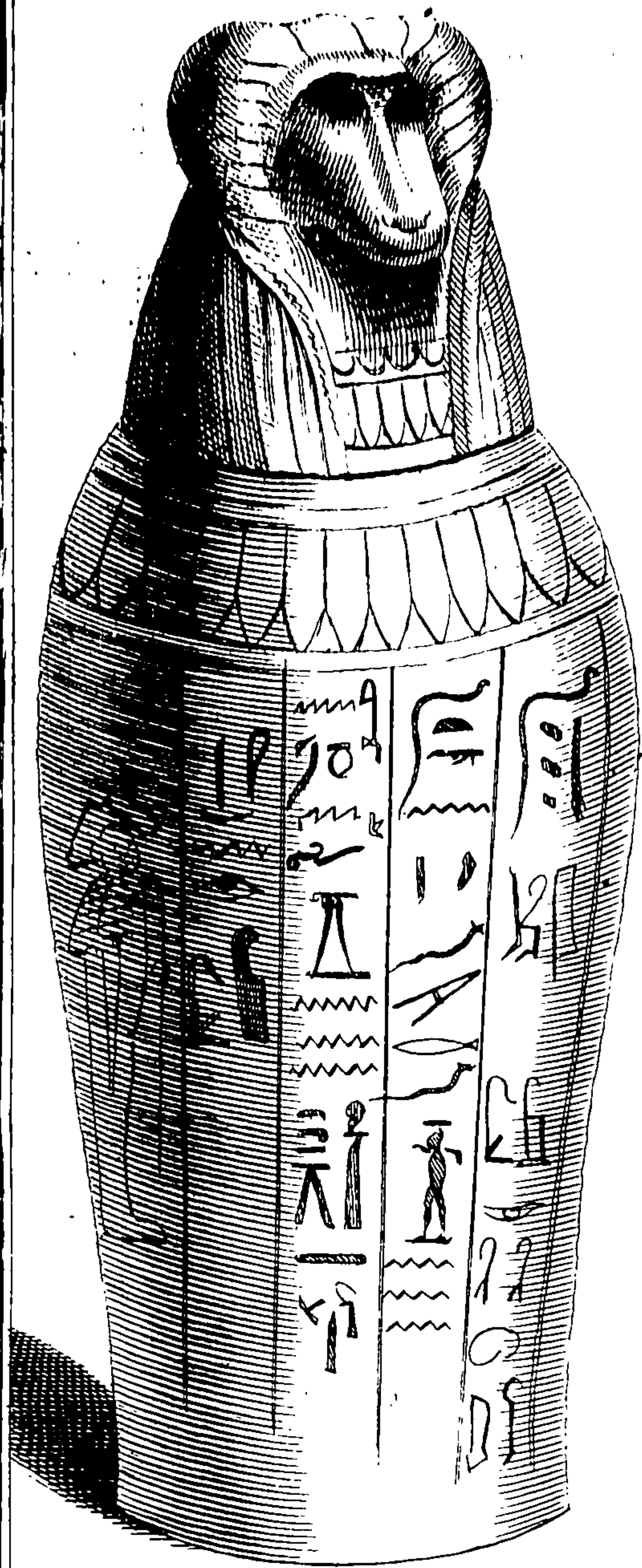
On the other Side, in a Compartment of deep Blue, under *Hermes*, is another human Figure, with the Head of a Wolf, holding in one Hand the same Kind of *Baculus*, already mentioned, and also the *Phylacterion*, whence it may likewise be reckoned another of those Guardian-genii beforementioned of *Hemphtha*, or *Osiris*. Over-against this, within a red Compartment, altogether of an human Shape, and of the Male Kind, holding in one Hand a *Bacbus*, and in the other a *Phylacterion*, of the same Sort as those of the others.

On the opposite Side to the last is an human Figure with a Ram's Head, holding in one Hand the same Sort of *Baculus*, as he does in the other the same Kind of *Phylacterion*, or Amulet. Over his Head is a Flame, issuing from under a small Star, or Globe; from all which Circumstances this Figure seems evidently to be a Representation of the *Egyptian Jupiter Hammon*; and perhaps the most compleat one of any that can be produced. *Herodotus* says, the *The-*

bans sacrifice a Ram every Year, on the Festival of *Jupiter Hammon*, and flaying off the Skin, cloath the Statue of *Jupiter* therewith: And, in another Place, he says expressly, that the *Egyptians* represent his Statue or Image with a Ram's Face: He adds, that the *Ammonians* had this Image from the *Egyptians*, of whom they were a Colony; and that the *Egyptians* called *Jupiter* by the Name of *Ammonus*. The Flame over his Head, as we have observed elsewhere, was probably designed to denote him a Spirit; and the Globe, or Star, to represent his *Apotheosis*, or being ranked amongst the Gods; so that the Figure of *Ammonus*, and the other of the *Egyptian Hermes* already described, are the only two Deities, typified amongst those *Genii Averrunci*, and *Agatho Demons* already mentioned.

On the lateral Views of the Coffin are ten more Compartments, five on each Side, which contain as many Representations of these watchful *Genii*, and Guardian-angels, both Male and Female, as appears by their Habits, each of which has an *Anubian Staff*, and a *Phylacterion* in its Hands. They are all entirely human Figures, excepting one, which has the Head of a Wolf; which, nevertheless, may also be judged one of the Guardian *Genii* of *Hemphtha*, or *Osiris*.

Immediately under the twenty Compartments is a Representation of two square Buildings of a green Colour, in each of which is a Gate painted red. Over each of these Buildings is the Figure of a Wolf, or Fox couchant, of a Jet-black Colour, over whose Neck is the *Flagellum*, or Flail of *Osiris*: All these last Particulars are inverted. These Buildings seem another Representation of the Domain of *Pluto*, in the Region of the Shades; as do the Wolves another physical Symbol of the Sun: With Regard to this it is evident that several Nations, who took their Religion from the *Egyptians*, stiled the Sun, or *Apollo Lycius*, which is derived from the *Greek Lycos*, a Wolf. *Macrobius* avers, that *Cleanthes* asserts, that they called *Apollo*, or the Sun, *Lycius*, and assigns a physical



Scale of Inches



E. G. delin.

Hullett Sculp

This exact Representation of some curious Egyptian Urns is humbly
 presented to the President & Members of the Royal Society

physical Reason for their so doing. The same Author says, that the City of *Lycopolis*, near the *Egyptian Thebes*, is a Testimony that the Sun was called *Lycos*, both *Apollo* and the Wolf being worshipped there with equal Devotion; both being called by the same Name *Lycos*, and the Sun being adored in both. He adds, that the Wolf, by the Sharpness of its Sight, eludes the Darkness of the Night; *Ac plurimum Oculorum Acie cernens tenebras Noctis evincit*. Besides, nothing seems more convincing that these Wolves were designed as Symbols of the Sun, than the *Flagellum* of *Osiris*, which is represented, in a Manner, as joined to them, and they seem to be those Animals which *Porphyry* calls *Anubides*. He says, that *Pluto* kept such Animals by him in the infernal Regions; and that their Office was to guard the Grain, which had been lodged in the Earth, from perishing; and that, it being impregnated by the solar Rays, *Pluto* gives it a Power of being produced, and brought to Maturity. This solar Heat is, perhaps, represented by the two red fiery Doors, that lead into the two square Buildings, over which the Wolves, or *Anubides* lie watching. These two Dogs, or Wolves are termed Symbols of the two Hemispheres by *Clemens Alexandrinus*.

What has been already mentioned being the Particulars represented on the Front and Sides of the Coffin, all that now remains is to give an Account of the third Part thereof, where is to be seen the Figure of a Female standing erect, with long black Hair flowing down her Neck and Shoulders. Divers Parts of her Body are naked, as her Neck, Shoulders, Breast, Arms, and Feet, only over each Shoulder appears somewhat like a Tippet, of a red Colour, with yellow and dark Borders, fastened to a Girdle, which is just below her Breast. From the Girdle to the Middle of the Leg she is dressed in a Habit of divers Colours, Yellow, Red, and Green. Something like Bracelets are round her Arms and Ankles; and her Feet, which are without Sandals, are close

to each other. She stands upon a Basis, made, as it were, of Beams of various Colours; and round her Head is a Diadem of deep Red, within a Yellow Border, which hangs down to the back Part of her Head. She holds in her Hands *Vittæ*, or Ribbons of a darkish Red Colour, and from the Diadem issues a short Pole or Stem, which, being fastened to the said Diadem, supports an Half-globe, or Disk, on which an *Hierax*, or Hawk perches, and near which the Figure of a Sickle, or *Messoria* is plainly to be seen. The Hawk is of a Green Colour, only the Tail is tipped with Red, not unlike a Parrot. The Legs and Talons are Red, and the Eyes of the Colour of Fire; and from over the Head issues somewhat like a Flame, in the Middle whereof is a little Globe, or Star, resembling those which have been already described; from the Top of the Head also rise two large Feathers. Behind this Hawk is represented a *Flagellum*, or Flail, like that in the Hand of the Images of *Osiris*; between which, and the Neck of the Hawk, are divers *Hiero-grammata*, or sacred Characters, contained between two Lines.

These being all the Particulars represented on the Back of the Coffin, let us next examine what Account can be given thereof from ancient Authors. First, As to the Female Figure's being dressed in a Habit of divers Colours, with the Legs and Feet close to each other, there is one Passage in *Porphyry* which accounts for it in a very satisfactory Manner; for he informs us very plainly, that this Figure is a Symbol of the visible World. Speaking of the *Egyptians*, "They symbolize the World (says he) by
" an human Figure, with the Feet close to
" each other, and from the upper Part
" downwards clothed in a Garment of di-
" vers Colours, and supporting on its Head
" a Golden Globe." Immediately afterwards he accounts for these three particular Circumstances in the Symbols; by the Feet being close to each other, he says, is typified the World's never changing Place; by the
Globe,

Globe, its Rotundity, or orbicular Form; and by the Garment of divers Colours, the various Nature of the Stars. This Description does not differ from the Figure on the Coffin, in any Respect, excepting the Golden Globe. *Plutarch* also represents the Habit of *Isis* to be party-coloured, for which he assigns this physical Reason: "The Garment of *Isis* (says he) is of divers Colours, because her Power operates upon Matter, which changes into, and contains every Thing; Light, Darkness, Day, Night, Fire, Water, the Beginning, and End." But, amongst all the Passages in ancient Authors, which illustrate this Particular, of the Garment of *Isis* being of divers Colours, no one describes it so circumstantially as *Apuleius*, who, speaking of the Manner in which the Queen of Heaven, that is, the *Isis* of the Egyptians, appeared to him, as has been already observed, describes her Dress as follows: *Multicolor, Byllo tenui prætecta; nunc albo Candore lucida, nunc croceo Hore lutea, nunc rosso rubore flammata, Et que longe longeque etiam metum confusabat Obtutum.* This Description is so very like the Figure represented on the very Coffin, that it shews plainly the Ancients have been very exact in the mythological Representations of their Deities, so as to make them agree in every Point with the Descriptions given them. As to the *Vitta*, or Ribbons in the Hands of the Female Figure, we think *Vesta*, who was the same amongst the Greeks and Romans, as *Isis* amongst the Egyptians, is described by *Virgil* with such *Vitta* in her Hands.

—*Manibus Vittas, Vestemque potentem,
Æternæque Adytis effert penetralibus Ignem.*

In Effect, it is very apparent, from the magnificent Epithets given her, what an exalted Opinion the Ancients had of *Isis*, as the Goddess of Nature; to prove this, we need only recite her Titles enumerated by *Apuleius*, and taken from the Ancients: He styles her *Retem natura Parens, Elementorum*

antem Domina, sæculorum progenies initialis, summa Numinum, Regina Mænum, prima Consulium; Deorum Dearumque facies uniformis.

We have already observed, that from the Diadem about the Head of our Figure there issues a short Pole, with an Half-globe, or Disk on the Top of it, upon which the Egyptian Hawk perches. This Disk, which is of a green Colour, seems plainly to typify the Earth's Hemisphere, as does the Hawk, standing on it, the Sun. The Egyptians represented them in this Manner very properly, because the Sun never illuminates or warms above one Hemisphere, or half of the Earth at a time. The Thighs of the Hawk are of a Yellow or Flame-colour, and seem design'd to represent Light, as the Legs and Talons, reaching to, and grasping the Half-globe, are red, to represent Heat; for both Light and Heat proceed from the Sun, as has been already observ'd; and both constantly enlighten and warm one half of the Earth. It is farther to be remark'd, in general, over the whole Mummy, that where there is any Representation of the Sun, the Colours are Yellow and red, to symbolize Flame and Fire, or Light and Heat; the Yellow being constantly above the Red, because Flame or Light is always seen above Fire.

To proceed, that the Egyptians drew *Osiris*, or the Sun, under the Figure of an Hawk, appears certain from almost every ancient Writer of their Affairs; and *Eusebius* says, the Hawk is dedicated to the Sun, because it is the Symbol of Light and Spirit, by Reason of the Swiftmess of its Motion, and soaring aloft, whence the Light comes: *Horus Apollo* also, speaking of the Hawk, amongst other Reasons, says, It seems to be a proper Type of the Sun, above all other Birds, because it looks stedfastly upon the Sun, without having its Eyes dazzled with its Brightness: He adds, That the Egyptians frequently draw *Osiris* under the Figure of an Hawk, because that Bird surpasses all others in Quickness of Sight, and the Rapidity of its Flight.

These

These Authorities, we hope, are sufficient to evince, that the Hawk over the Head of the Figure, on the Hind-part of the Coffin, is a Representation of *Osiris*, as symbolizing the Sun; and what seems the more to confirm this are the red fiery Eyes, which, *Macrobius* assures us, is a characteristical Mark of that Luminary; *Ut Sol patenti igneque Oculo Terram Conspectu perpetuo, atque infatigabili cernit*. But the greatest Demonstration of any, that the Hawk here was designed as a Symbol of the Sun, is the Flame-coloured Globe on its Head, resembling that on the Head of *Isis*, under the Ephod or Breast-plate. Now that the *Egyptians* represented the Sun by a Circle, and also by a fiery Disk, is very evident from ancient Authors. *Clemens Alexandrinus* likewise says, when the *Egyptians* draw the Figure of the Sun, they do it by describing a Circle; and the Poet *Nonnus* represents the Sun, according to the *Egyptian* Notion, as riding round the Heavens in the Form of a fiery Disk. *Hier. Alexander* also quotes an ancient Poet, who describes the Sun thus; *Sic Apollo, deinde Liber sic videtur ignifer; Ambo sunt Flammi creati, profatque ex Ignibus*.

All the Representations then, on the Front and Sides of this Coffin, seem chiefly to be so many physical Symbols, typifying the different Powers and Properties of their chief Deity *Osiris*, or the Sun, as acting in and upon the different Parts of Nature; and what is on the Back thereof is a complex Figure of both *Osiris*, and *Isis*, symbolizing all Nature in general. What is most curious upon the Whole is the *Flagellum*, or Flail of *Osiris*, and the *Falx Messoria*, or Sickle of *Isis*, painted near their mutual Figures, being the characteristical Marks; or rather Trophies of their mutual Inventions, that is, of the Use of Grain, and Agriculture; the one being the Instrument for reaping, and the other for threshing the Corn; Inventions for which, amongst many others, they were both deify'd; and Inventions to which Religion, Arts, Learning, and whatever else is valuable amongst Mankind, owe their Rise.

Having thus endeavour'd to explain the Hieroglyphical Figures on the Coffin before described, and represented in the Prints above; we shall next proceed to offer some few Conjectures, towards explaining those, on another Monument of *Egyptian* Antiquity no less curious; being the Mummy, or embalmed Body, of some Person, who seems to have been of a considerable Rank, as it is reasonable to suppose; from the Magnificence of the Ornaments wherewith it is embellished. It may also be judg'd to be of the Female Sex, because there is not any Thing like a Beard to be seen, either on the Mask over the Face of the Mummy, or on the Face which is represented upon the Coffin; notwithstanding this Circumstance of its having, or not having a Beard, it may be presum'd to be a *Criterion*, or Test, whereby the Sex of the embalmed Person is to be distinguished.

This was also found in the Burial-places of the *Egyptians*, called *Catacombs*, in the Fields of *Sakara*, near *Grand Cairo*, and was brought over to *England* about fourteen Years ago. It consists, as well as the other, of two distinct Parts; the Mummy, or Body itself; and the *Loculus feretus*, or Coffin, wherein it is inclosed. The Body is in Length five Feet five Inches, including its Bandages, and in Breadth one Foot four Inches, if measured across the Shoulders. It lies within its ancient *Loculus*, or Coffin, which is made of the true Sycamore, or wild Fig-tree, and is wrapt up, as all other Mummies are, in vast Numbers of Linen Bandages. The whole thereof has been, and a considerable Part of it still is, in a great Measure cover'd with an outward Garment of Linen; plaister'd over pretty much after the same Manner as Painters prime their Canvas; on which divers emblematical Representations of the Deities of the ancient *Egyptians* are painted, with a Sort of Water-colours; which liquid Colouring soak'd into the Body of the Plaister, is Painting in *Fresco* does on plaister'd Walls. This Mummy, which is undoubtedly of ve-

ry great Antiquity, by the Injuries of Time, and perhaps by the rough Usage of those who found it, has suffer'd greatly in the Ornaments about the Head, Neck, and Shoulders.

The first Thing worthy of Notice is the Face, which is hidden with a Cover of plaster'd Linen, as is also the Head, and the rest of the Body. Over the Face, above the plaster'd Linen, are some Remains of Gilding, which shew that that Art has been of very great Antiquity. What remains of this Gilding is clear and distinguishable; and over it has been painted the Form of the Features; the Eyes and Eye-brows being still very discernable; though the Gilding, in some Places, and the Lines of the Nose and Mouth are almost gone. On the Chin is to be seen the Figure of a Globe, of a Red fiery Colour, from whence issue Wings, which encompass the Sides of the Face: This fiery-colour'd Globe was probably design'd to typify the Sun; as has been observ'd before, in our Remarks on the like Figure on the Coffin, the Wings being added, as a proper Emblem of its Velocity.

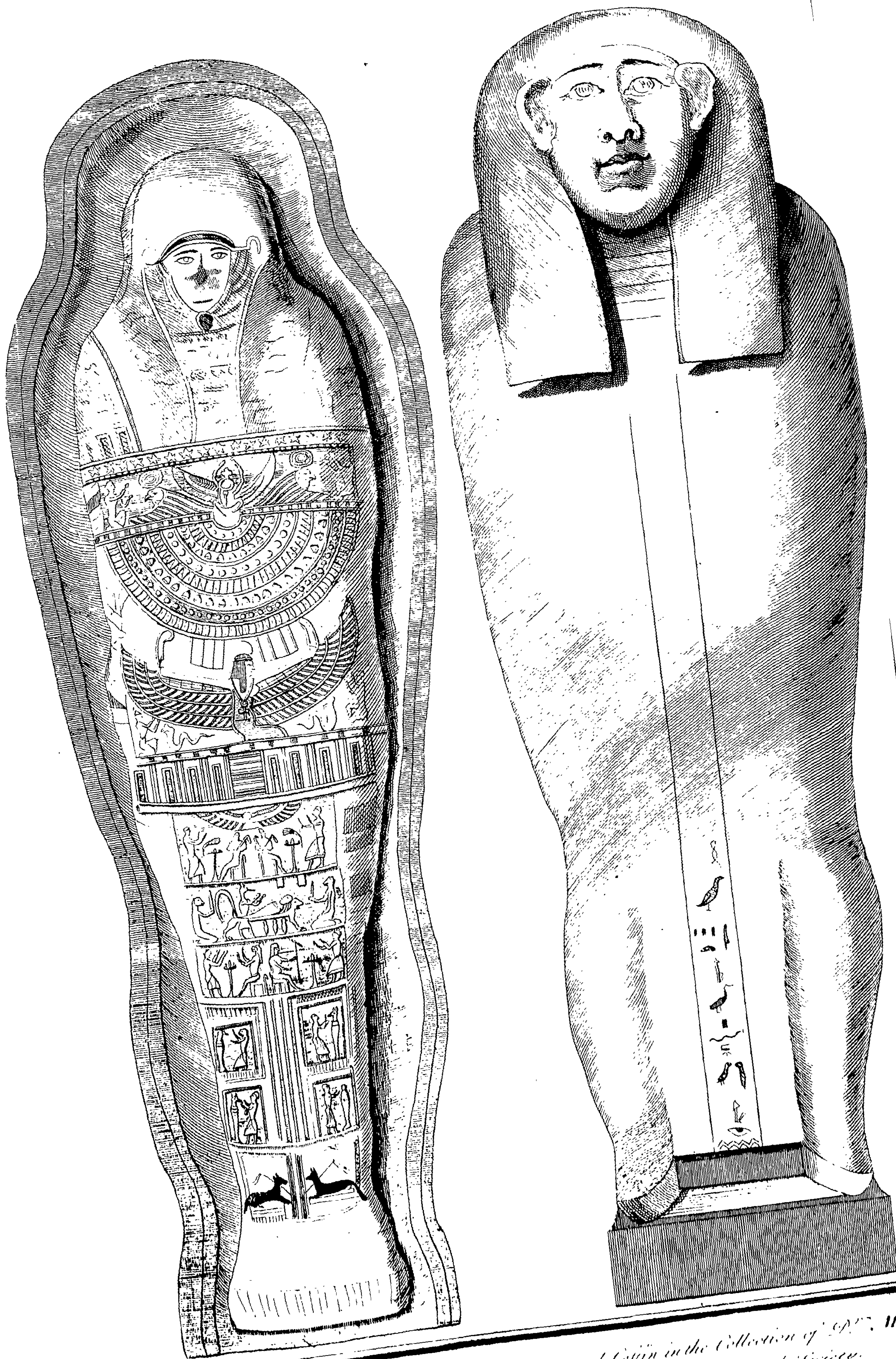
Now, that the ancient *Egyptians* painted this Image of the Sun with Wings is evident, from a very remarkable Passage, to this Purpose, in *Macrobius*; his Colours, he says, are various, Blue, and Light-colour'd; (and indeed so they seem to be on this Mummy) the Blue being, as he informs us, a physical Symbol of the lower, as the Light-colour is of the upper Hemisphere. The Passage is as follows; *Hoc argumentum Ægyptii lucidius absolvunt, ipsius Solis simulacra pinnata fingentes, quibus color apud illos non unus est, alterum enim caerulea specie alterum clara fingunt; ex his clarum superum, & caeruleum inferum vocant: inferi autem nomen Soli datur, cum in inferiori hemisphærio, id est, hyemalibus signis, cursum suum peragit; superum partem Zodiaci ambit æstivam.* The same Author asserts, that these Wings are an Emblem of Velocity; for, in observing that the Ancients believ'd the Sun and Mercury were one and the same Deity, he says,

Præter hoc Mercurium pro Sole censeri multa documenta sunt; primum, quod simulacra Mercurii pinnatis alis adornantur, quæ res monstrat Solis velocitatem.

The next Thing that fairly offers itself to the Eye is a Zone, or Girdle across the Breast, full of white Stars, painted on an azure Field; which, very probably, may have been design'd for an Emblem of the Starry Region, being perfectly agreeable to the physical and astronomical Religion of the ancient *Egyptians*. Accordingly, the Lord *Herbert* observes, that the Ancients ascrib'd a Sort of Divinity to the Stars; and indeed the *Egyptians* did so, in a particular Manner; besides which, they were the Inventors of Astronomy: And *Eusebius*, from *Porphry*, says, that the *Egyptians* assign'd the Cause of every Thing in Nature to the Stars; and believ'd that all Things whatever were dependent on the Necessity of Fate, and the Motion of the Stars.

Beneath the Girdle of Stars is what may be call'd the third emblematical Representation, in the Midst of which is the Figure of a *Scarabeus*, or Beetle, with Wings, consisting of four Rows of Plumage, issuing from its Sides. Next to this, on each Side of the Breast of the Mummy, at the two Ends of the Ephod, or Breast-plate, is represented the Head of the *Egyptian Hawk*, like that on the Coffin before describ'd; only with this Difference, that instead of a fiery Globe over the Head of each of them, here is a Circle, plac'd within divers other Circles, towards which two human Figures, with Hands up-lifted, and kneeling, as in a Posture of Adoration, have their Faces turn'd, and seem to direct their Prayers.

In endeavouring at the Explanation of these Figures, we shall begin with the *Scarabeus*, or Beetle; which, amongst the *Egyptians*, was undoubtedly a physical Emblem of the Sun; for which Reason, that Insect was held in great Veneration amongst them. Accordingly *Plutarch* says, "The *Egyptians* honour'd the *Asp*, the *Cat*, and the *Beetle*, because they observ'd in them
" some



This Print of the Ancient Egyptian Mummy and Coffin in the Collection of J. P. HEAD, is hereby presented to the President & Fellows of the Royal Society.

“ some obscure Resemblance of the Power
“ of the Gods, like the faint Image of the
“ Sun, in Drops of Water.” Likewise *Cle-*
mens Alexandrinus, in treating of the *Ænig-*
mata, and anaglyphical Representations of
the *Egyptians*, says, that some Stars were
symboliz’d by the Figure of Serpents, be-
cause of the Obliquity of their Motions,
but the Sun by that of a *Scarabæus*. Not
to trouble our Readers with more superfluous
Quotations, on this Head, there is one
circumstantial Passage from *Porphyry*, which
plainly shews what an Opinion the *Egyptians*
had of the *Scarabæus*, or Beetle. “ Silly
“ People, (says he) being unacquainted
“ with theological Affairs, may despise the
“ *Scarabæus*; but the *Egyptians* honour that
“ Insect as a living Image of the Sun.”

As to the different Rows of Plumage,
proceeding from the Sides of the Beetle, they
seem not only to be an Emblem of the Sun’s
Velocity, like those already described on the
Face, but also of the four Elements, as
their various Colours seem to point out.
The rest of the third emblematical Repre-
sentation consists of a Circle within other
Circles, placed over the Heads of each of
the Hawks, at the two Ends of the *Hume-*
ræle, or Ephod, and which may also be an
astronomical Symbol of the Sun, placed in
the Centre of the Orbits of other Planets;
for we have already shewn, in another Place,
from the express Testimony of *Clemens Alex-*
andrinus, that the *Egyptians* typify’d the Sun
by a Circle. As to the Heads of the Hawks,
at the Ends of the *Humerale*, or *Egyptian*
Ephod, as there is a Figure of the same
Kind on the Coffin, whereof we have treat-
ed just before, we shall refer our Readers
thereunto for the Explanation; we shall on-
ly add, that as this bird was a Symbol of
God, or the Sun, among the *Egyptians*, they
held it in such great Veneration, that *Hero-*
dotus says, *Whoever killed an Ibis, or an*
Hawk, whether it was designedly, or not, he
was surely put to Death.

Now, with Regard to these various Sym-
bols of the Sun on this Mummy, no great

Pains need be taken with the Learned, to
convince them, that this glorious Luminary,
if it was not the very first, was, at least, one
of the chief, amongst the eight primitive
Gods of the *Egyptians*, mentioned by *Hero-*
dotus, *Diodorus Siculus*, and others. *Dicdo-*
rus, in particular, has a very remarkable
Passage, which seems to confirm this: It is
to this Effect. “ The most ancient of the
“ ancient *Egyptians*, contemplating the Beau-
“ ty and Order of the World around them,
“ and being struck with great Admiration
“ thereat, formed to themselves a Notion of
“ the Sun and Moon’s being two original
“ Deities, and gave them the Names of
“ *Osiris*, and *Isis*.” Nay, so exalted an O-
pinion had the *Egyptians* of the Sun, as *Por-*
phyry assures us, that some of them stiled
him, the *Creator of the Universe*; to which
we may add, that in a direct or indirect
Manner these two great Luminaries be-
came the Deities of almost every Nation
upon Earth; though they were so in a par-
ticular Manner, and from all Antiquity,
amongst the *Egyptians*. In Effect, this
seems to be confirmed, in a great Measure,
by the various Symbols of both those Pla-
nets upon this Mummy, as will be more
fully shewn in the Sequel; and this accounts
for the two human Figures on this Mummy,
kneeling, with their Hands uplifted, and
their Faces directed towards the Symbol of
the Sun, in a Posture of Adoration.

The next Thing to be observed is im-
mediately under those Particulars last de-
scribed, and is what may be called the fourth
emblematical Representation. This is the
Humerale, or Ephod, consisting of eight
semi-circular Sweeps, or Rows of Orna-
ments, two of which seem *symbolical*, and
the other six merely *ornamental*. The *sym-*
bolical Ornaments are those in the second and
fifth Rows, counting downwards, where a
green Plant appears like the *Persea*; for
which we have endeavoured to account, in
our Explanation of those of the same Na-
ture on the Coffin; to which, therefore, for
avoiding Repetition, we refer our Readers:

The others, which seem merely *ornamental*, are those, which may be judged to have been design'd to represent Pendants of precious Stones, and other Jewels; probably, not unlike those which were on the *Ephod* of the Person, who pronounced the Oracles amongst the *Jews*, by the Sparkling or not of which the Responses of those Oracles, as *Josephus* tells us, were either favourable or otherwise.

Under the *Humeral*, or *Ephod*, is the fifth emblematical Representation, which is the Figure of a Female with her Arms extended, holding in each Hand what has been judged to be a Sickle; and having about her Temples a Diadem, Part of which hangs down upon her Neck. On her Head she supports a Globe of an oval Form; her Neck and Bosom are naked; and from her Shoulders hangs a kind of Chain, at the Bottom of which is a Figure, in the Form of a Capital T, or a Cross; the upper Part of which has a sort of Handle, by way of Ring, joining to a small Space between the sides of the Chain: So that the Figure, like a Cross, hangs down her Breast, over a Green Garment, which covers the rest of her Body downwards. From below, and from the Extremities of her Arms, and from her Sides, proceed Wings, consisting of three different Rows of Plumage united, each of a various Colour, *Blue*, *Red*, and *Green*; and between her Arms, and the first Row of Plumage, is something represented with cross Partitions, which join the Wings to the Arms. In the next Place, on each Side of the Globe, that rests upon her Head, are two Squares of a whitish Colour, divided into three Partitions; and under the Wings, on both Sides of the Mummy, is painted a Serpent, whose Neck seems gross and swelled: Behind these are two other human Figures kneeling, with their Hands uplitted, and their Eyes directed towards the Globe, and the Woman's Head, in a Posture of Adoration, like the two other human Figures described a little before.

These being the Particulars of this fifth symbolical Representation, there is no great Danger of our being mistaken, in concluding this Female to be *Isis*, as well as the other, on the Front of the Coffin before described, below the *Ephod*; only with this Difference, That whereas the Globe, on the other Female's Head, is of a Form perfectly round, and also of a fiery Red Colour, and consequently is a Symbol of the *Sun*, this we are now describing is not quite round, and is pale coloured, to symbolize the *Moon*. The three Rows of Plumage represent three of the Elements, the fourth being represented by the Female herself; and on this Mummy there is a Colour substituted in the Wings, which is not to be seen on those on the Coffin, namely, *Red*, to express *Fire*; as the other *pale Green* is to represent *Water*; and the upper and lower of a *deep Blue*, the *Air*; according to *Macrobius*. The Green Garment *Isis* wears plainly shews, that she was here designed to typify the *Earth*; so that this Female is evidently a complex Symbol of the *Earth*, *Water*, *Air*, and *Fire*; besides which, by the pale Globe on her Head, as has been already observed, she is a Type of the *Moon* also. To confirm this last Particular we may refer to that Passage in *Plutarch*, mentioned before, in explaining a Figure of the same Nature upon the Coffin, where he says, *The Egyptians assert Isis to be the same with the Moon; and she is sometimes represented horned, to typify her different Phases*. The Figure, we must own, on the Female's Head, on this Mummy, is not a horned Crescent, but it is like the *Phases* of the *Moon*, either two Days before, or after the Full; that is, of a circular Form, impaired on one Side, and inclining towards an Oval. Were more Authorities wanting, to prove *Isis* the same with the *Moon*, we might refer our Readers to a great Number of ancient Authors; but to none that demonstrates it more than that Passage in *Diodorus Siculus*, where he says, as we have before observed, "The Egyptians believe the *Sun* and *Moon* to be two
eternal

“ eternal Deities, the one called *Osiris*, and
 “ the other *Isis*.” To which he adds,
 “ That these two Deities govern the Uni-
 “ verse, and are the Cause of the Growth
 “ and Increase of all Things ; dividing the
 “ Year, by their imperceptible Motions,
 “ into three different Seasons, the *Spring*,
 “ *Summer*, and *Winter*.” And again, in
 another Passage immediately following, he
 says, “ The *Egyptians* believe, that the
 “ Nature of these two Deities contributes
 “ greatly towards the Propagation of every
 “ Thing ; the *Sun* being of a fiery and spi-
 “ rituous Nature, the *Moon* of a moist one,
 “ and the *Air* a Medium between these
 “ two Extreams, by these all Things are
 “ produc’d and nourish’d ; wherefore all
 “ Nature is perfected and compleated by
 “ the *Sun* and *Moon*.”

This, undoubtedly, is sufficient to shew,
 that the *Sun*, and *Osiris*, and the *Moon*,
 and *Isis*, being taken in a physical Sense,
 were the same Deities in common the one
 with the other, and were Objects of Ado-
 ration amongst the *Egyptians*. This, per-
 haps, may be the Reason we see upon this
 Mummy two human Figures kneeling,
 with their Hands stretch’d out, and their
 Eyes turn’d towards the Globe, or *Moon*,
 on the Head of *Isis*, in the Posture of Wor-
 ship and Adoration ; in the same Manner,
 as the other two human Figures, on the
 third emblematical Representation, are a-
 doring the Symbol of the *Sun*. In so much
 that this Figure of *Isis* is intirely consistent
 with the Theology of the ancient *Egyptians*,
 in exhibiting her both as the *Earth* and *Moon*;
 the Female Figure, with the pale-colour’d
 Globe on her Head, being a complex Sym-
 bol of them both.

As to the three Rows of Plumage, com-
 posing Wings, which issue from the Female,
 they are, as we have already observ’d, like
 those of *Isis* on the Coffin before describ’d,
 Symbols of all the four Elements ; and that
 is not a little illustrated by their Colours :
 For the *Earth* is plainly typify’d by the Fi-
 gure of *Isis* herself, who was the *Earth* ;

the *Water*, by the Plumage of a pale Green-
 colour : the *Fire*, by the Feathers of a red
 fiery Colour ; and the *Air*, by the upper
 and lower Rows of deep Blue, which en-
 compassed the Whole. The next Thing to
 be consider’d is the Hair on the Head of
Isis, which indeed is very particular on this
 Figure, being likewise of a deep Blue Co-
 lour. This we imagine to have been de-
 sign’d with no less Judgment than all the
 rest, to represent the *Blue Air*, with which
 the highest Parts of the *Earth* are surround-
 ed ; that is, the Tops of the most lofty
 Mountains, which, in a figurative Sense,
 may, not improperly, be call’d the *Earth’s*
 Head.

As to the two Serpents under the Wings
 of *Isis*, this Circumstance is very singular
 and curious, as they are Symbols very often
 describ’d by the Ancients, as appropriated
 to *Isis*. Accordingly *Apuleius*, in his Vision
 of that Goddess, describes her Appearance
 with such Serpents on her Right and Left-
 Hand ; and in another Place immediately
 following he describes the very Nature of
 those Serpents, as having their Necks tur-
 gid and swell’d ; *Insurgebat Aspis, caput ex-
 tollens arduum, cervicibus late tumescentibus*.
 In the same Manner are they represented on
 this Mummy. These Serpents are some-
 times call’d *Dracones*, Dragons, and are Sym-
 bols of Health, and particularly belonging
 to *Isis*, as she was the Goddess of Health.
 Wherefore *Macrobius* says expressly, *Hinc est
 quod simulacris Aesculapii, & Salutis, draco
 jungitur, quod ad Solis naturam Lunae-
 que referuntur* ; and he immediately subjoins,
Salus autem naturae lunaris effectus est. In
 Effect the most ancient Authors agree,
 that *Isis* found out the Cures for many Dis-
 eases, long before *Apis*, King of *Egypt* ; to
 whom some have ascrib’d the Honour of
 that Invention, and he long before the *Greek*
Aesculapius. Accordingly, *Diodorus Siculus*,
 in treating of the *Egyptians*, in his first
 Book, shews very plainly, that *Isis* was the
 Inventress of many Cures, where he says,
 “ The *Egyptians* assert *Isis* to be the Inven-
 “ tress

“ tress of many Cures, for the Health of
 “ Mankind, and to have had great Know-
 “ ledge in the Science of administering Me-
 “ dicines, having been the Discoverer there-
 “ of by the Acuteness of her Wit.”

The next Particulars on this emblematical Representation are the whitish Squares on each Side of the Head of the Female, divided into three Partitions; which may be imagin'd to be an *Egyptian* Phylactery, appearing partly below the Ephod, or Breast-plate, like the *Jewish Arban Canfotb*, mention'd already in our Description of the Coffin, to which, therefore, we refer our Readers. The next Thing to be consider'd is the Figure hanging at a Chain, on the Breast of *Isis*; which, however inconsiderable it may be thought, is one of the greatest Curiosities upon this Mummy, and explains the Meaning of many other such Figures, which are to be found on *Egyptian* Monuments of equal Antiquity: But, in order to the better understanding of this, it is necessary to cite a Passage from *Plutarch*, which seems to give small Insight into it. This great Author has shewn, as has been already observ'd, that the *Egyptians* believ'd *Isis* to be the female Part of Nature; and, in Conjunction with the Influence of *Osiris*, the Cause of the Production of every Thing. To this we may add, that they believ'd her Influence local also, as they did likewise that of the *Sun*, and imagin'd it more immediately confin'd to their own Country, *Egypt*; they likewise held, “ That the Body of *Isis* “ was that Part of the Earth, which was “ water'd by the Inundations of the *Nile*,” as the same *Plutarch* plainly avers in one Passage; and as, on the retiring of the Waters, they sow'd their Corn in the Fields which had been inundated, they thereby committed the Grain for the ensuing Harvest unto the Bosom or Womb of *Isis*, who was the common Receptacle of every Thing. For this Reason, in the allegorical Fable of the Generations of their Gods, mention'd by the same Author, it was asserted, that *Isis* brought forth a male Child, weak and

lame in its Limbs, whose Name was *Horus*, or *Harpocrates*; (as the *Greeks* call'd him afterwards) by which Production, says *Plutarch*, the *Egyptians* meant the springing up of the Corn, which then is feeble and weak. He adds, That the *Egyptians* give out, that *Osiris* is bury'd at the Time they sow the Seed in the Ground, and returns to Life, when the Grain begins to shoot forth. “ But “ (continues he) as soon as *Isis*, or the Earth, “ begins to find herself impregnated with “ the Corn, she hangs an Amulet, or sacred Charm, round her Neck, on the “ sixth Day of the Month, *Phaphoi*; after “ this she brings forth *Horus*, or *Harpocrates*, “ about the Winter-solstice, who, on his “ first springing up, is but tender and imperfect; for which Reason (pursues he) “ the *Egyptians*, when their Lentils and “ Beans begin to grow up, offer him the “ Tops, or First-fruits of them.”

From this Passage it may reasonably be imagin'd, that, amongst the various Symbols of *Isis* upon this Mummy, the Figure hanging down upon her Breast, from a Sort of Chain round her Neck, is the *Phylacterion*, or Amulet, mention'd by *Plutarch*, such as that Goddess was said to hang round her Neck, when she found herself impregnated with Corn: For the *Greek* Word, *Phylacterion*, signifies a Charm for keeping or preserving, and is very agreeable to the physical Character of *Isis*, as a Nourisher and Preserver in Nature, and as she was the common Receptacle of every vegetative Body: So that her Keeping the Grain for Harvest, safe, uncorrupted, and undestroy'd, within her Bosom, was undoubtedly of the utmost Importance to the *Egyptians*, amongst whom, they imagin'd, she more immediately dwelt. It is no Wonder, then, that, amongst so many others of the Attributes of *Isis*, as are display'd upon this Mummy, we should find this Amulet, mention'd by *Plutarch*, hanging down from her Neck. The same Author, in another Place, has somewhat concerning this *Phylacterion*, which opens a Field for a very curious Inquiry:

quiry: His Words are these; "The Amulet which hangs round the Neck of *Isis*, when interpreted, signifies a true Voice." This gives some Room to suspect, that the Amulet, amongst its other Virtues, may also have been used, amongst the *Egyptians*, by Way of Oracle, in the same Manner as the *Urim* and *Tbummim* were amongst the *Jews*: But this Inquiry must be deferr'd to another Time.

What next occurs to View, under the Particular last describ'd, is a curious Girdle, distinguish'd by no other Ornaments than those of oblong square Divisions, within one another, diversify'd with distinct Colours of Yellow or Gold, Scarlet, Blue and Purple. All that shall be said, at present, upon this Head, is, that both the Girdle and Ephod already mention'd, which are adorn'd with Paintings of various Rows of precious Stones, bear a strong Resemblance, to the curious Girdle, and Ephod, which we are inform'd were worn on the sacred Garments of *Aaron*, *Lev. viii. 7, 8.*

What appears below this curious Girdle may be call'd the sixth emblematical Representation, and consists of a small Globe, within what seems design'd for a Boat, supported by Wings, which extend the whole Length of the Boat; and which may very reasonably be judg'd to be another Symbol of the *Sun*, since the *Egyptians* fancy'd it went round the World in such a Vehicle: The Wings supporting it being, as well as those already describ'd, Emblems of the Velocity of that Luminary. Now we are expressly inform'd by *Plutarch*, that the *Egyptians* had this Notion, "That the Sun and Moon perform'd their Revolutions round the World in Boats, and not in Chariots;" and he assigns a physical Reason for this their Opinion. *Clemens Alexandrinus* also says, that the *Egyptians* represented the *Sun* sometimes in a Boat, and sometimes on a Crocodile. We can't help remarking, that the Figure of the Boat on this Mummy is exactly like what is represented for a Boat on the *Mensa Isiaca*.

Immediately under the *Sun* in the Boat is a double Representation of *Osiris*, sitting at a Feast, in what we judge, by a Figure of the same Kind, in emblematical Representations, to be the Chair of *Jupiter*, or the *Sun*. Here *Osiris* is also distinguish'd by his common Marks, his Mitre, Sceptre, and Flagellum, or Flail. Before him is plac'd a Kind of Table, cover'd with three Sorts of Eatables; but what they are cannot be clearly distinguish'd on the Mummy. The Table on which they are set is supported by one Foot, or Leg in the Middle; over which, but on one Side, is the Figure of some Plant, on the Outsides of which is represented an human Figure erect, with Hands stretch'd out towards the *Sun* in the Boat, as in a Posture of Thanksgiving, or Adoration.

In endeavouring at the Explanation of these various Particulars, we shall begin with the Vegetables or Plants near the Table, of which we can have but an imperfect View upon this Mummy: These seem either to be the Figures of ripe Ears of Corn, to represent that *Osiris* was the Inventor of Agriculture; and the First-fruits thereof, which were offer'd up to that Deity; or the *Lotus*, which is a Plant peculiar to *Egypt*, and produc'd in the *Nile*; and which, according to ancient Authors, was the original Food of the *Egyptians*, before the Use of Corn was known, as has been already observ'd. As to the Table cover'd with three Sorts of Eatables, which is painted before *Osiris*, it seems to symbolize and allude to that Prince's altering the brutal and needy Way of Living of the ancient *Egyptians* to one that was more sociable, regular, and commodious. *Plutarch* expressly informs us of this Circumstance concerning this Monarch. "In the Beginning of his Reign, *Osiris* alter'd (says he) the brutal and needy Life of the *Egyptians*, teaching them the Use of Grain, and instituting Laws concerning the immortal Gods." *Diodorus Siculus* also confirms this, where he says, "That the *Egyptians*, in their primæval State,

“ State, before the Time of *Osiris*, used to
 “ live wild, like Beasts in the Field; seek-
 “ ing their Food amongst Pools and Lakes,
 “ and eating what Herbs they could find.”
 What seems to corroborate this Circum-
 stance is the Appearance of two human
 figures standing near the Tables, with their
 Hands stretch’d out towards the *Sun* in the
Boat, seeming to give Thanks for the Bless-
 ing of having such Food on the Table, as
 being produc’d by the Influence of that be-
 neficent Luminary; and also to *Osiris*, as
 being their Legislator and Benefactor, whilst
 in his natural State, and having instituted
 the Regularity and Propriety of their Way
 of Living.

Adjoining to this is what may properly be
 called the seventh emblematic Representa-
 tion, wherein is exhibited the Figure of a
Cadaver, or dead Body, stretch’d out on a
Bier, in the Form of a Lion. Near it
 stands another Figure, with an human Body,
 but a Wolf’s Head, employed in embalming
 or painting the dead Corpse, and having
 by him three Vessels, or Pots, each of which
 contains a different Colour within it; as may
 be discerned through the Vessels, which for
 that Reason are represented as Glafs, or trans-
 parent: On the Top of one of them is the
 Head of a Man; on the second, that of an
 Hawk; and on the third, that of a Wolf.
 All these Particulars on the Mummy are not
 represented so clearly as could have been
 wish’d, but we have good Reason to judge
 them to be as we have represented, by a si-
 milar Figure on the *Mensa Isiaca*, or Table
 of *Isis*. Upon that likewise is represented a
Bier, in the Form of a Lion, with an hu-
 man Figure lying thereupon, but with this
 Difference, that the Figure on the Table is
 drawn on its Belly, which was done to re-
 present it alive; whereas that on the Mum-
 my is painted on its Back, which was done
 to shew it was to be supposed dead: In every
 other Respect they agree. On the Table
 are also three Vessels with the Heads of a
 Man, an Hawk, and a Wolf; from the first
 of which issues something like the Flame,

described on the Coffin, of which we have
 just before treated: Above the Hawk’s
 Head also, on the Table, is a Crescent,
 which shews these Vessels to be sacred to the
Sun and *Moon*.

In endeavouring at the Explanation of
 these Figures, we shall begin with the *Cadaver*,
 or dead Body, stretch’d out upon the
Bier, whereby it is most probable, that the
Egyptians designed to represent the very
 Person of the Deceased, contained in the
 Coffin. As to the Figure with the Wolf’s
 Head, which is employed in painting this
Cadaver, that very probably was designed
 to represent the *Hiero-grammateus*, or sacred
 Scribe of the *Egyptians*, and the Wolf’s
 Head, like the Hawk’s Head on a similar
 Figure on the Coffin, might be intended to
 denote his Person and Character as sacred to
 the ancient *Egyptians*, as we observed on
 that Occasion, having probably no other
 Way of shewing that any Person’s Office
 was sacred, but by painting him with the
 Head of one of the sacred Animals. As
 to the three transparent Vessels, the only
 Author who seems to give us any Insight
 into the Meaning thereof, is *Horus Apollo*,
 who says, “ When the *Egyptians* would re-
 “ present the Inundation of the *Nile*, which
 “ they call *Nun*, that is, *new*, they some-
 “ times symbolize it by the Figure of a Li-
 “ on, and sometimes by three large Water-
 “ pots, or Vessels. By the *first*, because
 “ the Inundation is the greatest, when the
 “ *Sun* enters the Sign of the *Lion*, and
 “ whilst he continues therein; insomuch,
 “ that the Quantity of Water sometimes
 “ increases to double what it was before;
 “ whence continues he Conduits and Pipes
 “ of the sacred Foundations used to be
 “ made in the Shape of a Lion, by those
 “ who presided over those sacred Works.”
 The *Egyptians* likewise represented the In-
 undation of the *Nile* by three Water-pots,
 or Ewers, never painting more nor less than
 the Number; “ Because, according to
 “ the same Author they reckoned three ef-
 “ ficient Causes thereof: The *first* they
 “ ascribed

“ ascribed to the Land of *Egypt* itself,
 “ which produces the Water that overflows
 “ the Country ; the *second* they ascribed to
 “ the *Ocean*, from whence all Water in ge-
 “ neral is derived ; and the *third* they
 “ ascribed to the *Rains*, which fall in the
 “ most *Southerly* Parts of *Ethiopia*, at a
 “ certain Season.”

We are next to account for the two *Cynocephali*, or Figures with the Head of a Dog ; one of which is drawn on each Side of the Bier, having in the Paws a kind of Staff, and seeming to kneel, or sit on the legs, before the Corpse, as if attending thereon. These are both curious and singular, and may reasonably be supposed to have been represented on the Mummy, in order to denote to what particular *Name*, or Province of *Egypt*, the Deceased belonged. Strabo, in enumerating the several Kind of sacred Animals, which were worshipped in the different Provinces of *Egypt*, has a Passage, which almost confirms us in this Opinion: “ At *Scis*, (says he) and “ *Thebes*, in *Egypt*, the *Sheep* are worship-
 “ ped ; at *Latopolis*, the *Latum-fish* ;
 “ whilst the *Lycopolitans* adore the *Wolf*,
 “ and the *Hermopolitans* the *Cynocephalus*.” From this Passage it is apparent, that if the *Cynocephali*, represented on the Mummy, was intended to specify the *Name*, or Province, to which the Person embalmed belonged, that he must have been an Inhabitant of *Hermopolis*. On the *Mensa Isiac*, or Table of *Isis*, there are likewise two such Figures of *Cynocephali* sitting, but differ from those on the Mummy, in having Crescents over their Heads, with the Figure of a swell’d-neck’d Serpent in both of them ; which plainly shews those to be Symbols of the *Moon*.

The eighth emblematical Representation seems to be appropriated solely to *Isis*, in representing that Goddess at a covered Table, like that of *Osiris*, already described. This Picture is also twofold, being represented on each Side of the Mummy ; and two human Figures are here attending upon

Isis, with their Hands uplifted over the Table ; but there is not any Representation of the *Sun* to be seen in the Whole.

It is not unreasonable to imagine, that this covered Table may allude to that Goddess’s inventing the Use of Corn, as well as the other already described refers to the Invention of Agriculture, by *Osiris*, for the finding out the Use of Grain is ascribed to *Isis* solely : Wherefore *Diodorus Siculus*, speaking how *Osiris*, by his Beneficence to Mankind, had prevented their depriving each other. “ At the same Time, says he,
 “ *Isis* discovered the Use of Wheat and
 “ Barley, which grew wild, and whose Use
 “ was unknown to Mankind.”

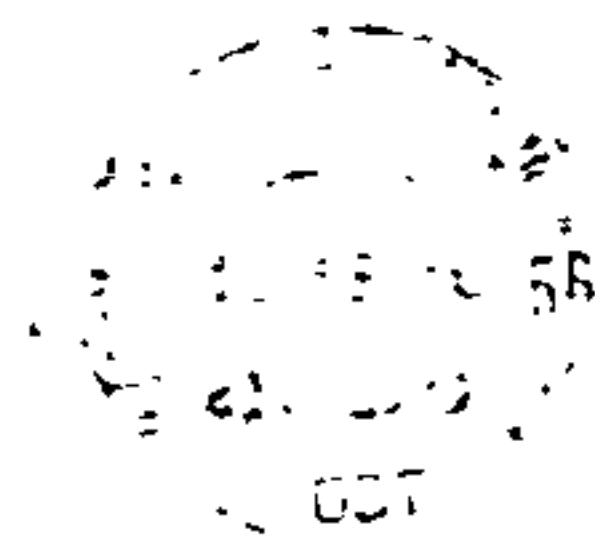
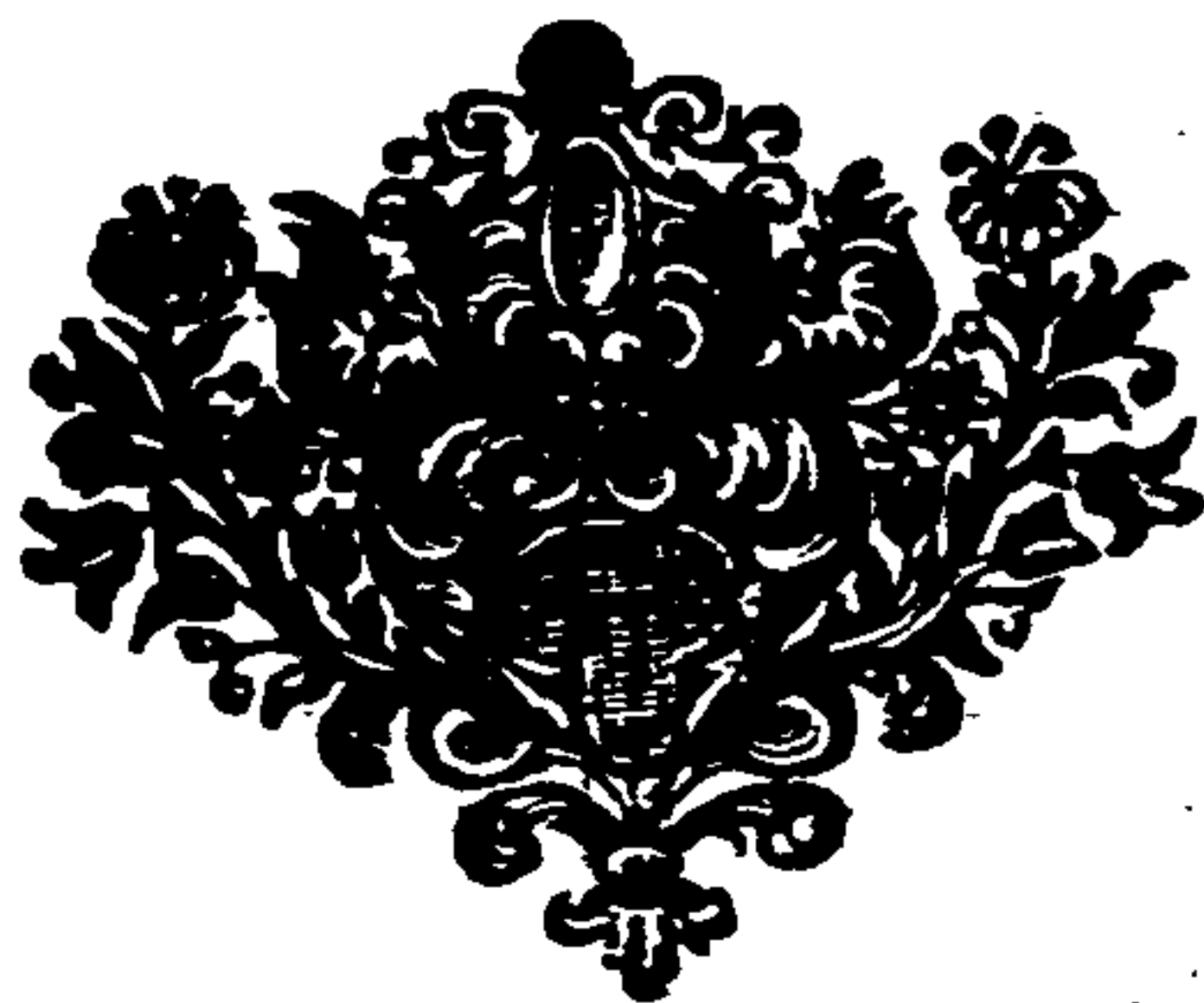
The ninth emblematical Representation consists of four square Partitions, two on each Side of the Mummy, in the uppermost of which, on the Right-side, is drawn an human Body embalmed, with the Head of a Swan, or Goose ; and a Man is represented, as standing before it, in a Posture of Adoration. In the opposite Square, on the Left-side, is such another Figure ; but only that it has a Wolf’s Head, and a Man likewise standing before it, in the same Attitude. Under the first Square is a third Figure, exactly like the second in every Respect ; over-against which, in the opposite Partition, is a fourth embalmed Body, altogether human, with the Figure of a Man likewise standing before it in a Posture of Adoration.

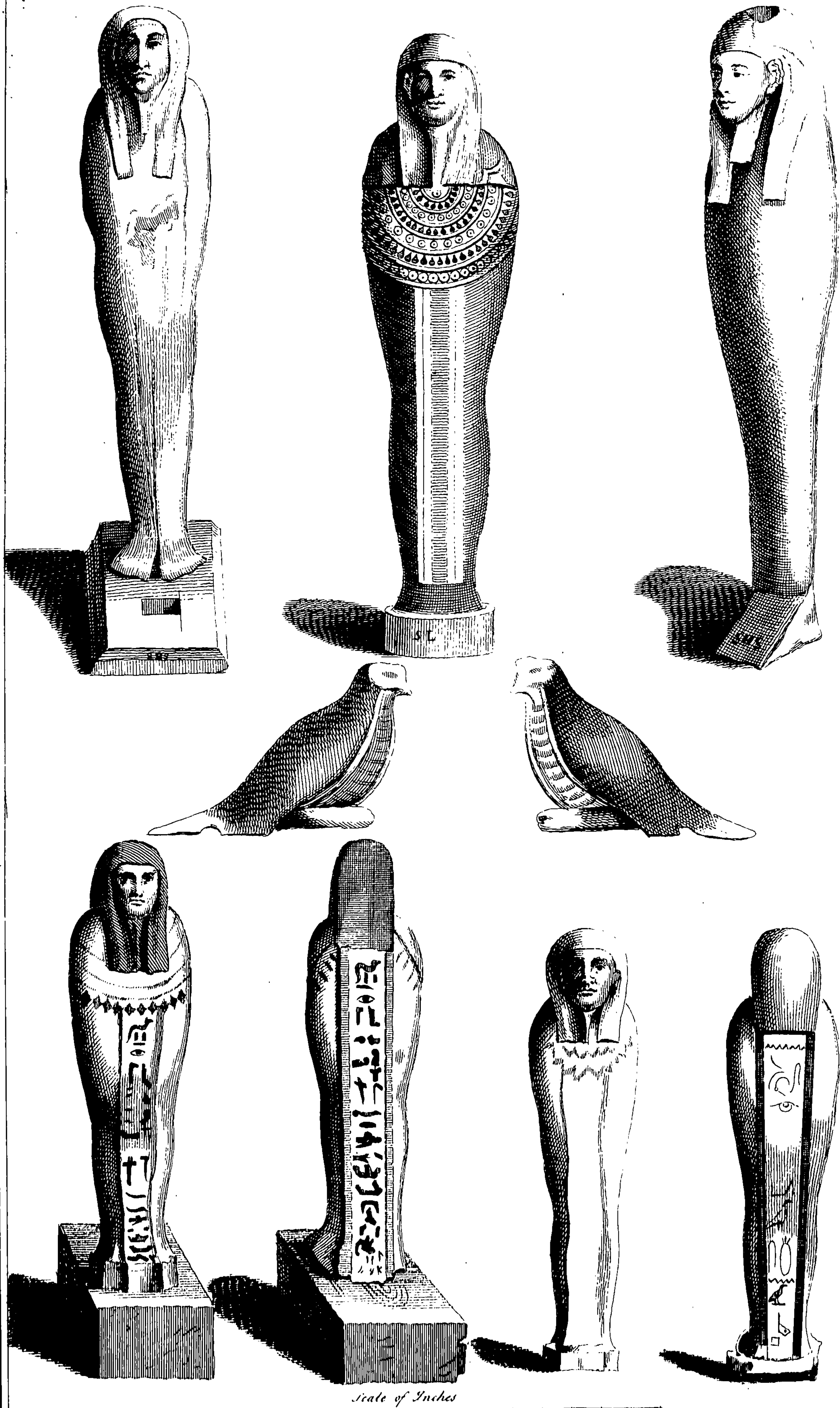
Upon this Representation we may observe, that the Figures therein expressed are very like those which *Perphyry* describes, as in Use amongst the ancient *Egyptians* ; and for this he assigns a very human Reason, which is as follows: “ The ancient *Egyptians*
 “ were apprised (says he) that the Deity
 “ did not dwell in Man alone, nor fix his
 “ Residence wholly in the human Soul,
 “ whilst upon Earth, but communicated
 “ his Influence, in some Measure, to the
 “ brute Creation also ; for this Reason, in
 “ representing and consecrating the Images
 “ of their Deities, they made use of all
 “ kinds

“ Kinds of Animals, and united the Forms
 “ of Beasts to those of Men : They also
 “ joined the Bodies of Birds to those of
 “ Men, infomuch that one might have seen
 “ amongst them certain Images, altogether
 “ human, as far as the Neck, but with the
 “ Face of a Bird, or a Lion, or some such
 “ Animal ; and others again with a Man’s
 “ Head, but the rest of the Body like that
 “ of a Beast.” The same Author adds,
 that such Representations were chiefly intend-
 ed to inspire Mankind with Humanity, that
 they might use brute Beasts with Tenderness,
 as being mutual Inhabitants of the same

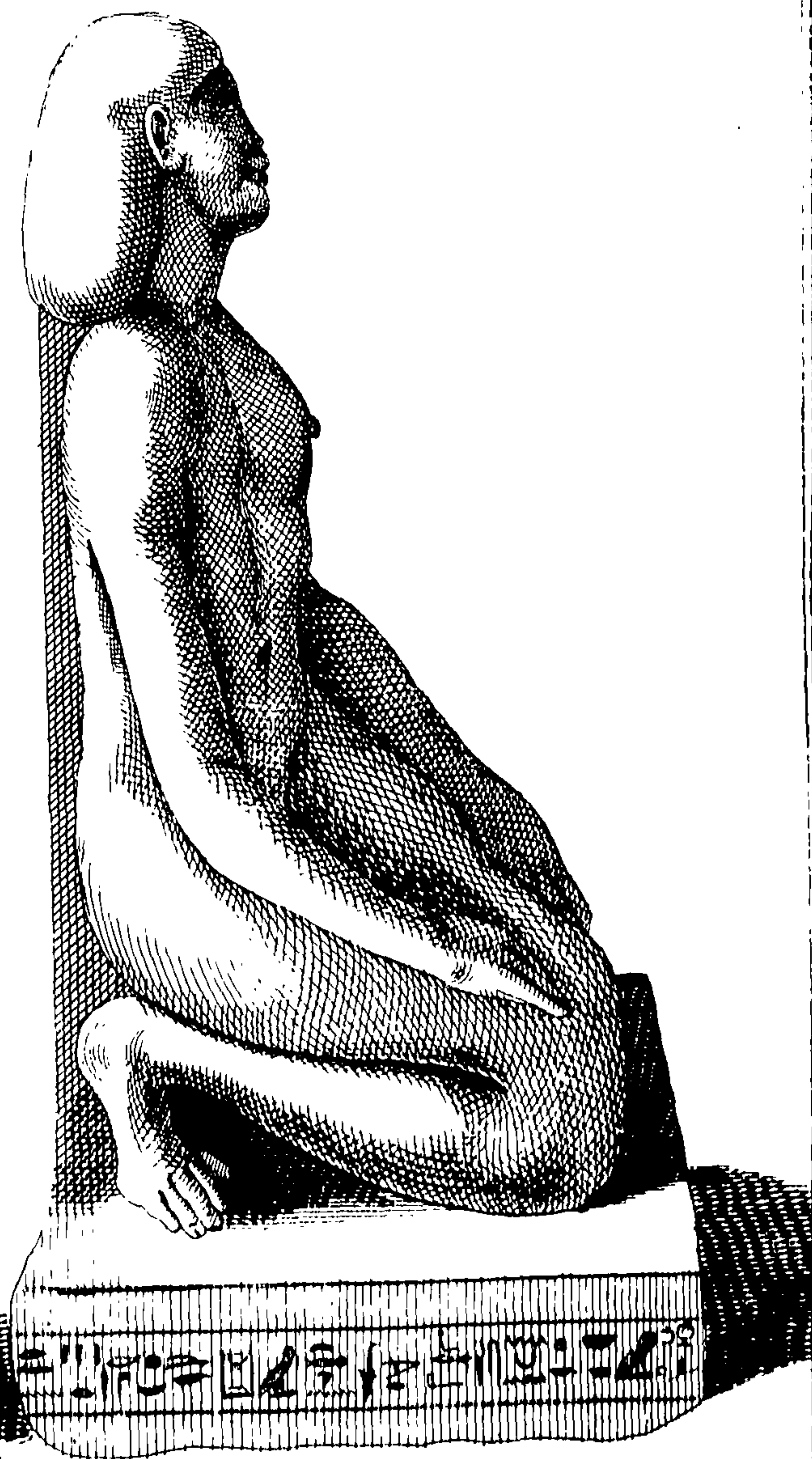
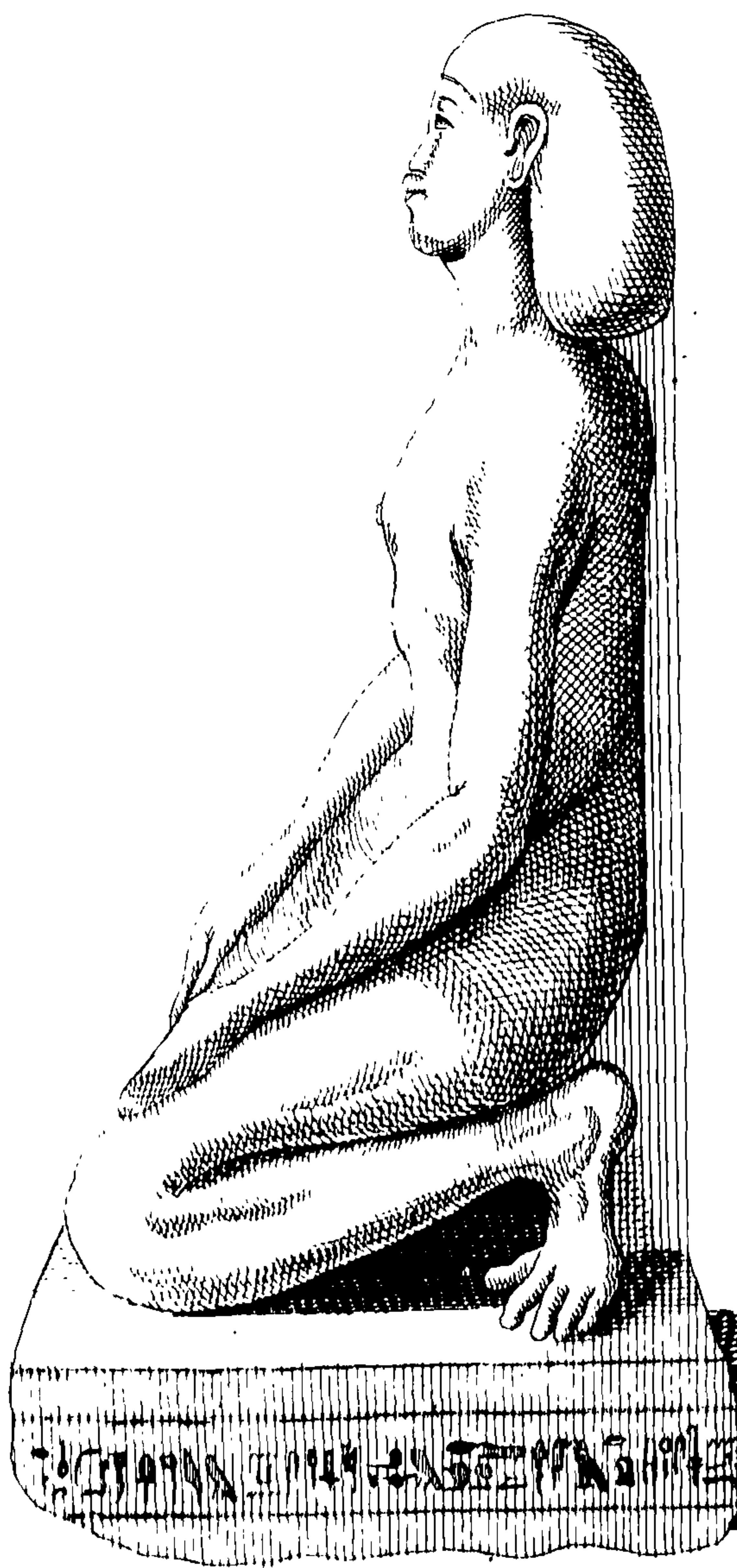
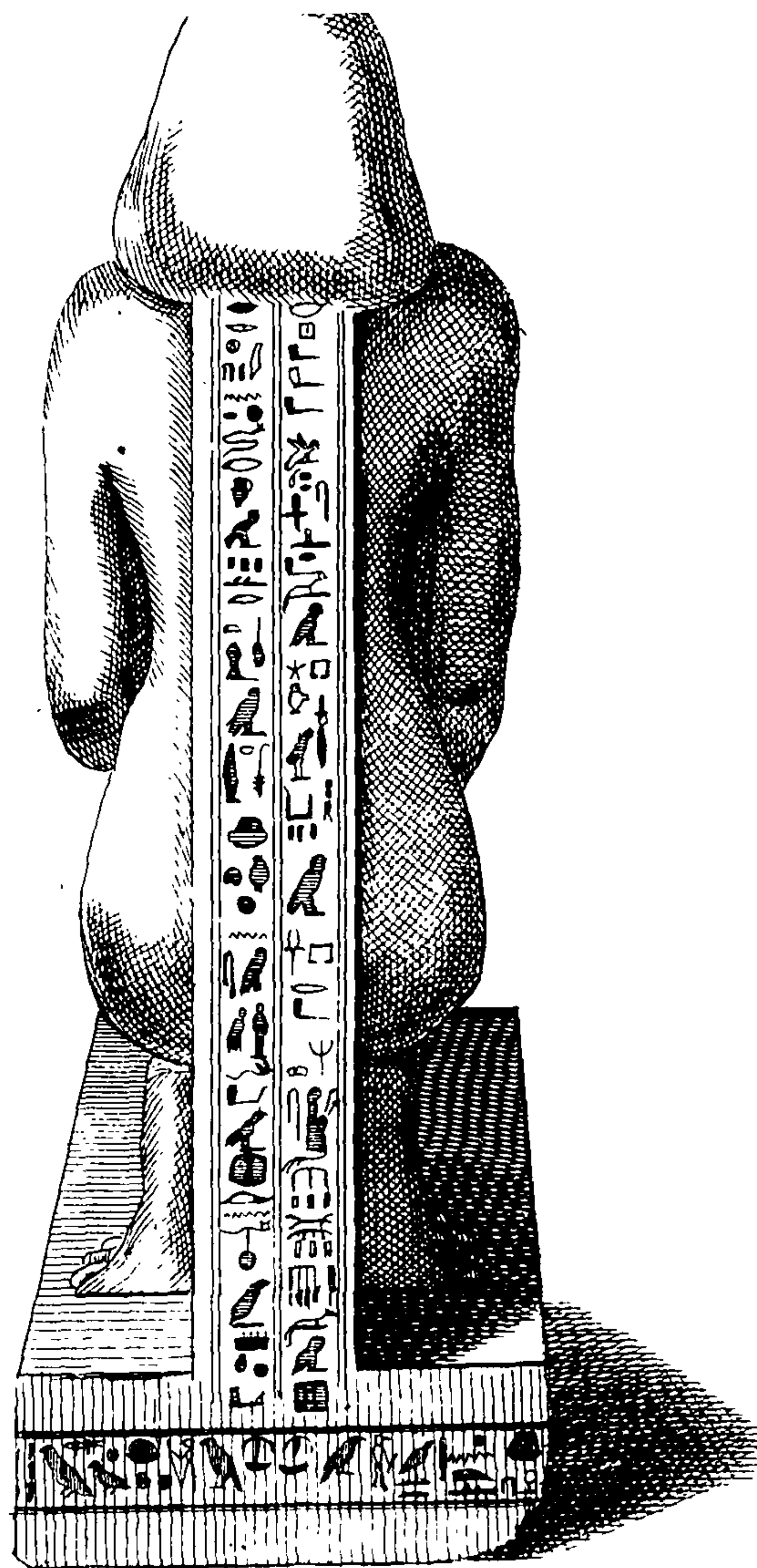
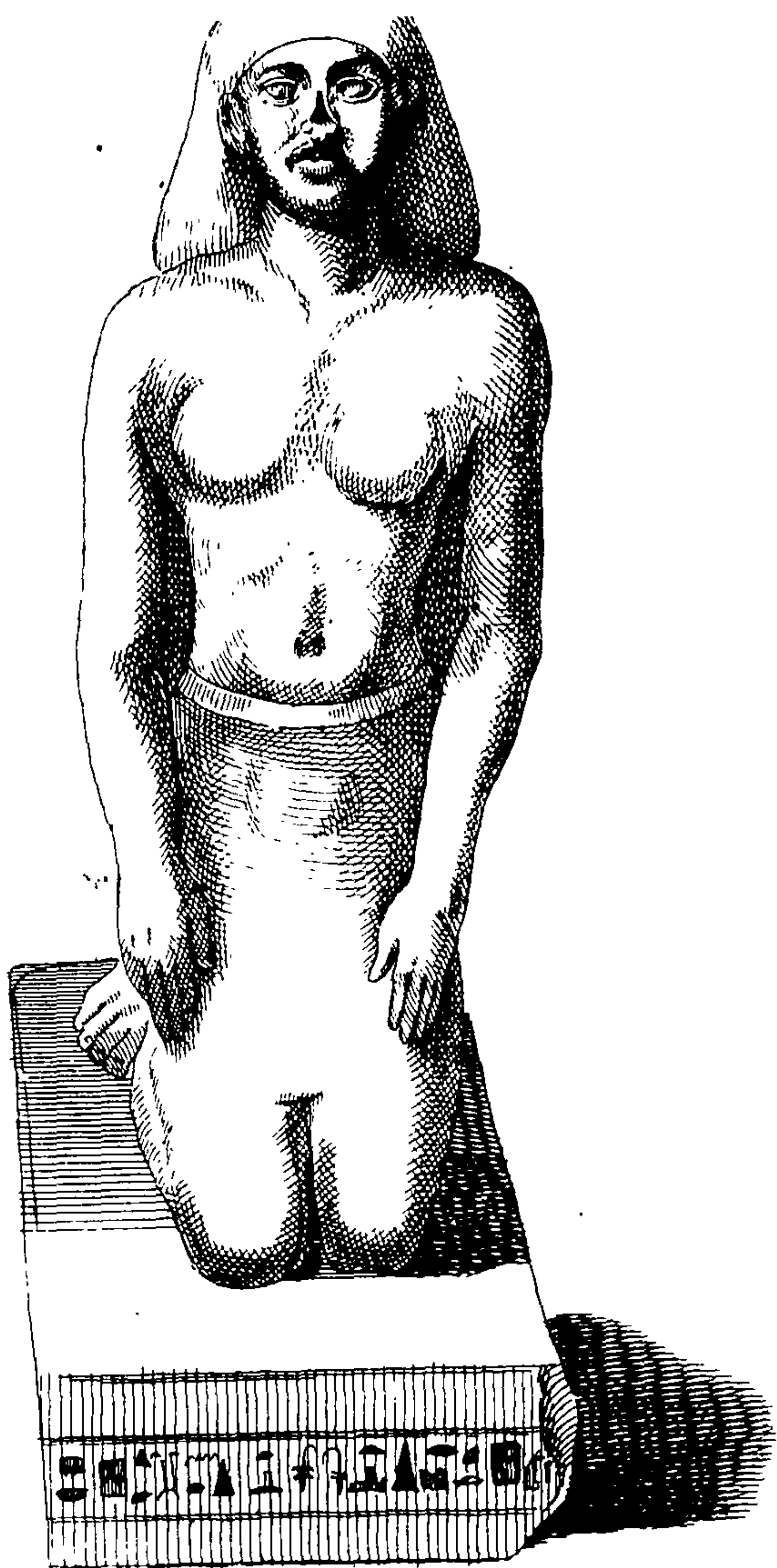
Globe, and Objects of the Divine Care as
 well as themselves.

All that now remains to be explained are
 the Figures of two Wolves, or Dogs, of a
 jet-black Colour, towards the Feet of this
 Mummy, over the Back of each of which
 is the *Flagellum* of *Osiris* : But, as two A-
 nimals, similar to these, are represented to-
 wards the Foot of the Coffin already de-
 scribed, where we have endeavoured to shew
 that they were physical Symbols of the *Sun*,
 we shall not enlarge thereon here, to avoid
 Repetition ; but shall refer our Readers to
 what we have said there.

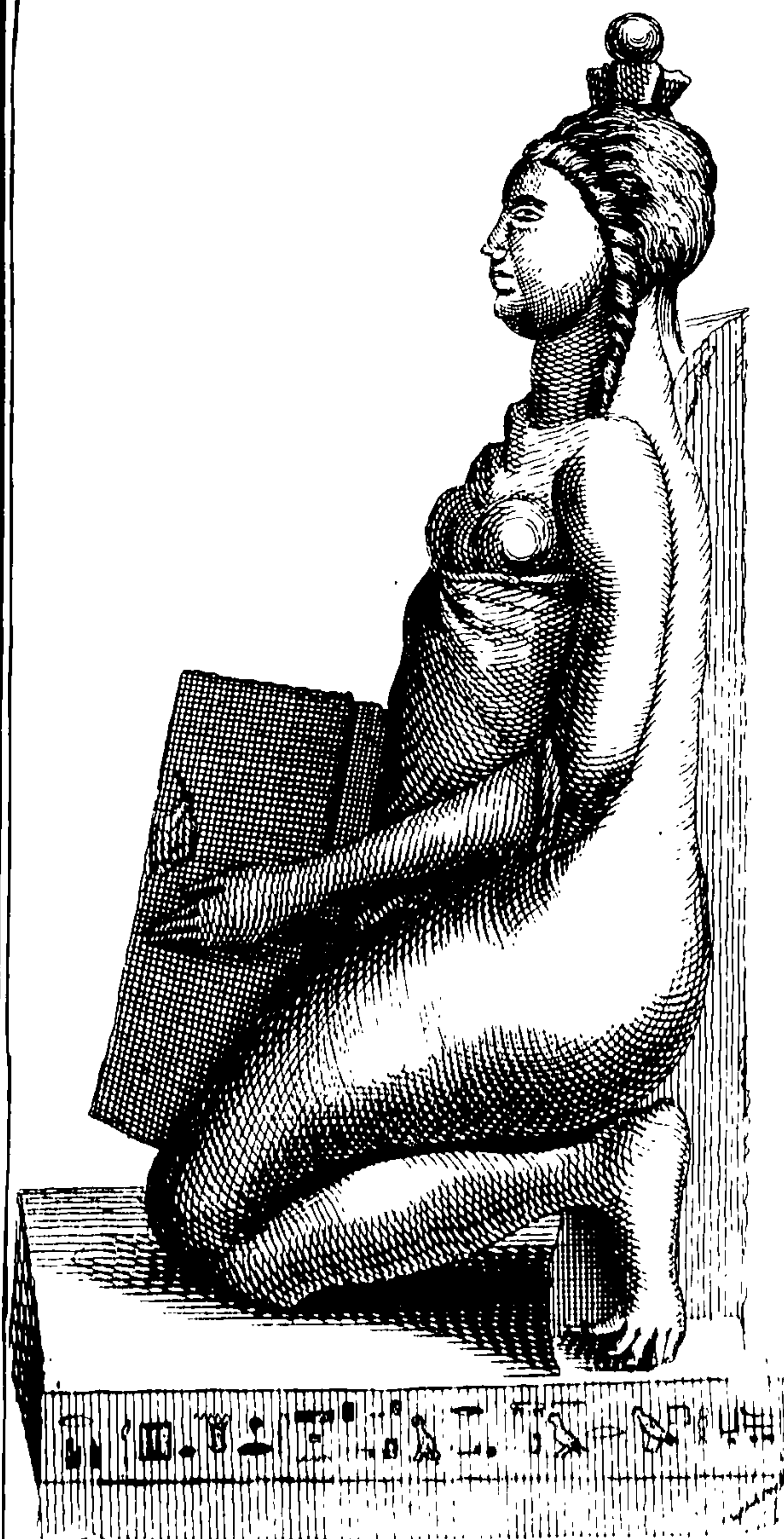
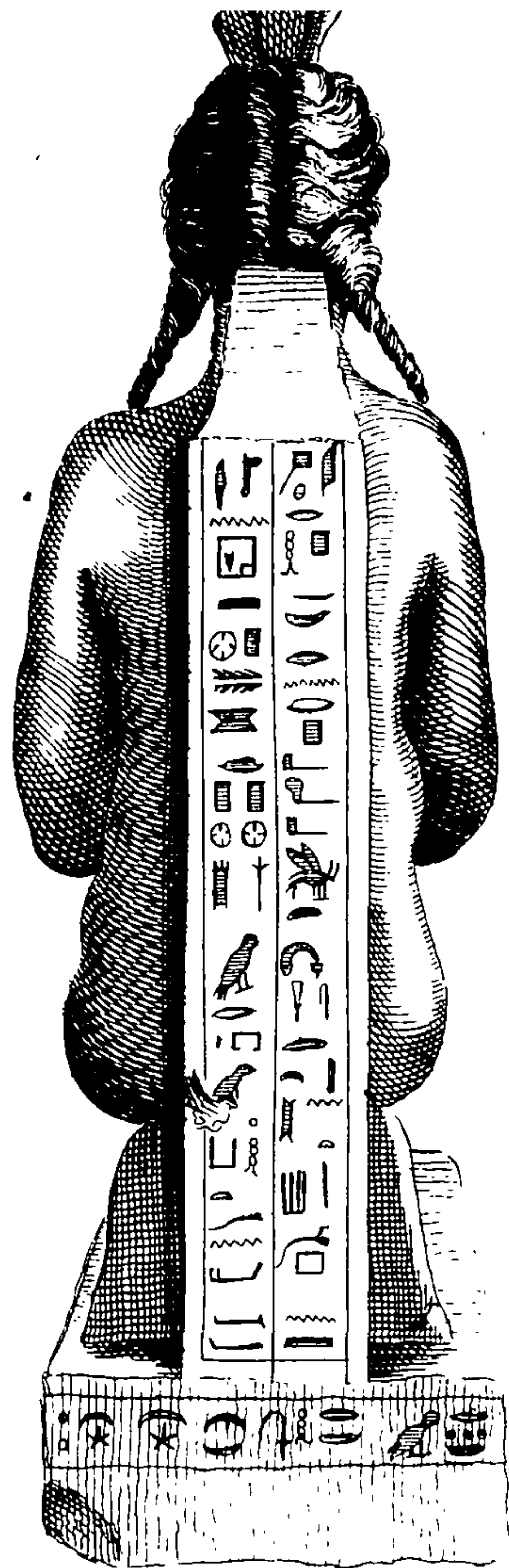
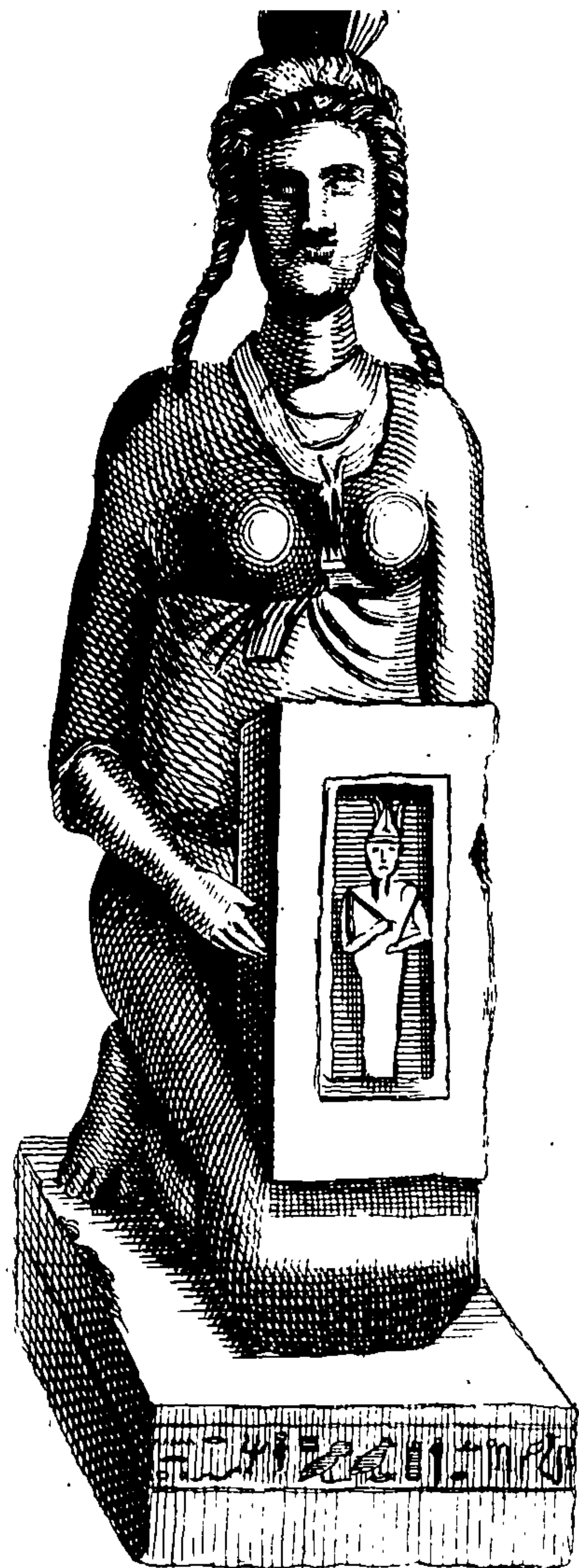




A. G. delin.
 This exact Representation of divers Wooden Patterns of Mummies, mentioned by Herodotus, are to be found in several Studies of the Curious & Learned at LONDON is humbly In-
 ed to the President and Members of the Royal Society.



This exact Representation of a curious Marble Statue lately brought from Egypt is humbly Inscribed to the President and Fellows of the Royal Society.



*This exact Representation of Isis with Osiris, is humbly Inscribed to the
President and Fellows of the Royal Society.*



A
 CONCISE NARRATIVE
 OF THE
 LIFE, TRAVELS, COLLECTIONS, WORKS, &c.
 OF
 Sir *HANS SLOANE*, Bart. To which is added an Extract
 of his LAST WILL.

SIR *Hans Sloane*, Bart. lately deceased, was born at *Killelagh*, in the County of *Downe* and Kingdom of *Ireland*; but his Thirst after Knowledge tempted him to move from thence in his Youth, in order to employ his Talents in a more extended Scene of Life, better adapted to his Genius, and more serviceable to the Good of Mankind. He tells us himself, that from his Youth he was much delighted with the Study of Plants, and other Parts of Nature, and had seen most of those Kinds of Curiosities that were to be found either in the Fields, or in the Gardens, or Cabinets, of the Curious in and about *London*, where he practised Physic. The Duke of *Albany* having obtained the supreme Command of *Jamaica*, and other Parts of *English America*, where he should arrive, employed Dr. *Barwick* his Physician, to look out for one to take care of him and his Family in case of Sicknes. Upon Application to Dr. *Sloane*, the Opportunity seemed such as he wanted, in order to view the Places and Things he designed, and at the same Time to prosecute the Practice of his Profession. He embraced the Offer, and having Conditions settled to his Satisfaction, he began his Voyage on the 12th of *September*, 1687, visited most of the *Caribbee* Islands, and at length arrived at *Jamaica*. As his principal Motive to this dangerous Voyage was a Zeal for the Advancement of natural Knowledge, he there employed all the Hours he could

could spare from the Duties of his Profession, in searching after the Productions of Nature, which he carefully described in a Journal. In order to make his Enquiries useful to the Publick, he dried fair Samples of all such Plants as would bear it, and such as could not be dried or kept, he caused Figures of them to be drawn in Crayons, as also of Fishes, Birds, Insects, and such other Productions as the Countries afforded, at no small Expence. He continued but about a Year and eight Months abroad, including his Passage to and from thence. For the Duke of *Albermarle* dying at *Jamaica*, he began his Voyage back on the 16th of *March* 1688, and landed in *England*, *May* the 29th following. He brought with him to *England* 800 Samples of Plants, and communicated them to all Lovers of such Curiosities; which encouraged Sir *Arthur Roydon* to send over a Gardiner to bring the Plants alive to him from *Jamaica* for his Garden at *Moyra* in the County of *Down*, where they grew to great Perfection; and though neglected of late Years, yet a few of them still continue there.

After his Return, he pursued the Business of his Profession with great Success, grew into high Repute for his Learning, Candour and publick Spirit; was made President of the Royal Society, and Royal College of Physicians, *London*, first Physician to his Majesty King *George* the First, (who created him a Baronet) and to his present Majesty King *George* the Second. But *England* was not alone sensible of his Merit; he was courted by Foreigners, and created Member of the imperial Academy of Sciences at *Paris*, *Madrid* and *Berlin*, Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians at *Edinburgh*, and Doctor of Physick of the University of *Dublin*, &c.

Such Honours had he received at Home and Abroad. But nothing so fully displays the Grandeur of his Mind as his immense and rare Collections. His Library, consisting of forty-two Thousand Volumes of printed Books, is perhaps the fullest and

most curious in the World, with regard to the several Branches of Natural History and Physick; add to which above three Thousand Volumes of Manuscripts, relating chiefly to Enquiries of the same Nature. His Museum is stored with such vast Rarities both Natural and Artificial, (amounting, as it is said, in the Year 1733, to sixty-nine Thousand three Hundred and fifty two Particulars, including his *M. S. S.*) That we may venture to proclaim it the most Valuable Private Collection (perhaps Publick one) that ever yet has appeared upon Earth. These Treasures, though collected at his private Expence, have not been appropriated to his own Pleasure alone. Mankind has enjoyed the Benefits of them, and his noble Mind never suffered him to refuse their Use to whoever at Home or Abroad was desirous of Satisfaction or Improvement from them.

These Riches are too immense for any one Kingdom to enjoy; and doubtless there must be among them many Duplicates. His native Country claim some Share of his Regards, and is proud of the Honour of giving him Birth. We shall now conclude with giving an Account of the Works he has published, which are these. — A Catalogue of *Jamaica* Plants, *London*, 1697. — A Voyage to the Islands *Madera*, *Barbadoes*, *Nevis*, *St. Christophers* and *Jamaica*, with the natural History of the Herbs and Trees, four-footed Beasts, Fishes, Birds, Insects, Reptiles, &c. of the last of these Islands. To which is prefixed an Introduction, wherein is an Account of the Inhabitants, Air, Waters, Diseases, Trade, &c. of that Country; with some Relations concerning the neighbouring Continent and Islands of *America*. Illustrated with the Figures of the Things described (which have not been heretofore Engraved) in large Copper-Plates as big as the Life, 1 Vol. Printed at *London* 1707, Folio. — The 2d Vol. *London* 1725. Folio. The first Volume contains an Introduction giving an Account of the Situation, Temperature, Diseases, &c. of the Island,

Island, his Voyage thither, and a History of the Plants that grew there.—The second Volume contains the Trees, Quadrupeds, Birds, Fishes, testaceous and crustaceous Animals and Insects, &c. Many other Works, of his lie scattered in the Philosophical Transactions.

An Extract from the LAST WILL of Sir HANS SLOANE, Bart.

I SIR Hans Sloane, of the Parish of St. George, Bloomsbury, &c. having before me, more than most Men, the great Uncertainty of Life; and having by the Blessing of God acquired a considerable real and personal Estate, requiring some Law in the Disposition of them, do make this my Last Will and Testament: In the first Place I very willingly resign my Soul into the Hands of my Almighty, merciful and wise Creator, whenever it shall please him to remove me out of this troublesome Life; not doubting the Forgiveness of what Failings or Transgressions, either of Omission or Commission, through Passions, Inadvertencies, or otherways I might have been guilty of, and thereby offended God or Man, firmly hoping for a better Life hereafter, having bethought of God in this dark and ignorant State, to direct my Belief and Actions according to his Will; and endeavoured to inform my Conscience (as much as my necessary Affairs and civil Duties would give me Leave) and to conform my Actions to it, and in doubtful Cases striving to make this my Rule, to do to others, as I thought I should desire to be done to me in the like Circumstances.

Whereas from my Youth I have been a great Observer and Admirer of the wonderful Power, Wisdom, and Contrivance of Almighty God, appearing in the Works of his Creation; and have gathered together many Things in my Travels and Voyages, or had them from others, especially from my ever honoured late Friend *William Courteen*, Esq; who spent the greatest

Part of his Life and Estate in collecting such Things, in and from most Parts of the Earth, which he left me at his Death, subject to several Debts and Legacies, which have been long since satisfied and paid, and his Collections kept entire. And whereas I have made great Additions of late Years, as well to my Books, both Printed and Manuscript, and to my Collections of natural and artificial Curiosities, precious Stones, Books of dried Samples of Plants, Miniatures, Drawings, Prints, Medals, and the like, with some Paintings concerning them, now placed in my House and Gardens, amounting in the whole to a very great Sum of Money, reckoning them at the first Costs to at least 50,000 *l*. Now desiring very much that these Things, tending many Ways to the Manifestation of the Glory of God, the Confutation of Atheism and its Consequences, the Use and Improvement of Physic, and other Arts and Sciences, and Benefit of Mankind, may remain together, and not be separated, and that chiefly in and about the City of *London*, where I have acquired most of my Estates, and where they may by the great Confluence of People be of most Use. Now I do give and devise them unto *Charles Lord Cadogan*, my Nephew, *William Sloane*, Esq; and the reverend Doctor *Sloane Elismere*, Rector of *Chelsea*, whom I make Executors of this my Last Will and Testament: But upon this special Trust, that they shall, as soon as may be after my Decease, sell and dispose of the same to be settled for the publick Uses aforesaid, at the Rate of 20,000 *l*. And my Will and Desire is, that the Duke of *Richmond*, Sir *Robert Walpole*, Sir *Paul Methuen*, Mr. *Edgcome*, or any other proper Persons I have the Honour to be known to, who understand Matters of this Nature, may be humbly desired to offer them to his Majesty King *George II.* at the Rate above-mentioned, for the Purpose aforesaid: But if his Majesty shall not think fit to accept of the same within six Months after such Overture made, that then they be offered

at the same Price, to the President, Council and Fellows of the Royal Society of London for improving natural Knowledge; and upon their Refusal, to the Chancellor and University of Oxford, and upon their Refusal, then successively to be offered to the College of Physicians at *Edinburgh*, the Royal Academy of Sciences at *Paris*, that at *Peterburg*, *Berlin* and *Madrid*, who have done me the Honour to make me one of their Members. And my Will is, that every one of them shall have one Month's Time, to be accounted from the Time of the respective Offer made to them; and in Case none of the Persons nor public Bodies shall think fit to buy them, at the Price of 20,000 *l.* then my Will is, that my said Executors do dispose of them either entirely to any Person or Body of Men, or in Parcels by Auction; and that in selling, or disposing of them, and their Catalogues, or Observations upon them, they take the Advice of such Persons as are skilled in natural Knowledge, Medals, &c. I Will that the Money arising by such Sale, be disposed of by my Executors, &c.

[*Here follow the Legacies, which he bequeathes to his Relations and Friends, which being of no Signification to the Reader, I omit, and proceed to what is of more publick and general Concern.*]

In a Codicil annexed, he revokes the said Will, as far as relates to the Sale and Disposition of his Collection of Rarities, and directs the same in the following Manner.

Having had from my Youth a strong Inclination to the Study of Plants, and all other Productions of Nature; and having through the Course of many Years with great Labour and Expence, gathered together whatever could be procured either in our own or foreign Countries that were rare and curious; and being fully convinced, that nothing tends more to raise our Ideas of the Power, Wisdom, Goodness, Providence, and other Perfections of the Deity; or more to

the Comfort and Well-being of his Creatures, than the Enlargement of our Knowledge in the Works of Nature, I do will and desire that for the promoting of these noble Ends, the Glory of God, and the Good of Man, my Collection in all its Branches may be, if possible, kept and preserved together whole and entire in my Manor-house, in the Parish of *Chelsea*, given by me to the Company of Apothecaries for the same Purposes; I do give, devise, and bequeathe unto the Right Honourable *Charles Sloane Cadogan, Esq;* *Hans Stanley, Esq;* *William Sloane, Esq;* the reverend *Sloane Elismere*, (and upwards of forty more Gentlemen of Figure) all that my Collection or Museum in my Manor-house at *Chelsea*, which consists of too great a Variety, to be particularly described. But I mean all my Library of Books, Drawings, Manuscripts, Prints, Medals, and Coins, antient and modern, Antiquities, Seals, &c. Cameas and Intaglios, &c. precious Stones, Agates, Jaspers, &c. Vessels, &c. of Agate, Jasper, &c. Chrystals, mathematical Instruments, Drawings and Pictures, and all other Things in my said Collection or Museum, which are most particularly described, mentioned, and numbered, with short Histories, or Accounts of them, with proper References in certain Catalogues by me made, containing thirty-eight Volumes in Folio, and eight Volumes in Quarto, except such framed Pictures as are not marked with the Word (Collection) to have and to hold, to them and their Successors, or Assigns for ever; but in Trust, and subject to the Limitations and Directions hereafter specified. And for rendering this my Intention more effectual, that the said Collection may be preserved and continue entire in its utmost Perfection and Regularity; and being assured, that nothing will conduce more to this Purpose, than the placing the same under the Direction and Care of learned, experienced and judicious Persons who are above all mean and low Views, I do earnestly desire that the King, his Royal Highness

Highness the Prince of *Wales*, the Duke of *Cumberland*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Hardwick*, the Lord Chancellor for the Time being, the Lord President of the Council, Lord Steward of his Majesty's Household, Lord Chamberlain, the Duke of *Richmond*, (and near thirty more of the Prime Nobility, Bishops, and Great Officers of the Kingdom) will condescend so far as to act and be Visitors of my said Musæum and Collection. And my Will is, and I do hereby request and desire, that the said Trustees, or any Seven or more of them, do make their humble Application to his Majesty, or to Parliament, at the next Sessions after my Decease, as shall be thought most proper, in order to pay the full and clear Sum of 20,000 £. unto my Executors, or the Survivors of them, within twelve Months after my Decease; in Consideration of the said Collection or Musæum; it not being, as I apprehend, or believe, a fourth of their real, or intrinsic Value; and also to obtain such sufficient Powers and Authorities, for vesting in the said Trustees all and every Part of my said Collection, or Musæum in all its Branches; and also my said Capital Manor-house, Gardens, &c. thereunto belonging, in which it is my Desire the same shall be kept and preserved; and also the Water belonging to my Manor of *Chelsea* coming from *Kensington*, subject to furnishing, or supplying the Bishop of *Winchester's* House as it is now used; and also the Advowson or Preservation or Right of Patronage of the Church of *Chelsea*: To the End the same Premises may be absolutely vested in the said Trustees, for preserving and continuing my said Collection, or Musæum in such Manner as they shall think most likely to answer the public Benefit by me intended; and also obtain a sufficient Fund, or Provision, for maintaining or taking Care of my said Collection and Premises, and for repairing and supporting my said Manor-house, Water-work and Premises, to be vested in the said Trustees

for ever: And I do hereby further direct and appoint that my Executors do and shall, upon Payment of the said Sum of 20,000 £. deliver or cause to be delivered unto the said Trustees, or any seven or more of them, for, and in the Name of all of them, in the Presence of the Visitors, or any five or more of them, as well the Possession of my said Manor-house and Gardens at *Chelsea* aforesaid, as also all my Collection or Musæum before-mentioned and described, and every Part thereof in all its Branches, whole and intire, as the same shall be found in my said Manor-house, according to the said Catalogues, and together with the several Volumes of Catalogues thereunto belonging. And further, my Will is, and I do hereby also direct and appoint, that in Case his Majesty or the Parliament do accept the said Offer, and do pay the Sum of 20,000 £. unto my Executors or the Survivors of them, that then my said Executors do, within six Months after such Payment as afore-mentioned, and obtaining proper Powers for effectually vesting in the said Trustees all my said Collection, and my said Capital House and Gardens, with their Appurtenances, Water and Advowson, Presentation or Right of Patronage of the Church of *Chelsea* as aforesaid; together with my Heir or Heirs at Law, and all other proper Parties, do and shall join in and execute such Acts, Deeds, or Conveyances, as shall be thought requisite and necessary for the more perfect and absolute vesting, conveying, and assuring the said Premises in, and to the said Trustees and their Assigns or Successors for ever, for the Uses, Intents and Purposes herein mentioned and intended.

And my Will is, and I do hereby empower and direct, that the said Trustees, or any seven or more of them, do and shall, in convenient Time after Payment of the said Sum of 20,000 £. unto my said Executors, or the Survivors of them as aforesaid, meet together from Time to Time, as often as shall be thought fit, and there make, constitute, and establish (to be afterwards ratified and

and approved by the Visitors hereby appointed, or any five or more of them) such Statutes, Rules and Ordinances, and to make and appoint such Officers and Servants for the attending, managing preserving, and continuing of my said Musæum, or Collection and Premises, for ever, with such Salaries, Payments, or Allowances to them respectively, as shall seem meet and necessary.

And further, my Will is, and I do hereby order and direct, that in Case any difference or Dispute shall happen to arise by or between the said Trustees touching the said Premises, which cannot be adjusted or settled among themselves, then and in such Case, and as often as the same shall happen, the Visitors hereby appointed, or any five or more of them, shall and are hereby authorized and impowered, to hear and determine in the most summary Way, such Difference or Dispute, whose Order or Determination shall be final.

And it is also my Will and Desire, that all such other Powers and Authorities may be added or vested, as well in the said intended Trustees, as in the Visitors hereby appointed, as shall by the Legislature be thought most proper and convenient, for the better Management, Order, and Care of my said Collection and Premises.

And further, it is my Will, and I do hereby declare and direct, that the said Advowson, Presentation, and Right of Patronage of the Church of *Chelsea*, shall be filled up from Time to Time, as often as the same shall become vacant, by such Person or Persons as the Trustees hereby appointed, or the major Part of them, shall elect, present, nominate, or appoint.

But in case Payment of the said Sum of 20,000 *l.* shall not be had and obtained, and made unto my Executors, or the Survivor of them, within twelve Months next after my Decease, and no such Act of Parliament shall be obtained for settling, preserving, establishing, maintaining, and continuing my said Collection and Premises in

manner aforesaid; then, and not otherwise, my Will is, and I do in such Case hereby direct, that my said Executors or the Survivors of them, do and shall Sell and Dispose, or cause to be sold and disposed of all and every Part of my said Collection or Musæum as before described, together with the Catalogues thereto belonging, and unto and for the Use of the Royal Academy of Sciences at *Petersburg*, provided that the said Royal Accademy of Sciences at *Petersburg*, or the Managers and Directors thereof, or others on their Behalf impowered, do and shall, within twelve Months next after Notice thereof, signified or given to the Embassador, Resident or Envoy of, or from the Czarina or Empress of *Russia*, or of the Emperor of *Russia* for the Time being, by my said Executors or Survivors of them, pay or cause to be paid unto my Executors, or the Survivor or Survivors of them, and to be deemed as Part of my personal Estate, the full and clear Sum of 20,000 *l.* of lawful Money of *Great-Britain*; and in case Payment of the said Sum of 20,000 *l.* shall not be made at, or within the Time mentioned above for that Purpose, by the Managers or Directors of the said Royal Accademy of Sciences at *Petersburgh*, or any other on that behalf impowered, then my Will is, and I do hereby Direct and Appoint, that my Executors or the Survivors of them, do and shall Sell and Dispose of all and every Part of my said Collection, or Musæum as before described, with the Catalogues thereunto belonging, unto or for the Use of the Royal Academy of Sciences at *Paris*, provided that the said Royal Accademy of Sciences at *Paris*, or the Managers, Directors or others impowered on their behalf, do and shall within twelve Months next after Notice thereof signified or given, to the Embassador, Resident, or Envoy of or from the Court of *France*, by my said Executors or Survivors of them, pay, or cause to be paid unto my Executors or the Survivor or Survivors of them, and to be deemed in like manner as Part of my personal

sonal Estate, the full and clear Sum of 20,000 *l.* Pounds of lawful Money of *Great-Britain*; in case Payment of the said Sum of 20,000 *l.* Pounds last mentioned shall not be made at, or within the Time above-mentioned in that Behalf, then my Will is, and I do hereby Direct, that my Executors or Survivors of them, do and shall Sell and Dispose, or cause to be Sold and Disposed of all and every Part of my said Collection, or Musæum as before described, with the Catalogues thereunto belonging, unto or for the Use of the Royal Academy of Sciences at *Berlin*, provided that the said Royal Academy of Sciences at *Berlin*, or the Managers or Directors thereof, or others empowered on their Behalf, do and shall, within twelve Months next after Notice thereof signified or given to the Ambassador, Resident, or Envoy of or from the King of *Prussia*, by my Executors or Survivors of them, pay or cause to be paid unto my Executors, or the Survivor or Survivors of them, and to be deemed in like Manner as Part of my personal Estate, the full and clear Sum of 20,000 *l.* of lawful Money of *Great-Britain*; and in case Payment of the said Sum of 20,000 *l.* last mentioned shall not be made at, or within the Time before-mentioned for that purpose, then my Will is, and I do hereby direct my said Executors or Survivors of them do and shall Sell and Dispose of, or cause to be Sold and Disposed of, all and every Part of my said Collection or Musæum, as before described, with the Catalogues thereunto belonging, unto, or for the Use of the Royal Academy of Sciences at *Madrid*, provided that the said Royal Academy of Sciences at *Madrid*, or the Managers or Directors thereof, or others empowered on their Behalf, do and shall, within twelve Months next after Notice thereof signified or given to the Ambassador, or Resident, or Envoy of or from the Court of *Spain*, by my Executors or Survivors of them, pay or cause to be paid unto my Executors, or to the Survivors or Survivor of them, and to be

deemed in like Manner as Part of my personal Estate, the full and clear Sum of 20,000 *l.* of lawful Money of *Great-Britain*.

And my Will is, and I do hereby further direct, that such Notice and Notices shall be given and signified to the respective Ambassador, Resident, or Envoy of, or from the Court of *Russia*, *France*, *Berlin* and *Madrid*, within three Months next after Failure or Default of Payment of the Sum of 20,000 *l.* afore-mentioned from the Parliament as before-mentioned. And in case the said respective Offers shall not be accepted by Parliament, nor by any of the said foreign Academies, nor any such Payments well and truly made by any others on their respective Behalfs, within their respective Times before-mentioned, unto my Executors or the Survivors of them as afore-said:

Then my Will is, and I do hereby further direct and appoint, that my Executors or the Survivors or Survivor of them, do and shall be at Liberty, with all convenient Speed, to Sell and Dispose of, or cause or procure to be Sold and Disposed of, all and every Part of my said Collection or Musæum, in the most speedy and advantageous Manner; and the Monies arising by such Sale or Disposition, I do hereby Direct, Will, and Appoint, shall be paid to my Executors or to the Survivors or Survivor of them, and shall be considered as Part of my personal Estate.

And further my Will is, and I do hereby direct, that in case my said Collection shall be Sold or Disposed of to either of the said foreign Academies before-mentioned, or in case of their Refusal or Non-acceptances by my Executors, or the Survivors of them; that then my said Manor-house and Garden, with their Appurtenances, and the Water, and Advowson, shall go to and belong to such Person or Persons, and in such a Manner as I have given and devised the rest of my said Manors, Lands, and Tenements at *Chelsea* or elsewhere.

Whereas

Whereas I have by Codicil appointed and named his Grace *Charles Duke of Richmond*, *John Duke of Montague*, and *Henry Earl of Pembroke*, all lately deceased, among others, Visitors of my Museum, or Collection of Curiosities, upon certain Trusts therein mentioned; now I *Sir Hans Sloane* do hereby name and appoint, in their Stead, the Right Honourable the Earl of *Macclesfield*, the Earl of *Shelburn*, and the Right Honourable *Sir John Strange* Master of the Rolls, and the Master of the Rolls for the Time being; and I do desire that they will accept of the said Trust: And I do also desire, that *Sir John Bernard*, *Sir William Calvert*, and *Slingsby Bethel*, Esq; may be added to the other Trustees by me formerly named in my said Codicil, or in the List hereunto annexed.

And whereas I have in and by the said former Codicil, or by some other, given and devised my Advowson of the Rectory and Parish Church of *Chelsea* to my said Visitors and Trustees, or to some of them, upon Trust to present a proper Person thereto, when the same shall become vacant: Now I do by this my Codicil revoke that Part of my said former Codicil concerning the said Advowson, and do hereby give and devise the said Advowson to such Person or Persons as shall from Time to Time have and enjoy my Manor of *Chelsea*, and that he, she, or they, from Time to Time, shall present thereunto, whenever the same shall become vacant.

HANS SLOANE.

F I N I S.

